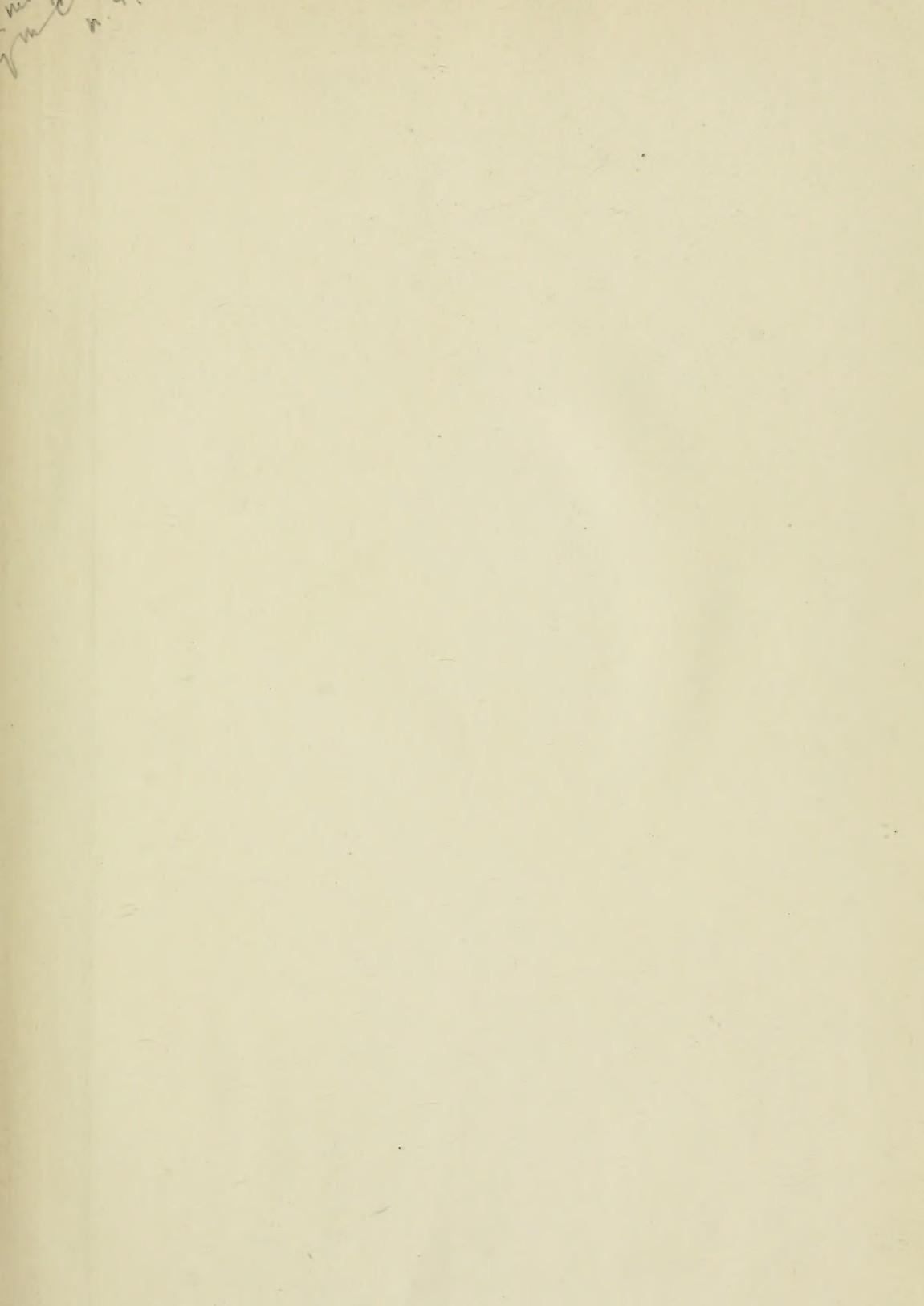




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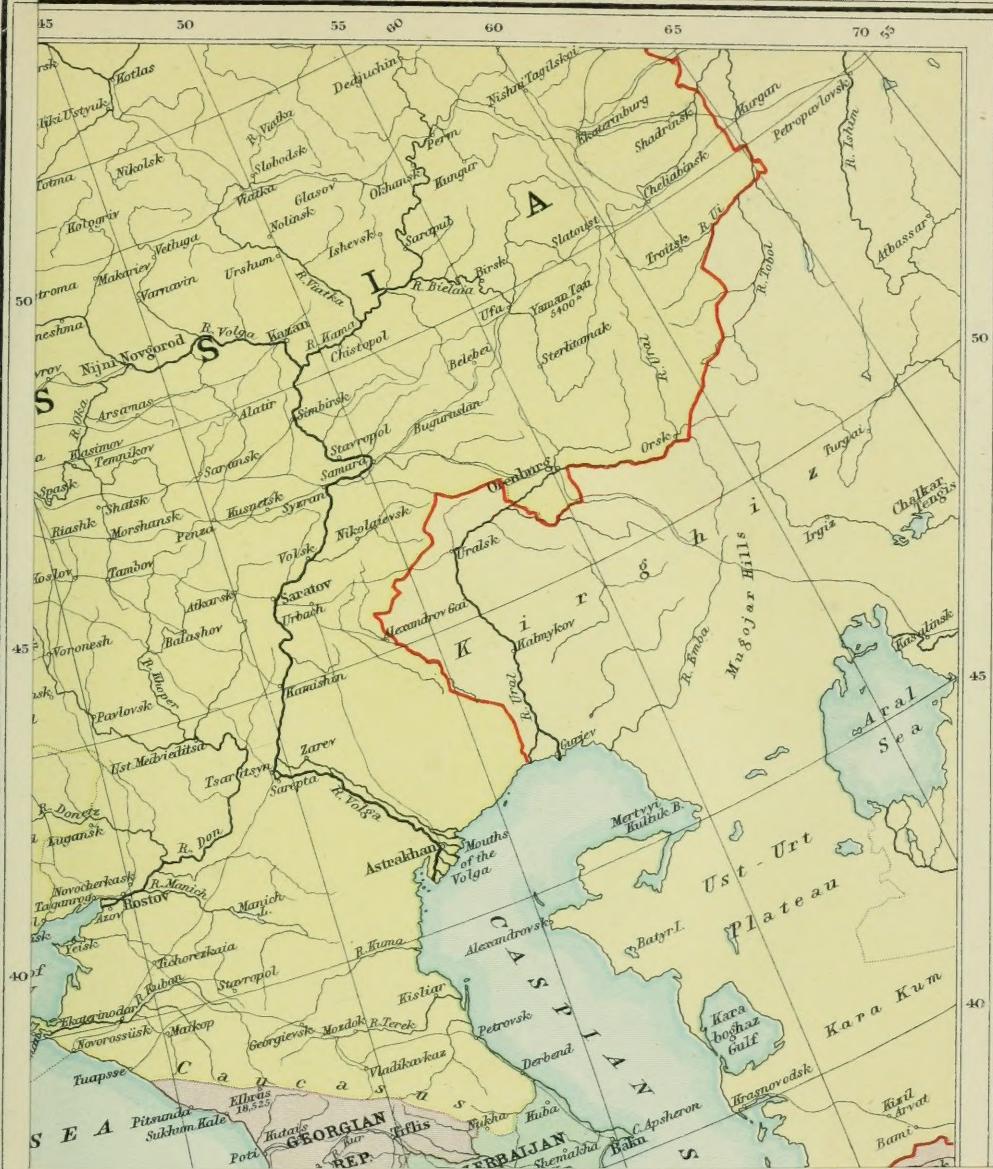
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# **SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN**

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF  
THE AMERICAN YOUNG MEN'S  
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN  
THE WORLD WAR**

**VOLUME II**





# MAP OF PRINCIPAL FIGHTING AREA OF THE WORLD WAR

English Miles  
Kilometres

0 300 600 900 1200 1500 1800 2100 2400 2700 3000 3300 3600 3900 4200 4500 4800 5100 5400 5700 6000 6300 6600 6900 7200 7500

Pre-war Frontiers shown thus —



S4916

# SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

An Account of the Work of  
the American Young Men's  
Christian Associations in  
the World War

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<sup>1</sup>From *The War With Germany. A Statistical Summary.* By Col. Leonard P. Ayres, Washington, D. C., 1919, p. 42.



## CHAPTER XXXIV

### EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

The Government's task of transforming five million citizens into soldiers through military training and drill, was a stupendous educational enterprise, rigidly limited, however, to military science. With the arrival of American troops in France, this training reached its climax. This was neither the time nor place for developing any non-military activities; yet it became clear at once that certain kinds of knowledge, even though not strictly military in character, were valuable assets to officer and soldier. Ability to talk to his new neighbors in their own tongue, some acquaintance with French history, traditions, manners, and customs—these had distinct usefulness, and instruction in them became of real military value. Although the Army Intelligence tests caught many of the illiterate and near-illiterate, yet many thousands of men in the first detachments to go to France were unable to read and write, to count, or even to tell time accurately. Such ignorance contained elements of danger as well as inefficiency.

The Association recognized this situation and endeavored to help it through its lecture and entertainment service; while individual secretaries were, for the most part, alert to seize occasional opportunities to impart instruction. These sporadic efforts were very far from measuring up to the magnitude of the need and the opportunity that foresight could discern. There would come a time when men in far greater numbers would have many unoccupied hours, for which no more profitable use could be imagined than study. The unique relationship of the Y M C A to the Army indicated it as the organization properly responsible for this service and the system of huts, transport, and workers that it was building promised the requisite physical foundation and machinery.

The  
Educational  
Situation

Accordingly, on January 18, 1918, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Secretary of Yale University and Chairman of the American University Union, arrived in France under the auspices of the Y M C A to make a thorough survey and recommend an educational plan. After visiting all parts of the field, and consulting officers and men of all ranks, as well as European educators, he rendered a report in Febru-

ary to the Chief Secretary, for his approval and transmission to the Commander-in-Chief.<sup>1</sup>

This report was in two parts. The first part contemplated educational possibilities during the period of active fighting. There could be no question that, during this period, the only legitimate undertaking was that which would directly strengthen the soldier as a fighting man. Consequently Dr. Stokes placed special emphasis on the importance of instruction in the French language, in the history and causes of the war, and in similar subjects. He proposed the utilization of Y M C A huts as class-rooms, and of the organization of the Y M C A to furnish the teachers and needed supplies. Instruction was limited to troops in training, rest, or hospital camps. Attendance would be voluntary, and all details subject to the approval and support of the Army officers in command.

The second part of Dr. Stokes' report anticipated the period when the active fighting would be over and the soldier would have a long period of waiting before his repatriation. In that period educational work would not only furnish the soldier with an occupation which would help to maintain discipline and morale, but would also be of direct value to him upon his return to civil life. Post schools for units of five hundred men, giving common school courses for those whose education was especially deficient, industrial training and vocational work, even courses in French and British universities for college and professional men were among the possibilities.

These plans of Dr. Stokes were approved by the Commander-in-Chief in a telegram February 28, 1918, and by letter March 5, 1918. This letter, signed by Colonel Logan of the General Staff, in behalf of General Pershing, was in part as follows:

"I am directed by the C.-in-C. to acknowledge receipt of the extremely interesting project prepared by Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes. The C.-in-C. is interested in this matter and is very much pleased with the comprehensive report which Mr. Stokes has submitted, in which he outlines the objects of this educational project. The C.-in-C. approves the project in principle and has directed that proper facilities be given for this work throughout this command. As already telegraphed, the only important change that will have to be made in the project will be by transferring the functions that he has assigned to the Educational Director of each Division to an agency of the Y M C A."

---

<sup>1</sup> Consult Educational Plans for the American Army Abroad, Anson Phelps Stokes, New York, 1918.

The project also met the most cordial support on the part of the leading authorities in education in France and America.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Stokes proposed the establishment of the Y M C A Army Organization Educational Commission of three to direct the work. Pending the appointment of this commission, Professor John Erskine of Columbia University became acting director in charge of the preliminary preparations. In August, Dr. Erskine was made chairman of the permanent commission and Dr. Frank E. Spaulding, Superintendent of Schools, Cleveland, Ohio, became the second commissioner. Soon after this, President Kenyon L. Butterfield of the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, Mass., was appointed third commissioner; he arrived in France in December, 1918. Thus the planning and direction of the work was entrusted to specialists eminent respectively in the fields of university, common school, and vocational education.

The field organization was to consist of regional and divisional superintendents. Under the immediate direction of the divisional superintendents, hut educational directors were to report educational needs and opportunities to their division superintendents, organize classes where possible, teach or secure teachers, and supervise all the work in their units. With the arrival of President Butterfield, the work of the commissioners was subdivided, Dr. Erskine taking charge of all academic and professional education, Dr. Spaulding being responsible for the field staff and for the educational work below college grade, and President Butterfield for all vocational education—agricultural, commercial, trade, and technical. There was a special director of the Department of Books and Periodicals.

In addition to this organization in France, Professor George Strayer of Columbia University, President of the National Educational Association, and Dr. James Sullivan, Director of the Division of Archives and History at the University of the State of New York, acted as representatives of the Commission in New York City. These men served as the connecting link between the educational work in France and the whole educational world of America.

On October 31, 1918, the Army issued its first formal announcement of educational plans, in General Orders No. 192, to become

Army  
Participation

<sup>1</sup> The Minister of Public Instruction, the Directeur de l'Office Nationale des Universités et Écoles Françaises, and rectors of the universities gave their whole-hearted assurances of cordial cooperation. Educators throughout the United States recognized the unusual opportunity and many of them gave their time and energy without stint in the organization and the carrying out of educational plans.

effective January 1, 1919, which created an educational organization within the Army. This consisted of a school officer in each army, corps, division and regiment, who should be responsible for the organization of classes, for the securing of classrooms and equipment, and for school discipline. "Post schools," it read, "will be controlled by post commanders as to discipline, attendance, sanitation, and, in the absence of volunteer civil agencies, instruction; but such instruction will conform to the approved system of the Y M C A Army Educational Commission, and such schools will be subject to inspection and supervision as to methods, results and subjects of instruction by properly authorized agents of the Y M C A Educational Commission." In December, the Government sent to France Brigadier General Robert I. Rees, who had been Chairman of the War Department's Committee on Education and Special Training, and who had organized the Students' Army Training Corps throughout the colleges and universities of the United States; he was placed at the head of the new organization. Thereafter, the educational work was carried on by the cooperative action of the army educational officers and Army Educational Commission of the Y M C A until April 15, 1919. By General Orders No. 9,<sup>1</sup> January 14, 1919, the task of instruction was definitely assigned to the Army, in addition to full responsibility for administration. The function of the Y M C A Army Educational Commission was defined in general, as that of an advisory board to the 5th Section of the General Staff, with specific responsibility for the following duties: To furnish expert educational advisers and assistants; to develop methods of instruction, syllabi, course material and the procuring of text and reference books: to provide, so far as practicable, facilities for post schools in Y M C A huts. The expert advisers were to be assigned to duty with army, corps, division, and post school officers, and to act as teachers of method to detailed instructors, as supervisors and inspectors of instruction, advisers to school officers, and instructors so far as their other duties would permit. Attendance was to be voluntary, except for illiterates and foreign speaking soldiers who could not read or write English. This division of authority and responsibility, whereby the teaching staff was relieved of all administrative, disciplinary, and constructive details, and was set free to devote its entire time and attention to instruction, was a unique experiment in education. The success attained bears witness

The Y M C A  
Army Educational  
Commission

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix VII, p. 564.

to the almost universal presence of tact and sympathetic cooperation in the dual administration.

In February, 1919, General Orders No. 30<sup>1</sup> authorized still further elements of the Stokes plan. It called attention emphatically to the importance of national education. In addition to post schools, divisional schools were to be established to teach subjects of high school grade, and fourteen trades were specified to be taught in each divisional center. Courses were to be arranged for five hours a day, five days a week for three months, and students were to be relieved of other duties except one hour of military training daily. Still more noteworthy, the arrangements that the Y M C A had perfected with French and British universities were approved, and the detachment of selected soldiers, with commutation of quarters and rations, was commanded in order to permit them to take up advanced studies in those institutions. Finally, to provide for several thousands more than could be served in this way, authority was given for the establishment of an A E F university. Thus every feature of the plan submitted by Professor Stokes a year earlier was put into effect. The burden of this educational enterprise as finally established became entirely too great for any civilian organization to carry.<sup>2</sup>

From the very beginning the possibility of ultimate army control had been present in the minds of the farsighted leaders who devised and promoted the scheme. Dr. Stokes, in the introduction to his report as published in October, 1918, said:

Army Control

"It probably will assume such large proportions when demobilization begins that government cooperation, and perhaps direct government control and responsibility, will ultimately be necessary."

Ten days after the Armistice, the Executive Committee of the War Work Council adopted a resolution requesting the General Secretary to communicate to the Secretary of War the Council's desire to be of the utmost service during the difficult period of demobilization, with the following explicit statement as to educational work:

"It is especially desirous that the services of the Y M C A Army Educational Commission formally authorized by General Pershing, together with its machinery, personnel, and equipment, should be made such use of in the interest of education as the military authori-

<sup>1</sup> Appendix VII, pp. 564, 565.

<sup>2</sup> Educational Plans for the American Army Abroad, Anson Phelps Stokes, Secretary of Yale University, New York, 1918, p. 4.

ties may think best. This committee will be glad to be informed as soon as practicable whether the original plan is to be followed by which this Educational Commission will continue under the War Work Council of the Y M C A as the main agency for providing educational facilities in the A E F, or whether the Government wishes to take over entirely the work of the Commission, or whether it wishes to develop some modified plan of cooperation. In any case the Secretary of War is assured that the Association will be glad to follow the Government's wishes as to the part it should play in helping to develop adequate educational facilities for the American troops overseas."

Pending an official decision on the matter, the Council appropriated \$200,000 a month for a period of six months from February 1, 1919, for educational work with the A E F.

With the arrival of General Rees, with the adoption of the full educational program of the Y M C A Army Educational Commission by the Army authorities, with the establishment of compulsory attendance throughout the Army for illiterates and near-illiterates, and with the appointment of thousands of school officers and teachers from the Army itself, the Y M C A Educational Commission believed that the time had come when the work should be wholly administered by the Army. On March 3d they recommended to the Y M C A Chief Secretary, that the transfer be made. After several weeks of negotiation, on April 8, 1919, General Orders No. 62<sup>1</sup> appeared, the second section of which mobilized the Y M C A Educational Commission as the "Army Educational Corps in the American Expeditionary Forces."

This order served to make authoritative and in some details more complete the transition which had been working out in practice for several months. The Y M C A had been responsible for the initiation of the movement, and for the support of the preliminary program. It had realized that unless supplies in the way of books and materials were prepared, secured, and on the spot when needed, and unless the administrative machinery was set up and ready to operate when the need came, they would not be there at all when they were wanted. It had appropriated the sum of \$2,000,000 for the purchase of textbooks and supplies, and had spurred on their manufacture and transportation so that an immense stock was already in France. It had formulated in great detail the plans which were put into effect when the opportunity came, and had recruited educational experts. All this

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VII, pp. 564, 565.

had been done with clear prevision that the period of demobilization would bring an immense need of educational service, and that everything must be ready for instant action when the moment should come. With the realization of this anticipation, the Army had inevitably become more involved in the work. During the winter of 1918-1919, it furnished an increasing proportion of class room facilities, equipment, and transportation. It had reconstructed and equipped the hospital at Beaune to serve as an A E F university. It had furnished the staff of teachers who could have been secured in no other way. Thus the Educational Commission, with its staff, was so intricably mingled or merged into the enterprise that continuation without them was unthinkable. In absorbing the personnel of the Commission into the Army, the final stamp of approval was given to the service which had been rendered.

In a letter to the Chief Secretary, dated March 25th, General <sup>Official Appreciation</sup> Pershing said:

"It is desired, in conclusion, to express the highest appreciation of the work of the Y M C A through its Educational Commission in organizing the educational work at a time when it was impracticable for the Army to do so, and for the continued assistance up to the present time in the wise development of the educational system in the A E F. The large number of well qualified educators brought to France by the Y M C A during the past year will be of inestimable value to the Army in its educational work, and this contribution is especially appreciated."

In a final acknowledgment of the transfer, Secretary of War Baker wrote to Mr. William Sloane, Chairman of the National War Work Council, as follows:

"In accepting this transfer on behalf of the Army, we wish to thank the Y M C A for the admirable work which it did in initiating and carrying on this educational work at a time when, because of the pressure of the all-engrossing business of actual fighting, it would have been difficult for the Army to have undertaken it.

"I have been familiar in a general way with the origination of the idea for an educational program for the A E F in the mind of Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes; of the selection of Professor Erskine, President Butterfield, and Superintendent Spaulding, Dr. Sullivan, and Mr. Fairley for the corresponding duties on this side, and I understand from my associates that because of their accomplishments it is now a comparatively easy task for the Army to carry on the work which they undertook."

When the Y M C A transferred its textbooks, surrendered its staff and materials, and resigned to the Army this branch of its welfare work, a great educational machine was ready and working.

#### PERSONNEL

Educational work began in the spring of 1918 with a total staff of only fourteen men, a library force of three, and a headquarters staff of three, including the Educational Director. With the coming of July, the staff at work consisted of nineteen educational directors, in charge of not more than 285 hut secretaries who had had practical educational experience. Of these not more than 100 were giving their full time to the educational work. Plans were then far enough advanced, and registration in classes so large as to warrant a call for the special recruiting of educational secretaries, and on July 1st, Dr. Erskine cabled to America for one educational secretary for each hut—1,000 in all—for 75 supervisors, and eight regional directors. At once recruiting was begun. Since the need then and later was primarily for administrators and supervisors, all efforts were concentrated on securing men with wide executive and administrative experience in school affairs. The responses were prompt and enthusiastic, but the usual personal and official difficulties created many delays.

After the Armistice, when educators in the Army itself could be freed from military duties, the War Department advised the cessation of recruiting. The sending of personnel for the general educational work continued, however, until April 10, 1919, for lecturers on citizenship until April 30, 1919. By this time the Association had recruited and sent to France nearly 600 educational organizers and supervisors of the highest standing. In spite of the best efforts of all concerned, however, there was never a time when the staff on the ground was not woefully insufficient for the huge task.

Even though the full numbers requested by the Commission could not be supplied, those who were sent composed that necessary nucleus of experts around which the entire scheme was built.

#### TEXTBOOKS

Textbooks, of course, constituted a fundamental necessity of educational work. Books from England were unsuitable. English arithmetics and commercial books, for example, were written in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence. Pre-war supplies, even of

books that could be used, were practically exhausted owing to previous demands of the British, Canadian, and Australian Y M C A. Government restrictions in the use of paper prevented the reprinting of exhausted editions. Until after the Armistice, tonnage restrictions prevented book shipments from America. Recognizing that the great need would arise after the Armistice, the Commission made careful preparation.

As early as September, 1918, a list of necessary textbooks had been prepared. The War Department advised planning for the needs of 2,000,000 men. On October 24th, the Finance Committee in New York authorized the expenditure of \$2,000,000 for textbooks and educational supplies, apportioned tentatively as follows: for maps, blackboards, mechanical drawing materials, etc., \$100,000; for stationery and supplies, \$200,000; for textbooks, 950,000 copies, \$750,-000; for reference books, \$880,000; for correspondence courses, \$70,-000. These allotments were greatly modified by later developments. The American Library Association undertook responsibility for reference books up to a maximum expenditure of \$1,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

The markets of the country were unprepared to fill such orders. Publishers undertook the manufacture of special inexpensive editions and, with the sudden coming of the Armistice, bent every effort on speedy production and delivery. In spite of an interruption, caused by uncertainty immediately after the Armistice as to plans for repatriating the A E F, more than 1,500,000 books had been shipped from New York before the end of February, 1919, four months from the time the purchase was authorized.

In view of the difficulties in transportation the Association was experiencing in France, it was agreed that the Army should take over the textbooks from the Y M C A and distribute them. The Y M C A contributed to the Army the textbooks then in use throughout France, and transferred at cost the books then *en route*. At this time, also the American Library Association undertook such parts of the task as could be administered best by them.

#### PRE-ARMISTICE CONDITIONS

When the staff on the field began educational work they found, of course, that the conditions of active service made it impossible to

<sup>1</sup> Some conception of the size of the order may be gained from the fact that 195,900 books on agriculture, 169,822 on engineering, 128,800 on economics, and 106,900 on education were requisitioned. Half a million pamphlets were included.

carry out systematic plans. Moreover, transportation facilities and available tonnage were so inadequate that even the canteen could not get its necessary supplies. Such educational materials as were needed had to be secured either on the spot or improvised. The limited amount that could be brought over by arriving secretaries, in connection with their personal baggage, did not go far with an army. Yet, whenever the secretaries in the field could, they gave lectures to the soldiers, established classes, and gave instruction. It was a surprise to all to discover how unexpectedly large a proportion of the soldiers were eager to learn and willing to use their scant leisure in study rather than play. Beginning with occasional lectures, the educational work developed rapidly wherever the secretaries in charge were enthusiastic in the cause.

The significance and results of the educational work are not nearly so obvious as those that had to do either with the canteen service or athletics. Many secretaries, especially when under extraordinary pressure, were often uninterested in, and sometimes seriously objected to, the establishment and development of an educational program. Divisional secretaries overwhelmed by imperative and insistent demands for increased canteen service sometimes commandeered the educational secretaries in their department as helpers. Sometimes special educational secretaries themselves, enticed by other apparently more important phases of the Y work, transferred to these departments. As time passed, the plans and possibilities became more definitely outlined, and the territory to be covered clearly districted; and on July 1, 1918, the acting director issued the call for an adequate staff as already described.

With the development of the Army Educational Commission and its staff, there was built up within the Y M C A a subordinate organization, functioning practically as an autonomous unit in itself. That the educational directors and secretaries were responsible directly to the Commission and only indirectly to the Y as a whole, was the cause of occasional friction where this double relationship was not fully realized.

Yet, in spite of these and other troubles, the work developed in a most encouraging fashion. By February 10, 1919, in one division, scattered throughout 57 different villages, classes were organized in every one. The soldiers displayed a great interest in French. Text books were lacking and instructors were few. Early in 1918 the Ministry of Public Instruction selected Eugène Gourio of the Lycée

Buffon to prepare a special text book for the French classes in the Army, and in some cases delegated French teachers from the schools to give the instruction and to supervise the teaching. This work increased so rapidly that in the report of progress issued by the Army Educational Commission, October 1, 1918, it was stated that more than 200,000 were then studying French in regular classes, meeting once, twice, or three times a week, under French and American teachers. By this time hundreds of French teachers who had been secured locally were being employed, receiving from five to eight francs a night for teaching each class an hour.

A close rival to French in popularity was instruction in English. Thousands of illiterates and foreign born soldiers who could not read or write English wanted to write letters home. In one of the ports 25 per cent of the negro troops could neither read nor write. In another camp the illiterates numbered 30 per cent. Classes in English were formed, meeting whenever military duties permitted, usually for half-hour classes in the evenings. In one camp in the course of six weeks' instruction, 100 men were taught to read and write. These men were working at least eight hours a day; yet such was their interest and zest for this instruction that they were voluntarily giving up their free time for study. Nothing could equal their pride when they were able to sign the payroll for the first time, and later on when they could actually write letters home.

Reading and  
Writing

Historical lectures proved very popular. The soldiers seemed eager to know something of the outstanding figures of French history. Wherever possible these lectures were accompanied or followed by lantern slides illustrative of the talk; sometimes they were combined with trips to the spots in the neighborhood which were the scenes of great events. Such lectures were always well received; and in the development of this work thousands of slides were sent to different centers on every conceivable subject of educational character, selected to illustrate the historical, social, or industrial life of the country.

French  
History

The soldiers had, by reason of their military life, a very real interest in the railways, waterways, natural resources, and topography of France. Maps which presented these features in clear outline were eagerly sought and studied. As in the home camps, in every hut where there was a map, the soldiers gathered around it, tracing out the battle line, or studying the topography of the section. They were discovering in this way the military importance of mountains, valleys, and rivers. This very practical interest in local situations stimulated

Geography and  
Mathematics

a real interest in economic geography, and lectures of high quality on this subject never failed of an audience. Mathematics was another popular subject. The lack of a sufficient number of text books was a great handicap, but by October, 75,000 men were enrolled in regular classes in spite of inadequate equipment.

Books  
Where no classes could be formed, where no lecturer spoke, where even entertainers seldom appeared, a good book or magazine was a precious find. Standard library units holding about 35 volumes were sent out to the fighting divisions; even small cases holding seventeen volumes were designed for the soldiers in the trenches. The cooperation of the American Library Association made it possible to develop this library service. Any soldier anywhere could write to Paris asking for any book; it was sent him free, at once, if humanly possible, on a loan for a month. This library service was not only an indispensable aid to the educational work, but in only too many cases it was the educational work itself. During June, 1918, books and magazines sent out to the soldiers by this library service totaled 2,216,213, besides 300,000 newspapers; in October the total, inclusive of newspapers, reached 4,179,112.

#### TRANSITION

Readjustment  
The unexpected signing of the Armistice on November 11th brought upon the Educational Commission a readjustment for which it was far from ready. Plans submitted for approval even in mid-October contemplated the continuation of hostilities up to mid-summer of 1919. Now, action and performance had to replace preparation, for with the sudden cessation of hostilities, the pressure to supply the educational needs of the Army increased tremendously. The temporary cancellation of the text book order, transportation troubles both on sea and land, inadequacy of equipment, shortage of personnel, were very serious handicaps to the prompt and effective establishment of the new type of work.

Nor were the difficulties to be overcome all of this material character. The minds of the soldiers themselves were now filled with the idea of getting home to the exclusion of almost every other interest. Only slowly did they come to realize that months, instead of days, must elapse before all could be returned. Men were reluctant to enter upon any educational program that seemed, at best, short-lived. As the days passed and the situation became better understood and the work of the Educational Commission better known, this attitude changed.

The opportunities for helpful training were brought to the attention of the men in various ways. Posters in the huts and display advertisements in the *Stars and Stripes* and other army publications brought home to them in effective fashion the importance of preparation for their return to civil life. The theme was always the need at home for men who were trained. The response on the part of the men was gratifying; it did not take much persuasion to induce them to equip themselves for better positions and a fuller pay envelope back home. Yet at the same time that vocational training was being emphasized in this way, the problems of citizenship were equally stressed; for there was full realization of the fundamental purpose of this period of training, as stated by General Pershing himself in General Orders No. 30:

Emphasis on  
Vocational  
Training

"The Commander-in-Chief invites the attention of organization commanders and of all officers in the American Expeditionary Forces to the importance of national education. This citizen army must return to the United States prepared to take an active and intelligent part in the future progress of our country. Educational and occupational training should therefore be provided to meet the needs of the members of the A E F in order that they may become better equipped for their future responsibilities."

The army school officers, without whom the work could not be officially established in the camps, were appointed promptly in most cases; where this did not happen, due to a failure to appreciate the importance of the educational orders, or where these officers when appointed were not in full sympathy with the plans, the work was slow in getting started. When once the post and division schools were begun, with the full support of the army authorities, the progress of the work was much more rapid.

#### POST SCHOOLS

General Orders No. 192, in effect January 1, 1919, authorized the establishment of the educational system of the A E F-Y M C A throughout the Army. Among other things these orders provided for the establishment of "Post Schools" in all posts, cantonments, hospitals, or rest camps, or areas which had a constant population of 500 or more soldiers. Attendance was voluntary, except for illiterates and non-English speaking soldiers, who were obliged to attend. It was natural that the first schools to be started were for illiterates, where the work was definitely prescribed. For all other soldiers the plan

had to be extremely flexible, capable of adaptation to all sorts of conditions. The subjects were those of a common school curriculum, modern languages, history of the United States and of other modern nations, civics and citizenship, and such other additional subjects as might be authorized by General Headquarters. So far as possible, the wishes of the men were met by the establishment of special work. In all 133 different subjects were taught in the schools, ranging in scope from reading, writing, and arithmetic, to psychology, baking, advertising, and locomotive engineering. The purpose was not to offer a ready-made educational program to the soldiers, but rather to construct one to order. The primary requirement was that it should first of all meet the needs of the soldiers. The man himself was asked what he wanted to study. When a sufficient number agreed on a subject to warrant the formation of a class, an instructor was sought, classroom and equipment secured, and the work begun.

The initial enrollment was voluntary, but students who began any course of instruction in a post school were required to complete the course, and could not drop out at will. Should the military unit to which they belonged be ordered back to the United States, however, they were to be permitted to go with it. Until this was made clear there was great reluctance to enroll, through the fear that such enrollment would delay the longed-for return home.

The classes were started in all sorts of quarters with such make-shift equipment as could be secured in the confusion. At first the work was carried on in the evening, after the duties of the day were ended, since one of the requirements of this work was that it should not interfere in any respect with military requirements. After the schools were well started men were frequently released from military drill for two or three hours per day, for study or class work. In the Army of Occupation, an order was issued specifically setting aside two hours in the afternoon for school work, and prescribing that soldiers regularly enrolled in post schools could not be taken from their studies at this time.

Practically all the teachers used were secured from the Army itself. An exhaustive list of officers and men with the necessary education and experience had been made, and from this list a selection was made of those who might be detailed to act as instructors. One of the most difficult tasks was to discover those who were competent. Some of them had had previous experience in teaching; many of them had not. This made the problem of teacher-training an especially im-

portant one, and ultimately teams of supervisors were appointed from the Army Educational Corps whose duty it was to work constantly in all parts of the A E F, observing the teaching, holding individual and group conferences with the teachers, arranging formal institute programs, and preparing helpful syllabi and bulletins from time to time, in order to improve the kind and quality of the instruction. In order to assist in this, men detailed as teachers were often released either wholly or in part from other duties so as to allow them to prepare lessons as well as to teach.

The size of the schools depended directly upon the local billeting situation. Where large numbers of men were quartered in a small area, as in a city or large camp, the schools had a large membership. The post school in Hoehr, Germany, reported an enrollment of 741 for the month of February, and the school for colored troops at Camp St. Sulpice reported a maximum enrollment of 1,301.

Most of the post schools were small. In the First Army area, <sup>Attendance</sup> of a total of 560 schools less than half had as many as 60 members, and 73 had less than twenty. Even so, the enrollment for the month of maximum attendance reached the amazing total of more than 182,000. In the Advance Section SOS alone, in spite of its task of maintaining the long lines of communication to the Rhine, and the necessity of doing all educational work at night, by candle light, after a hard day, the enrollment during the month of March was 12,350. From January to June 1st, the total number of students reached in this section was 22,300; the teachers numbered 1,425 and gave instruction in 215 schools.

#### DIVISIONAL EDUCATIONAL CENTERS

The curriculum in the post schools was arranged so far as possible to meet the wishes of the men. Frequently, however, there were requests from a few students for courses of a technical or advanced character. For such courses and for such students, the divisional educational centers were established. This did not necessarily mean a school for an army division, as might be expected. It meant rather central schools in given areas, as many and as scattered as conditions might demand. Here men who could be spared came from all over the district, to take special courses. Instruction was afforded in certain trades, selected primarily on the basis of the army equipment that was available, such as baking, telegraphy, carpentry, horseshoeing, surveying, tailoring—anything the men wished to learn.

In the trade schools the men were trained in connection with the army shops. In groups of one to five they were assigned to expert workmen as instructors, with an expert non-commissioned officer in charge of several groups. They worked seven or eight hours a day, learning as they worked. At Decize 3,500 men were taught in this way to operate and make light repairs on motor cars and motorcycles. In some camps part time was spent in the classroom studying such related subjects as shop arithmetic, applied mechanics, or mechanical drawing. The value of such practical training as this was immediately obvious. At Romorantin there was an increase in production after the system was put into successful operation of from ten to twenty per cent. More than 27,000 soldier-students were enrolled in the various divisional educational centers throughout the Army; and the work at many of these centers was at its best when the army school system was dissolved in June.

#### FRENCH AND BRITISH UNIVERSITIES

From the very beginning this educational enterprise had received the hearty approval and enthusiastic support of the educational leaders in England and in France. The cordial cooperation of the French educators, culminated in an official invitation to the U. S. War Department to make the fullest use possible of the French educational institutions. With the coming of the demobilization period, it became possible to accept this invitation, and to send selected officers and men from the Army to the universities of France. The universities of the United Kingdom extended a similar invitation. Tentative arrangements were made by the Y M C A long before the Army was ready to send students. A preliminary survey showed that the French universities would be able to accommodate at least 6,000, and the British 2,000 more.

The French universities offered courses in letters, science, law, and medicine. The British universities did not specify particular fields of study, but left the election open to the student. While most of those who went to Great Britain entered courses similar to those in the French universities, theology, technology, and agriculture also drew their quota of followers.

It became clear that the soldier's pay during his furlough would not enable him to live properly at the universities and that three months would be hardly enough time for him to become accustomed to the new environment and to profit fully from his opportunity. So

it was arranged that the officers and soldiers chosen would be "ordered to detached service" for this work, and that the soldiers would receive commutation of subsistence at two dollars per day and reimbursement for actual cost of room rent not to exceed one dollar per day. The student was obliged to pay a fee for the courses he chose, amounting to not over 250 francs. Special extra fees (laboratory), if required at all, were not to exceed a maximum of 100 francs additional. These arrangements were announced to the Army by a telegram from General Headquarters to the commanding officers of each division and of the S O S on February 8, 1919.

All applicants for this detached service were required to be college graduates or to have had a minimum of two years of college work or its equivalent. For those who were to attend the universities in France, some knowledge of French was imperative. In order to assist those whose mastery of the language was still imperfect, courses in the French language were established at each university.

The term was to correspond with the regular university schedule, continuing from March 1st to June 30th. Students who chose this university work were required to remain in residence and complete the term, even though their units might have been ordered home before the end of June.

Many more applications were received than could possibly be accommodated, so a quota was selected from each division, and ordered to report to specific universities. For each university a military commander was appointed, by preference one who was a university man himself.

The officers and soldiers who were sent to the 49 British universities which opened their doors to the American visitors were less fortunate in some respects, since they were able to take advantage of only the short summer term. Although special arrangements were made for the American soldiers there was less chance for regular university study. In other respects, the students in Great Britain met with the same cordial reception and warm welcome as their fellows in France. They came away at the end of the term cherishing the most delightful memories of their visit and of the kindness of their hosts.

British  
Universities

#### AMERICAN UNIVERSITY AT BEAUNE

The applications for entrance to the French and British universities were far in excess of the accommodations, even though at least

two years of collegiate work was a requisite to admission. To accommodate this overflow, and to offer an opportunity to those who had had less than the necessary two years preliminary preparation, an American University was proposed to be conducted along American lines, and staffed entirely with American instructors. As soon as this plan was authorized, search was begun for the most suitable location.

At Beaune, a beautiful little city in Côte d'Or, there was a great base hospital camp, about two miles square, containing more than 200 buildings. This camp was chosen to be the site of the American University. At Allerey, ten miles away, another hospital camp, in the midst of six hundred acres of farm land, afforded an opportunity for easy transformation into a College of Agriculture, to be carried on in connection with the University. In a month's time, after the choice was made, the hospital buildings were remodeled, adapted to educational purposes, 175 new ones constructed, the workshops of the hospital transformed into laboratories for engineering and technical instruction, an administrative staff organized, and teachers secured. On February 7th, General Rees appointed Colonel Ira L. Reeves, former President of Norwich University, to be the local representative of the General Staff, Section 5, and made him Superintendent and Commanding Officer of the University, afterwards President. As the local Army Executive Officer, he was in charge of the military administration, and his special function was to establish and maintain the fullest possible coordination between it and the educational program. His previous educational experience and natural interest in the work made him a most sympathetic collaborator; and the American University became a remarkable illustration of most successful cooperation in dual administration.

The University was administered by a "University Council," consisting of Colonel Reeves as President, Dr. Erskine as Educational Director, the other members of the Army Educational Commission ex-officio, the directors of the various colleges and of the citizenship course, and the registrar. This Council was charged with all matters concerning curriculum, schedule, and personnel, with the power to recommend action to the President. Each department in turn administered its own affairs, recommending to the University Council through its director.

A survey of the Army showed that among the officers alone there were 2,600 who had been college professors or were equipped to give

instruction in college subjects. With such a supply to draw from, it was not difficult to secure a faculty to teach practically every subject offered in an American university. Naturally, it took some time to complete laboratories, secure equipment, get books and establish smooth running conditions. Students began to arrive on March 7th, 1919. It was not long before 6,000 of them were working here on a wide range of subjects, with adequate materials, and under efficient instructors. These students were sent to Beaune on "detached service," whereby they received their full pay while attending courses. One of the factors that made the University attractive to the men and yet introduced difficulties in the administration, was the fact that both instructors and students were allowed to be returned with their outfits when their turn came for embarkation, even if this compelled them to leave in the middle of a term. On account of the eagerness on the part of the men to get home at the earliest possible moment, there had been considerable reluctance to apply for admission to the University until this option to go or stay was made definite. The occasional departure of groups of students or instructors had a disorganizing effect on some classes; but at the end of the three months' session, the University was running with unexpected smoothness and accomplishing its work in very effective fashion. When the University was in full action at mid-term, it was offering 240 courses in its 36 departments to a total class enrollment aggregating 13,243.<sup>1</sup>

One of the especially interesting branches of the work at the University was that in the college of fine and applied arts. It was not supposed at first that much interest would be shown in an art school for soldiers; but application for courses in the fine arts, throughout the Army, totaled well over 3,000, without advertising

<sup>1</sup> The scope of the educational work in general is indicated by the completeness of the list of subordinate colleges in the University at Beaune. These were thirteen in all, designated as the colleges of agriculture, fine and applied arts, business, cadets (West Point courses), correspondence, education, engineering and industry and trades, journalism, law, letters, medicine, music, and science. Of these the college of business was much the most popular, with an enrollment exceeding 2,000 more than twice that of any other. Regular courses were carried on during five days in the week. On Saturday morning there was a course in citizenship, for all the University students, at which attendance was required. Saturday afternoons were free, affording opportunity for many delightful rambles in the beautiful countryside of the Côte d'Or, or for excursions to places of interest in the neighborhood.

The University was of valuable service to the system of post schools and divisional centers throughout the Army; for many of the men chosen to teach in these schools were sent to Beaune for a two weeks' intensive normal training course, planned to coach them in the best methods of school work.

or special solicitation. In connection with the college at the American University, a special art training center was established at Bellevue, between Paris and Versailles. Here courses were given in painting, architecture, sculpture, landscape design, city planning, industrial and commercial art design, and architectural engineering. No more admirable location for such a school could have been found. Through the courtesy and generous cooperation of the French, the ateliers of Laloux and of Jusselly, and the Académie Julian, were thrown open to the American students, and famous masters of painting and sculpture gave freely of their time to criticise and direct the work.

As a result of the work at Bellevue, and in the art school at Beaune, there was an extraordinary interest taken by the soldiers in fine and applied arts. The American University and the art school at Bellevue, together with the other opportunities in Paris and neighborhood, gave instruction and training to more than 1,300 art students, in addition to those who received less systematic training in the many camps where local educational directors organized and conducted special art classes independent of and unconnected with this central institute.

#### UNITED KINGDOM

The general educational work of the Y M C A with the Army in the United Kingdom was carried on by means of three principal agencies, the Library Service, the Lecture Service, and the Instruction Service. Up to the time of the Armistice, while the troops were moving, textbooks were scarce and classrooms lacking; the first two of these agencies practically monopolized the field.

During its first year in the United Kingdom, the Library Service distributed more than 478,000 books, magazines, pamphlets, and maps to the troops. Lectures were always popular. Even during this period class work was carried on wherever possible in a wide variety of subjects.

When the general educational program was approved by the Army and began to receive its active support early in 1919, the most important service of the Educational Department of the United Kingdom was the problem of placing the 2,000 soldier students who were to come from France to study in the various British universities. In this task the Y M C A placed its entire resources at the disposal of the Army Educational Corps.

Preliminary arrangements with the universities were completed by the time of the arrival of the first students at Knotty Ash Camp, Liverpool, in March, 1919. Meetings were held at which attention was called to the special opportunities at each university, followed by individual conferences in which further information and advice could be given. After these meetings the assignments of the students were quickly made, and they were sent out to the universities where they were to study.

When the universities found it almost impossible to house this sudden influx of students, the Leave Department of the Y M C A found lodgings for them. When they organized their college sports in American fashion, the Y M C A supplied them with athletic equipment. When during vacation periods, or in their free time, the students planned tours or excursions, Y secretaries acted as guides and lecturers. In various other ways the Y M C A helped to make the stay of these young Americans in England both pleasant and profitable.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIVITIES

From the beginning, it was recognized that the lecture would be one of the very best methods of education under the unique circumstances. The troops were frequently in motion, the courses had to be short; continuous class work was impracticable; but a lecture was always possible. The educational work overseas began with one man giving part of his time to lecturing. When the work closed June 3, 1919, there were 157 field lecturers in this single branch of education. This number, too, includes only those who were specifically with the Army Educational Corps, and does not include the large number of other secretaries, who, as opportunity offered, in addition to their regular duties, gave talks and lectures to the soldiers on a variety of topics.

The lectures covered a wide range of subjects. Talks on present-day political and social problems were always well received. The history and art of France furnished a wealth of material with illustrations always ready to hand. One of the most successful branches of the lecture service was that on occupational direction. A team of speakers met the men in formal public gatherings, to talk on the general problems of employment; in groups by trades or professions, to discuss the problems of the group; and individually, for consultation on their personal problems.

Lecturers on business topics, especially insurance, on engineering and on trades, found a ready hearing, and the teachers who were working in the post and division schools were greatly helped by the field force of trainers who coached them on teaching methods, and helped them with individual counsel. When possible, the speakers were grouped in teams, and the work carried on in the form of institutes. This became the most practical solution of the problem of reaching the largest number of soldiers with a limited personnel. Particularly successful were the agricultural institutes; the first one of these, held in the Bordeaux area, reached 10,000 men in a period of two weeks.

By the middle of April when the Army took over the work, the institute movement was well started throughout the Army. Available records of meetings and attendance are not complete; but they indicate that during April and May there were over 500 institutes throughout the A E F with an attendance approximating 200,000.

Under the inspiration of an institute, or sometimes of a single lecture, clubs were established among the soldiers to follow up the work just started. Occasionally these were organized, managed, and maintained by the men themselves spontaneously, or upon barely more than a suggestion. They were of every possible type. In the college of agriculture at Allerey, there were more than 40 varieties, from a peanut club to a dramatic club. The membership varied widely. At one time, in one regiment alone of the 91st Division, there were more than 1,000 men enrolled in clubs; in Le Mans area, 2,000 names were on the list.

One of the most valuable features of the club work was a by-product. Many a man discovered the value of getting together with others on matters of common interest. He found that he not only could learn from, but also contribute to his neighbor, and through this club experience he received a real stimulus towards cooperative organization and community spirit.

In connection with the general program, a special Citizenship Bureau was established after the Armistice for the specific purpose of spreading reliable information about, and stimulating discussion upon the problems of our industrial, social, and civic life.

This work was carried on almost entirely by the institute and club methods. A special staff of lecturers, in teams, went about from camp to camp, discussing topics of vital interest to the soldier-citizen. They followed up the lectures with an "open forum" and in this dis-

cussion the men themselves took a lively part. The reports show that lectures and discussions were held before audiences whose numbers exceeded 230,000. The generous cooperation of numerous organizations in the United States was of great assistance. Slides, charts, and a variety of exhibits on such subjects as city planning, child welfare, health, and other matters of civic importance were furnished free, enabling the bureau to do its work without expending a large part of the Y M C A appropriation for the purpose.

The Sight-Seeing Department was an important educational feature. One of the most valuable methods of learning is to see objects of historical or artistic significance under capable direction, explained by one who understands and appreciates their value. Sight-seeing Trips

In the leave areas, where the soldiers were given a seven-day respite from the strenuous military life, they could hardly be expected to spend any of their precious vacation time in a class room, no matter how interesting or important the subject. Since, however, these areas were in the most attractive and enticing spots in all France, they afforded an exceptional opportunity for lectures, talks, and hikes to historical points with guides—a form of instruction which from the first proved popular and successful. Even in the camps there were many similar opportunities. Where there was a group interested in agricultural study, permission was obtained from near-by French stock breeders to visit their farms, and leave to go was granted by the military authorities. Problems of stock raising, feeding, selling, pasturing, and breeding, as well as of general farming, were studied at first hand. Or perhaps it was to be field work in art and architecture; by skilful planning and guidance a wealth of illustrative material could be revealed. The château region was especially rich in such opportunities. At Blois, companies of soldiers were taken every day to the château, famous alike for its architectural beauty and for its historical associations; and many trips were made to the cathedrals in the neighborhood, the French gardens, the local stock farm, and the stone quarries.

Although the active educational organization which the Y M C A had built up in France was taken over bodily by the Army in April, 1919, the contributions of the Y M C A to the educational welfare of the soldier did not cease. Wherever opportunity offered, incidental classes were established, and the library and lecture service continued; nor was its work ended with the return home of the Army. Realizing the problems that ex-service men faced in the attempt to adjust them-

selves to changed economic and social conditions, the Y M C A "Educational Service"<sup>1</sup> was established in order to assist these ex-service men, as well as the Americans who served with the Allied Armies, in securing education, choosing a suitable occupation, and obtaining satisfactory employment.

#### ARMY EDUCATIONAL CORPS

The experience of our educational leaders in their work with the educational program in France revealed to them in a striking fashion the defects in our national educational system, and also what could be done by a systematic effort to remedy those defects in connection with the national Army. The results were so significant as to suggest the possibility of the establishment of some permanent system of brief courses of study under military discipline. If we are to overcome the illiteracy that exists, if we are to train even our literate citizens adequately for some trade or profession, it must be done in some way supplementary to our present educational system. It is significant that at the A E F University at Beaune, May 24 to 28, 1919, a conference was held by a Committee on Universal Training for National Service, at which the three members of the Army Educational Corps, each in his own way, presented before the conference the importance of some system of this sort.<sup>2</sup> There can be no question but that this experiment on a large scale in education in citizenship under army direction, will prove to be one of the most valuable in the educational history of our country, not merely to those whose intellectual equipment was definitely increased thereby, but equally to the leaders in the educational world and to the country at large, in the light which it throws upon our present educational weaknesses and possible methods of reorganization.

One of the most striking lessons of the war was this discovery of the importance of better education for men in the Army, both as soldiers and as citizens. As the size of the Army increased, the War Department had been compelled to establish schools at army camps, and to organize development battalions. It had even drafted the col-

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XX.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Erskine, in an article in the *Review of Reviews* for October, 1919, and Dr. Spaulding in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1920, not only advocate but urge the establishment of an educational draft, for a year of combined military and civic training, for all except the physically disabled and the mentally incompetent.

lege and technical schools in order to give the enormous amount of intensive education and vocational training needed by officers and men.

An examination of the men drafted for the Army had revealed the fact that more than twenty per cent could not read a newspaper or write an intelligent letter; that many who were technically literate had not mastered yet the fundamentals of elementary school education; that the number of skilled men in the trades was grossly insufficient for the needs of the state; and that in general there was a woefully inadequate preparation for civic responsibilities.<sup>1</sup>

Civic  
Responsibilities

With the transition from war to peace, our Army became transformed from a fighting machine into a huge university. The materials utilized in the war were found to be equally valuable as equipment for technical and trade education. It has been stated that in peace time only four hours per day can be spent profitably in strictly military training, and that nearly 50 per cent of the Army should spend the rest of their time in vocational training and in training for other national needs. So with the repatriation of the Army, and the demobilization of most of the men, the Army did not give up the educational system adopted and practiced in the camps at home and abroad. The fact that it has preserved such a system as a permanent element in military training is evidence of the highest possible type to the value of the educational work done during the war, and an indirect recognition of the significant service rendered by those who planned, formulated and organized the program which was finally put into effect. By its present educational system, the Army is continuing to make men not only better soldiers, but better citizens, able both to defend their country, and to contribute productively to its life, with a better understanding of its fundamental institutions, and a fuller appreciation of its national ideals.

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Final Tabulation of Army Mentality Tests During the War, Vol. XV, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, 1921.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### GAMES FOR FIGHTERS AND VICTORS

In the minds of leading physical directors, Y M C A physical work with the A E F was broadly conceived and elevated above the popular conception of athletic sports. These were regarded as but one of several means by which not only fighting efficiency could be enhanced, but a genuine character building influence exerted. After the Armistice, the recreational and entertainment aspects of athletics emerged into spectacular prominence. Nevertheless, in the broadest service, the fundamental characteristic of Y M C A physical work was dominant. While contestants might be actuated by no motive except the desire for fun and victory, the physical director aimed at cumulative resulting life values.

#### IN THE FIGHTING PERIOD

The Director

The work was initiated by Dr. John H. McCurdy, of the Y M C A College at Springfield, Massachusetts. Dr. McCurdy had won a national reputation as a leader in his field, as indicated by his selection to be chairman of the section on physical education and hygiene of the National Commission on Secondary Education, and editor of the *American Physical Education Review*. He was directly commissioned by the International Committee to take charge of physical work with the A E F. With the consent of the Committee he also accepted a credential authorizing him to act as the official representative in France of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities. Arriving in France on August 14, 1917, Dr. McCurdy spent two weeks as physical director at the field artillery training camp at Valdahon, and then inspected the 1st Division in the Gondrecourt area to familiarize himself with typical conditions in the field. On September 1st he undertook the duties of Y M C A athletic director for the A E F, the department of which he was head being known, informally, as Recreation.

Forecasting  
Needs

The first necessities were workers and supplies. Before the end of the month requests were sent to New York for physical directors on the basis of one to each 2,500 men, and, in addition, for each 15,000 men an average of one man capable of handling the work in an entire

division. In the light of the best information available, the numbers required were 170 by May 1st, enough to handle the work with an army increasing to about 450,000 men. Supply estimates were based on the division as a unit, and an order aggregating \$300,000, estimated to be sufficient for 40 divisions and to last until October 1, 1918, was sent to New York in the middle of November.

Meanwhile, with the few men and supplies available, work was started. At Gondrecourt on Thanksgiving Day a divisional field meet was held. At the aviation school at Issoudun an active director worked with the hearty cooperation of the commandant and a captain detailed as athletic officer. Three fields laid out by army agencies were available for football. In reporting on his activities, December 17, 1917, sixteen days after his arrival at his station the enthusiastic director wrote that twelve football teams had been organized.

The basket ball season was started on January 1st and ended on February 13th. Twenty-one teams were organized and one night each week was always devoted to this one sport. On account of the weather all games were played in the Y M C A hut. Officers acted as officials for the games. Every Monday was given over to boxing bouts and wrestling matches. Boxing was the favorite amusement and drew capacity audiences. For baseball the Y M C A leased a field upon which a number of diamonds were laid out.

Similar activities developed in a number of places, especially about the base ports. There were not enough secretaries and the canteen had an irresistible tendency to draw into its vortex every worker in sight. It was particularly hard to get trained physical directors from America. Most of the men active in the work in the United States were of military age and had entered the Army. Of those available who were familiar with athletic games and their organization, few had the technique necessary for promoting mass and non-equipment games which constituted the corner-stone of the Y M C A athletic program. Supplies too were exasperatingly slow in coming in spite of strenuous efforts in New York to overcome the obstacles that held back all materials. For such reasons, in part, the athletic development was slow.

The program, however, had other important features which could be promoted without a large personnel, or supplies. One of these was the Bureau of Hygiene, organized November 6th. To head this, Dr. McCurdy secured Dr. James Naismith, always, however, himself giving the closest attention and cooperation. Dr. Naismith had been

Athletic  
Beginnings

Social  
Hygiene

head of the Department of Physical Education in the University of Kansas for 21 years and had had several years' service as chaplain in the National Guard. The work consisted of preparation and distribution of literature, and lectures on the importance of clean living, especially from the point of view of fighting efficiency and of future family and social health. So far as possible, men with scientific, professional knowledge were entrusted with this duty, and uninformed zeal was discouraged from meddling with it. The lectures and literature combined educational and inspirational features. The facts were set forth plainly, but without exaggeration. Appeal was made to Christian principles, to the soldier's sense of duty to his family, actual or anticipated, and to his sporting spirit—the spirit of the athletic training table. The objective was distinctly to establish or cultivate the inner motives for clean living, for self-respect, and for self-control, as contrasted with medical measures for avoiding disease after exposure.

The fact that the subject does not lend itself to general discussion should not be permitted to obscure the much more important fact that there was need of such efforts and that they were recognized as having definite usefulness by the medical officers who were continually consulted, and whose professional labors the program was intended to assist.<sup>1</sup> Of course some men sneered at the work, and accused its promotoris of prurienty. Such probably were not aware of the statistics showing the military casualties from this cause in the earlier years of the war, nor of the civilian conditions which, before the war, caused many sober and unexcitable leaders in the United States to feel that extensive education in social hygiene is one of our most urgent civic needs. Some of the measures taken locally by army officers to expose to public shame, as a deterrent to others, men who had contracted venereal disease, could be justified only by the undeniable fact that a man who rendered himself unfit for duty, because of indulgence, was as guilty of disloyalty as if he had wounds self-inflicted for the purpose of escaping the dangers of fighting. Side by side with disciplinary measures, commanders welcomed the influence that would make discipline unnecessary.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter VI.

<sup>2</sup> Although urged by leading officers of the Medical Section of the General Staff to accept a commission and officially direct a program to promote cleanliness of life, Dr. McCurdy's conviction that he could accomplish more as a Y M C A man remained unshaken.

A third responsibility undertaken by this department was main-<sup>Health Bureau</sup>tenance and promotion of the health of secretaries. This originated September 16, 1917, with a report on camp sanitation and cooperation with the Army Medical Corps. At first treating personally such secretaries as became ill, the director in November made an arrangement with the American physician practicing in Paris to give medical care to Y M C A workers. About the same time he arranged for hospital care by the American Red Cross Hospital No. 2 in Paris and the American Hospital at Neuilly, and for medical treatment and hospitalization in the field by the Army Medical Corps. The service of the Red Cross and Medical Corps was always freely given. Early in January a visiting nurse began to care for secretaries ill at their lodgings in Paris. On January 28th, Dr. Frederick P. Lord, Professor in the Medical School of Portsmouth College, who had come to France as a secretary, was appointed head of the Health Section of the Recreation Department. This bureau had, of course, intimate connection with the Personnel Department. Eventually it became independent as the Medical Department, reporting directly to the Overseas Committee. With a personnel of 40 workers, eighteen of whom were physicians, this department conducted a wide variety of preventive, sanitary measures as well as care of the sick.

While setting these activities in motion the Director of the <sup>Athletic Program</sup> Recreation Department was giving his chief attention to a comprehensive effort to make a positive contribution to the physical condition of the Army through recreational athletics. It was his belief that, however many physical directors the Y M C A might provide, they would be inadequate in numbers, and that every unit should have officers and men scientifically trained to direct this work. Too many officers, however, regarded athletics simply as a time-killing device to keep idle men out of mischief.

The situation and the proposals resulting from study of it may best be indicated by the following incident. In November, 1917, General Summerall, after discussion of plans with Dr. McCurdy, turned over his brigade for a demonstration by the physical director at St. Nazaire. Tapes were laid down to indicate a trench six feet wide, and the whole brigade attempted to jump the trench. Twenty eight per cent of the men failed to clear it. The minimum standard jump for grammar school boys thirteen years old, in New York City, is six feet. The men then ran 220 yards. The minimum standard for school boys for the distance is 27 1-5 seconds. Seventeen per cent of

the brigade took more than 30 seconds. Dr. McCurdy offered to guarantee that if given the opportunity he would take the poorer 40 per cent of the men and increase their physical efficiency ten to fifteen per cent in six weeks. After a similar test in the Gondrecourt area, one officer declared that such an improvement would save ten per cent of the casualties in a surprise attack, and another said that that ten per cent would make the difference between success and failure.

Several such demonstrations proved that recreational athletics had a positive relation to fighting efficiency, and that the mass play methods which were aimed particularly at getting into the game those men, physically inferior, who were least likely to take part in voluntary athletics, offered a feasible method of procedure.

By March, 1918, the idea had made sufficient progress among officers to warrant a definite proposal of compulsory mass athletics, which was put forward to the Commander-in-Chief as follows:

1. (a) Compulsory mass athletics, the training graded according to the ability of the men, the prime object being to raise the physical efficiency of the poorer 40 per cent. All should be included in these exercises in graded groups. This will result not only in increased efficiency in the Army but in the development of a method for the schools and colleges in America, which will fit men for efficient military service who are now ineffective. The present Army has from 20 to 30 per cent of its force below normal possible efficiency, essential to a good soldier. The trench jumping of a brigade in which 28 per cent failed to jump over a trench six feet wide indicates this fact. Six feet is a poor jump. Numbers of other men were only mediocre: seventeen per cent of the men tested could not run 220 yards in 30 seconds, a very moderate rate. Such men could neither catch a Hun nor get away from one. The poorest 40 per cent of an army is the easiest portion to improve in physical efficiency through training.

(b) Optional athletics on evenings, holidays, and Sundays for the natural athletes, the object being to furnish a spectacle and fun for the crowd. Inter-regimental and inter-divisional matches in boxing and baseball are illustrations.

2. If the Commander-in-Chief desires it, the A E F-Y M C A is prepared to carry out both of the above types of physical training. The first type can only be handled as a compulsory program. This would involve turning the men over to the Y M C A physical directors for them to direct the work with the help of officers and non-commisioned officers. The second type is already being undertaken by the Y M C A. A vigorous program of mass athletics and competition in team athletics is essential to the highest physical efficiency and fighting morale of the army.

3. The Y M C A is prepared to furnish athletics and gymnastics related to the military needs in agility, speed, skill, and endurance. The Y M C A has already a staff of 86 trained physical directors with the A E F. By November, 1918, it will have a staff of approximately 300 serving with the A E F. It now has in process of delivery over \$300,000 worth of athletic goods for the A E F.

The letter further suggested that the Commander-in-Chief should consider detailing an officer in each division to promote athletic work under the general supervision of the Athletic Department of the Y M C A, and that an officer in each regiment and company be designated to cooperate with the Y M C A physical directors. These men were expected to be non-commissioned officers who had had athletic experience, and could be detailed a few hours each week to assist in both compulsory and mass athletics, and to help in the promotion of optional team work for championships.

At the time this letter was sent many features of the program as suggested for the whole Army were already under way in the 2d Division and elsewhere, and the purpose was to universalize the method. At the First Corps School for officers in the Gondrecourt area, the Y M C A physical director made during the spring a demonstration of instruction that led the commander to recommend that it be introduced into all the military schools in France.

On March 21st the Germans started their great spring offensive, <sup>Fortunes  
of War</sup> and open warfare began. The resulting changes in the military situation not only made impossible the adoption of the compulsory plan but also, to a large extent, prevented the smooth working of the program for voluntary athletics. The limitation of trans-Atlantic transportation space cut off much of the expected inflow of additional physical directors and of athletic material. The sinking of the *Kansan* and *Oronosa*, each carrying a large quantity of athletic supplies, dealt a heavy blow to the Athletic Department.

The dark side of the situation resulting from these various disappointments is indicated by the following report, dated March 22, 1918:

"The first brigade returned from the trenches the other day to the Gondrecourt Division for rest. We tried for several weeks before this time to have athletic material, especially baseball outfits, on hand, so that we might put on a big program of athletics immediately. All arrangements were made with the Army so far as the appointment of athletic officers was concerned and plans were laid for a big time during the next four weeks before the men went back

to the trenches. We are seriously crippled in the carrying out of our plans because of the lack of material and there is not much hope for a change for the better. One of the generals remarked at an athletic meeting the other day that it was up to the Y M C A to deliver the goods. He said something about the fifty million dollars and the fact that we had several months to prepare for this athletic work—which, of course, is quite true. The general, like most Americans, is very much interested in baseball and if we fall down on this one item I think we are in for a great deal of criticism from the Army. The same thing applies to our front line work. There isn't half enough material to carry on the work. There will be more to explain away as the weather brightens up and there is more chance for outdoor games."

**Encouragements** This, however, was but one side of the picture, as appears from a cablegram from General Pershing, dated April 5, 1918:

"Paragraph I-A. Reference physical training troops in France. Understand Fosdick Commission is planning to send athletic directors who are to be commissioned and detailed for this particular purpose by War Department. It is not thought wise or desirable that additional non-combatant personnel should be attached for any purpose to division staff already large. If it becomes desirable to have these activities conducted by commissioned officers there are graduates of West Point and the great colleges who are available for this purpose and in the meantime the situation is being adequately met by the Y M C A physical directors working in entire harmony with divisional and smaller unit commanders. Conditions governing in the training camps in the United States do not govern here and methods used in the United States cannot be used here. It is recommended that the present satisfactory system be not changed or interfered with, especially in view of the fact that opportunities for physical exercise apart from strictly military training will constantly diminish in number."

**Cumulative Development** Behind this expression of opinion by the Commander-in-Chief lay a cumulative development. At the end of December, 1917, following a conference with Col. Logan, Chief of Staff, First Section (G-1), the Y M C A had been asked to promote informal games in late afternoons and evenings, challenge games on Saturday and Sundays, and regular scheduled games at training camps. Army athletic materials, e.g. the Clark Griffith's supplies, were to be turned over to the Y M C A for distribution. When possible, soldiers were to be detailed for athletic instruction.

Early in March, E. B. De Groot, who had had large experience in public play promotion in Chicago and San Francisco, became Associate

Director with special responsibility for athletics. In March, the Colombes Athletic Field—the scene of the Olympic contests held in connection with the World Exposition in 1900—was secured for the Paris Division. The Clark Griffith's equipment was found in an army warehouse at Nevers, and put into circulation. The athletic supplies ordered in November were beginning to arrive. On May 9th the athletic work was extensive enough to warrant the reorganization of the Department of Recreation, which now became the Department of Athletics, Hygiene, and Health.

The athletic staff, at that time numbered about 100 men, instead of the 170 called for; of these, 30 had been selected from among the general workers to serve until trained men could be found to replace them. The practice of some divisional secretaries of setting physical directors to canteen or transport work was peculiarly exasperating. Three days after the reorganization of the department, its representations on this score resulted in a bulletin issued by the Chief Secretary, requiring that all physical directors should be released from other duties and give full time to physical work.

Early in June the Chairman of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities visited France, and in a series of conferences it was agreed that the Commission would send no athletic directors to France, and that the Commission's supplies should be delivered to Dr. McCurdy for distribution to the army units and to the athletic directors of the Y M C A and Knights of Columbus. About \$300,000 worth of supplies eventually came from this source. An order for athletic supplies, amounting to \$40,000 to meet needs for the remainder of the year, and another amounting to \$1,400,000 for 1919 were sent to the War Work Council, thus early to avoid a repetition of the delays already suffered. These orders, large in the aggregate, called for an expenditure of forty cents per year per man.

The scale on which activities in the field were actually carried on while this development was being accomplished, was indicated by a report of June 30, 1918, from which the following is quoted:

	Equipment Distributed	Games Played in June
Baseball .....	25,200 balls	6,000
Basket ball .....	500 balls	4,000
Volley ball .....	14,400 balls	10,000
Track and field meets .....		300
Boxing .....	1,506 sets	1,400
Soccer football .....	2,980 balls	800

An average of 200 baseball games and ten track and field meets per day was far from insignificant. This report also proposed a school for physical education of athletic officers during the fighting period, and the Inter-Allied Championship games during demobilization.

The personnel and supply situation seemed to call for more effective action in the United States, and with the cooperation of Dr. Luther Gulick, well known as a leader in this field, a spirited recruiting campaign was conducted. One of the new provisions was that every recruit for this work should take an intensive training, adapted to overseas conditions, in the Y M C A Training School at Springfield, Mass., or at Chicago. As a result of this campaign, 1,616 men were recruited, 869 for home camps and 747 for overseas. During August and September, 301 physical directors sailed for France.

While these efforts were being made, military events of the first importance had been occurring in rapid succession. All eyes were turned toward the front. About the middle of July when the German offensive was at its height Major General Harbord was asked whether there was not some special service that could be rendered by athletic directors for the men who were actually fighting. Troops in the Château-Thierry region were then scattered all over the country-side. There was a large number of men who were not in immediate contact with the enemy, but who were waiting to go into the front lines, or who were in artillery units firing from distances of one to ten miles in the rear. The question was what could be done that would not interfere with military operations. The General's opinion was,

"You can go just as far forward as you have the nerve to go. I will have it known that the Y M C A directors are to promote simple sports as far as they can. See Major General Bundy, Commander of this Division, and tell him this."

General Bundy, when seen at his own headquarters, was enthusiastic. He thought the Services of Supply were getting too great a proportion of the physical directors.

"Let me sketch the conditions in my division," he said. "Within a mile of where we stand are perhaps ten thousand men who are in what may be termed 'support positions'—not in the line. They are in the woods here concealed and in camouflaged positions out of sight of the enemy aircraft. Elsie Janis doesn't come up here and sing to these fellows. What do you suppose they are doing? They are in the woods, waiting three hours or three days for orders to take them into the front lines and if there is one period when the strain is the

most severe on the American it is when he is waiting for something. He is all right when he is fighting and training. But when the training is done and the fighting has not begun, when he is in a period of inaction, when he is within sound of the guns and can't see the enemy, then is the time, if ever, that he is upset. There is only one thing that will offset that to any appreciable degree and that is some form of physical activity. These men are trained up to the minute to fight and we say: 'Wait three hours or three days.' If you can go in there with something that does not mean the men must collect in large groups, send every athletic director you have."

In went the directors. Non-equipment sports were started at once. Boxing-gloves and baseballs were supplied whenever possible but it did not take much material to keep a great many men busy in such off hours as they had. The non-equipment games spread rapidly until the whole 2d Division was soon familiar with the methods employed.

In the training areas as well as close to the front many games were played under exciting conditions. Sometimes it was necessary to post guards to watch for enemy airplanes and many a nine had to take to the woods till danger had passed.

Sometimes army officers were not favorably disposed. Occasionally a commander would say: "Absolutely nothing doing—we are fighting a war—you fellows are crazy—this is not a playground." The majority, however, took General Bundy's view and often cooperated by calling special attention to particular situations where athletics would help; such, for example, as the fact that in the artillery divisions guns were manned by two crews, one of which was always off duty, and in need of recreation.

By August 1st the personnel of the department had risen to 170; Improvement in Service by October the figure had reached 297. Even prior to the arrival of the new recruits from the training schools matters began to improve to some extent, partly because of the withdrawal of physical directors from canteen work and partly because a large number of Army and Association officials were being converted to the opinion that the promotion of athletics was a very essential matter. A reflection of this change occurs in a formal expression of opinion by the conference of regional directors held at Paris, August 9-10, 1918: "Divisional and regional secretaries must accept the responsibility for meeting the recreational athletic demands put upon us by the Army. This work having been definitely committed to the Association by the Army becomes one of the obligations to which all are committed." During

the month of August, when complete statistical reports were compiled for the first time, there were recorded in round numbers, 175,000 soldiers participating in games promoted by the Y M C A directors, and 720,000 who enjoyed them as spectators. An important factor in hastening the change in favor of pushing athletics was a letter to the Y M C A athletic director for the First Army from Major General Harbord, Commanding Officer, Services of Supply (prior to that Chief of Staff at General Headquarters and also Commander of the Marine Brigade of the 2d Division at Château-Thierry). This letter dated August 27, 1918, was as follows:

“I take advantage of our acquaintance, dating from the days when you were the physical director in the Y M C A work in the Philippines, to say to you that it has reached my ears that the benefit of recreational athletic sports furnished by the A E F is still a matter for discussion among some of your people. In my mind there is no uncertainty. In the first place, granted the time for recreational athletic sports, it seems to me that there can be no doubt of the value of athletic recreation for men of all types, soldiers and others.

“In any Army we have in France, no matter how large, there will always be, roughly, one-third of it in the Services of Supply. These officers and men are without the stimulus of meeting the enemy, their work is of the humdrum, monotonous character that lowers tone, yet it is so important that the Army at the front cannot exist without it. It extends from the ports to immediately behind the front line trenches. Obviously, unless the Army at the front can be supplied, it cannot exist. On the Services of Supply falls the burden of supplying it. I can think of no better method of elevating the tone of this large force, of taking their mind off of their work outside office hours, so necessary to maintain health and at the same time guard their morals, as recreational athletic sports that the Y M C A is alone able to furnish them.

“The theory of the employment of the combat divisions is that in ordinary times probably half of them are engaged in combat and half of them in rest. With those in rest, their minds must be taken off of losses recently suffered, the memory of hardships undergone must be removed, the physical tone elevated after comparative physical inactivity in the trenches, and their morals must be guarded by furnishing them an amusement which will keep them from seeking bad associates. For all these purposes there occurs to me but one which appears to help on all points mentioned: that is, recreational athletic sports furnished by the Y M C A. The benefits of this phase of the Y M C A work are so clear to me, so generally believed in by all our officers, and so welcomed by the men, that I am astonished that there should be any doubt expressed by anyone.

“Very sincerely yours,  
“J. C. HARBORD, Major-General, Commanding.”

The reading of this letter at a general conference of division secretaries held shortly after it was received gave a distinct impetus to athletics. The previous order releasing physical directors from other types of work now met with full compliance except in bad weather or in emergencies. Such Army officers in the Services of Supply as might have been indifferent hitherto could not fail to follow the Commanding Officer and give full cooperation.

The result of this change of attitude was at once apparent. Taken in conjunction both with the increase in the number of physical directors and supplies, it goes far toward explaining the increased number of participations in athletics for September and October as compared with August. The numbers for the two latter months were 580,000 and 1,007,000 as compared with 175,000 in August. The lower rate of increase in the number of spectators (August 720,000, September 1,614,000, October 1,973,000) is also an indication of improvement, for it shows that the effort to get "every man in the game" was having effect.

The chief improvement was naturally felt in the Services of Supply particularly at concentration points such as Tours, Blois, Dijon, where a considerable number of athletic directors had been assigned to meet the needs of relatively permanent units. Even among depot divisions, however, where the troops were coming and going, and where men destined to be replacements with combat divisions were receiving the hardest kind of training to prepare them for the front, much more was accomplished than had hitherto been possible. In spite of the fact that hours for drill and other regular duties were long and filled completely, games were often played in the late afternoons or evenings. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays the utmost use was made of every available bit of athletic material. In addition to mass games, track athletics and baseball flourished. In the latter sport not only were the representative teams of neighboring units pitted against each other, but league games were scheduled with teams of different army divisions. Drill grounds, sometimes to the number of thirty for a single divisional area, usually provided the fields for diamonds. They were not the best imaginable but the teams gladly accepted them and the enthusiasm of both players and the large crowds of vociferous spectators covered all defects.

Track athletics were promoted by holding innumerable local meets. The best contestants in each local event were selected to compete in sectional meets. In some instances sectional meets were

recognized by division commanders who sometimes suspended drill for half a day and even detailed a band for the occasion. In some units track and recreational work was done on the field at intervals during drill. For a change and diversion the officers were glad to have the men jump into games of soccer, brisk foot-races, or pushball contests. Boxing always attracted crowds but there were not gloves enough in all France to make this sport more than a form of entertainment. Quoits, volley ball, indoor baseball, and basket ball both indoors and out, furnished additional recreation and amusement, but to the American nothing took the place of baseball.

While such activities as these were being organized on an increasing scale in the Services of Supply during September and October, 1918, a similar extension was occurring at the base ports where soldiers were still debarking at the maximum rate.

Thus, amid the inevitable rush of the fighting days, handicapped by the rapid movement of troops, discouraged by the lack of transportation facilities and of athletic material, confronted in the beginning by an underestimate of the war value of their work and the necessity of doing canteen service, the physical directors, cooperating with local Army officers wherever and whenever possible, actually did succeed in carrying out the voluntary program to an extent hardly to be expected under the circumstances. Aside from promotion of the great variety of athletic activities, perhaps the greatest accomplishment was the demonstration on a large scale of the fact that athletics not only have a place in the Army, but that even in a fighting period their value is great enough to warrant their inclusion as an integral and carefully organized part of military operations.

#### THE POST-ARMISTICE PERIOD

While the Army could not give detailed attention to a peace-time program, it was plain that the cessation of hostilities would inaugurate a period when an extensive scheme could be carried out without serious or unexpected interruptions. For the Association, too, conditions would be different. It could be reasonably expected that the shortage of supplies and personnel would be rapidly overcome. The essential need would be a comprehensive program and a thorough organization to measure up to the opportunity.

Reorganization

The expansion of athletic work in September and October had led to a partial reorganization, the Athletic Section of the Department of Athletics, Hygiene, and Health being set up as an independent

department with Elwood S. Brown as director. Upon Dr. McCurdy's return to the United States in November, the Health Section also became independent. Already in June the suggestion had been made of a great series of Inter-Allied championship contests to be held in the period of demobilization. As the great offensives of September and October went on, a preliminary series of A E F championships was proposed, and the plans for both were thoroughly elaborated. These were laid before the Commander-in-Chief on October 15, 1918:<sup>1</sup>

"Peace, whether it comes tomorrow or many months from now, <sup>Conditions</sup> should find us in a state of preparedness against the inevitable period of relaxation that must be met when hostilities cease. This period will bring about an increased danger from moral temptations, will be a time of impatient waiting for the day of departure for America, and will call for very constructive and interesting bodily activity if the dangers of disorderly physical expression are to be avoided.

"Fundamentally our Army in France is a physical machine. Physical vitality is the chief element, the most important asset. Two million men are now engaged in the strenuous game of beating the Hun. They are in hard daily labor, intensive military training or engaged in actual fighting—physical expression, nearly all of it. When this is suddenly taken away no mental, moral, or social program, however extensive, will meet the need. Physical action will be the call; games and play, informal and competitive, the answer. It is assumed that a certain amount of military work will be continued but it is not believed that this will be found either sufficient or the best way to offset the certain reaction that will come about when the fighting is over.

"Four activities are suggested, for which, in cooperation and <sup>Suggestions</sup> conjunction with the necessary Army committees, the YMCA through its Department of Athletics is prepared to assume the initial responsibility in promotion and organization.

"1. Great mass games and play for every possible man—'Athletics for everybody.'

"2. Official A E F championships in a wide variety of competitive sports including military events; beginning with elimination regimental contests, ranging upwards through the divisions, possibly the army corps, and culminating in great finals in Paris.

"3. Physical pageants and demonstrations to be held in many centers demonstrating to our Allied friends America's best in sport, her great play spirit and incidentally her finest in physical manhood.

<sup>1</sup>This letter outlined the proposals in great detail. Though written in a highly condensed style, it would cover several pages of this book. It is printed in full in *The Inter-Allied Games, Paris, 22d June to 6th July, 1919*. Major G. Wythe, Captain J. M. Hanson, Captain C. V. Burger, editors. Published by the Games Committee, Paris, 1919. See pages 17-20.

"4. Inter-Allied athletic contests—open only to soldiers of the Allied Armies—a great set of military Olympic games."

The letter proceeded to call attention to the fact that this program would require the Association to arrange for: (1) the continuance during demobilization of at least 100 of its best trained experts in mass play who for the most part were under contract reading "for the duration of the war"; (2) the preparation of instruction books, rules, and printed matter of many descriptions; (3) the procuring of a half-million dollars worth of athletic supplies in addition to the order of \$1,400,000 already placed for 1919; (4) the technical direction of the elimination contests within regiments and divisions; (5) the securing of specialists to conduct and drill participants in pageants and demonstration games; (6) the securing of suitable grounds, equipment, and necessary prizes for the finals; (7) the arrangement of entry lists, heats, events, and officials.

Army  
Cooperation

For the Army the letter suggested that cooperation would be desirable in the following ways: (1) the detailing of a considerable number of "non-coms" for instruction in promotion, organization, and conduct of group games; (2) the detailing from the army ranks of a number of trained athletic directors to work in cooperation with Association men; (3) the appointment of committees of officers to work with Association committees. In addition it was proposed that the Army assume responsibility for the training of its men entered in the international events and that, while a suitable Inter-Allied Army Committee should be organized, participation in all contests should be upon invitation by the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army to the Commanders of the Allied Armies.

While no direct written reply to this communication could be expected at this time, a very definite intimation was at once given verbally, that when the proper time came the Army would cooperate heartily. So definite was this intimation, in fact, that the Association promoter of the plans proceeded to perfect them as far as could be done at such an early stage of proceedings. No one not familiar with the negotiations necessary to carry such a plan as this into execution can fully realize what is covered by this simple phrase "perfecting of plans." Even before the proposal could be made at all, many officials within the Association, especially those entrusted with financial matters, had to be convinced both of its practicability and its utility. Also, after the Armistice, the Army had to be thoroughly assured that

the proposed plans would actually succeed before it could definitely issue orders putting them into effect. Innumerable unofficial conferences were necessary. It was futile to ask the Association's Financial Committee for a stadium and detail of secretaries unless the Army would accept, and the Army could not accept unless assured that these things would be furnished in addition to expert advice.

Fortunately the Association had on the ground, in the person of <sup>The Athletic Impresario</sup> the man who had worked out the plans, a man experienced in such negotiations and organizations on a huge scale. In a very real sense, the foundations for the post-Armistice athletics in France were laid in the Philippine Islands nearly a decade earlier. In those far off possessions of the United States Elwood S. Brown, as representative of the International Committee, had begun work among the civilians of Manila in 1910, and had succeeded in the course of several years not only in making sports popular among the Filipinos but in furthering the organization of a series of international contests known as the Far Eastern Games. In the first series, at Manila in 1913, both Japanese and Chinese participated. So successful was the meet that a permanent organization was formed and games were held biennially thereafter—Shanghai 1915, Tokio 1917, Manila 1919. By the successful promotion of these meets and by its earlier athletic activities in the Philippines, the Y M C A through its local physical director accomplished at least one thing that became of the utmost importance for the post-Armistice athletic programs of the Great War. This accomplishment was an ocular demonstration to officers of the American Army then in the Philippines—among them the very men who were destined later to hold the highest commands in France—that mass athletics could be taught rapidly to men hitherto inexperienced in such recreations; that athletics, by stimulating the mind as well as the body, improved efficiency; and that, on the field of sport more easily perhaps than anywhere else, men of different nationalities can be made to cooperate harmoniously in the most strenuous forms of competitive activity.

The winter months, during which these negotiations were progressing, were naturally very tedious for the soldiers. Drilling at first was greatly reduced in amount and time hung heavy. Mail and pay did not always arrive on time. Even in January some of the soldiers still had insufficient light and heat; clothing and sometimes shoes were inadequate. Men frequently marched all day in the rain and were brought back to wet billets. In some places there was only

Events Leading  
to General  
Orders No. 241

one candle to every five or six men. On this account, supper was served at 4.30. To meet such conditions the military authorities resorted to heavy drilling. "Squads right, squads left," looked upon as ancient history, became again the order of the day. The doughboys were outraged, and expressed themselves forcibly. As a matter of fact, the military authorities did not want to resume heavy drilling but something had to be done. This was late in November.

Criticism was not confined entirely to the ranks. One day there came to the ears of General Fiske, Chief of the Training Station at General Headquarters, the report that a certain colonel did not approve of the general training program. The colonel—who happened to be one of the best known athletes in the A E F—was called upon to explain. No matter who he was, he was told, for such criticism he would be severely punished. In defense the colonel outlined a general plan of athletics very similar to that which the Association had already proposed. Punishment came just the same. Orders were issued for his transfer from the Intelligence Section to be head of the Athletic Sub-section of the Training Section, together with the command to execute the program. The culmination of this punishment was the Distinguished Service Medal and the following citation:

"Colonel Wait C. Johnson, U. S. Army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. As Athletic Director G-5 of the American Expeditionary Forces, he was given the important and difficult task of planning and organizing an elaborate program of athletic training and competitions for American troops, embracing all branches of sport. By his zeal and sound judgment he carried this program to an eminently successful conclusion, thereby rendering an invaluable service in maintaining the morale and physical fitness of our troops during the trying period of repatriation."

Appointment  
of the Chief  
Athletic Officer

By the appointment of Colonel Johnson as Chief Athletic Officer on December 1st, the Army was equipped to cooperate officially in very close coordination with the Association. To him was turned over the letter of October 15th, a second letter dated November 27th, outlining further proposals for the Inter-Allied Games, and other correspondence of later date.

Colonel Johnson at once gave every possible encouragement to the Association's voluntary activities and in the ensuing months the number of participants increased from 5,140,000 in January, to 7,500,000 in March. Immediately succeeding his appointment, also he

Effects of  
Criticism

held numerous conferences with representatives of the Y M C A. The result was the following letter from the Commander-in-Chief:

"We are now starting on one of the most important and trying periods which the American Expeditionary Forces have had to face. Relieved from the stimulation of the exciting demands of actual battle conditions, we must maintain the contentment of our officers and men and continue to increase their military knowledge and efficiency. . . .

"I am, now, therefore, most anxious to encourage in every way possible the athletic side of our training, both as a means of keeping them in the state of physical and mental fitness which is so necessary to the morale which breeds contentment.

"Your organization has already rendered to our Expeditionary Forces great and most useful assistance in athletic activities, and I assure you I thoroughly appreciate all that it has done and the spirit back of the self-sacrificing services of yourself and of the members of your staff of athletic directors. Because of this and of my confidence in the desire of all of you to help in every way, I am writing to ask you to continue your assistance at this time, when expert athletic direction is so vitally necessary, by arranging to keep at least one of your best fitted and most competent men with each of the divisions and separate units in the American Expeditionary Forces, to cooperate with the divisional athletic director.

"Allow me to express the earnest hope that you may be able to comply with this request."

With full cooperation between the Army and the Association assured, the Army proceeded to issue General Orders No. 241<sup>1</sup> embodying explicit instructions for the A E F Championships. This order did not mention the subject of Inter-Allied Games. Negotiations for that meet had not progressed sufficiently at that time. In other aspects, however, it did adopt the chief features of the Association's letter of October 15th. The Army was to assume responsibility for the A E F elimination contests, athletic officers were to be detailed for army, corps, division, regimental, and company units together with company sports managers, non-commissioned officers, and privates for each of the various athletic activities. Participation in mass athletics was encouraged by the unique provision that group competitive game schedules should be arranged in which the number of men entering, as well as the points won, should be considered in determining the winning company or unit. All-point company championships were to be arranged with suitable trophies for the success-

Issuance of  
General Orders  
No. 241

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VIII, pp. 566, 567.

ful unit and individual prizes for those representing that unit. Elimination contests were to culminate in championships. As far as possible contestants were to be relieved of military duties in excess of four hours per day. Concerning the Association the order read:

"The Y M C A, with the approval of the Commander-in-Chief, has organized a Department of Athletics and is prepared to give every assistance in the development of general athletics and the arrangement and management of competitions between military units. It has a large number of specially trained physical directors with wide experience in mass play and in other athletic activities now in its ranks in France. One of these will be attached to the staff of each division and separate unit, and will be designated in orders as Divisional (or Unit) Director and, under supervision of Division Athletic Officer, will be charged with the responsibility for the arrangement, management, and general conduct of athletic activities throughout the unit.

"In carrying out the work outlined in this order, the Y M C A will seek the participation and assistance of the personnel of the other auxiliary welfare agencies in such a way as to obtain the maximum efficiency and results.

"In order to obtain the maximum benefit from the Y M C A, Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army and other welfare organizations, and to increase their efficiency, commanding officers are authorized to assist these organizations in every way consistent with military requirements, and for the purpose to detail non-commissioned officers and privates from their commands to perform duties appropriate to the grades of the men detailed."

#### THE A E F CHAMPIONSHIP CONTESTS

##### Elimination Contests

Under General Orders No. 241, for months preceding the final struggles, elimination contests were held in football, basket ball, boxing, wrestling, baseball, golf, shooting, soccer, swimming, tennis, and track and field events. As a general rule the teams in each class of sport competed first for supremacy in each of the regions into which, for convenience, the A E F was divided. In the semi-finals and the finals the requirements were that the regional championship organizations should be the original teams that had fought their way through from the start. Partisan backing of teams representing particular units was thus assured. Excitement ran high. In football no season in the history of the sport ever developed better matched teams or more exciting contests than the preliminary matches held to decide the supremacy of the Second Army. As in the ancient days when Greek met Greek, America's best were matched against their peers. Men renowned for earlier victories on college grounds were again com-

peting; Withington, Legore, Beckett, Mahan, and Fish; could they "come back"? Discussion of questions like this stimulated greater interest in athletics than ever before. The four teams that qualified for the Second Army championship played five tie games before the 7th Division won. The 28th Division team played three scoreless games with their principal rival, the 5th Division, and agreed, in case the fourth game resulted likewise, to accept the unheard of solution of judging the winner on a yardage basis. The 28th Division won the game but this strange rule had to be invoked in its final game with the 7th Division, for neither team could score during 60 fiercely fought minutes, and the 7th Division was adjudged winner by only 34 yards.

Participation in all sports for the first five months of 1919 mounted to over 31,500,000. During the Championship Series not less than 5,000 officers were devoting particular attention to the conduct of athletics, and even elimination contests were witnessed by great crowds. The contests at Bar-sur-Aube between the teams of the First and Second Armies were attended by 25,000 soldiers brought by special trains. The finals, held for the most part at the Colombes Stadium near Paris, were watched by the Army with all the interest ever called forth by a Yale-Harvard game or a World's Championship Series. The concluding contests were always witnessed by the Commander-in-Chief and he awarded the prizes. Efficient management of the entire series produced remarkable results. In football 75,000 officers and men participated, but despite the terrific struggles that occurred, sometimes even on fields covered with snow and ice, there was not a single serious accident and only one broken bone. The spirit of fair play was universal. Officers and men competed on equal terms. In boxing matches the majority of the men who took part in the finals had formerly been professionals, but in numerous instances they underwent heavy preliminary training and gruelling matches for no other reward than the desire to win for their own organizations. The bouts were conducted under new rules; the length of rounds was reduced to two minutes and other changes were made which established the sport on a new basis.

To witness or take part in a boxing match was, next to a good feed and baseball, the most popular enjoyment in the Army. Enormous crowds attended the championship bouts just as they did the purely exhibition contests staged, on numerous occasions, both before and during the series. The combined report of participations and attendance in this sport was 680,000 and 6,250,000 respectively. The par-

Boxing Promoted  
by the Knights  
of Columbus

ticipation figures include the large numbers of men who engaged in mass boxing conducted by Y M C A athletic directors.

Special credit for the success of boxing carried out under Order No. 241 must be given to other welfare organizations. As related in Spalding's Athletic Almanac for the A E F Championships:

"The Knights of Columbus requested, because of the fact that many of the secretaries of their organization had in the past been intimately associated with the boxing game, that they be allowed to devote their energy to this particular sport."

The Knights of Columbus in the Third Army alone staged more than 60 big programs and 4,000 bouts throughout the Army of Occupation before fans numbering more than 100,000. Their experts were often called upon to act as officials in the A E F boxing and wrestling eliminations. The Jewish Welfare Board, the Red Cross, and other welfare agencies also entered the boxing entertainment field, though not on such a large scale as did the Knights of Columbus and the Y M C A.

Boxing in  
Paris

For several months after the signing of the Armistice the Y M C A staged weekly bouts at the Palais de Glace before audiences of 4,000. These accommodations proving too small it was found necessary to hold both the A E F boxing and the wrestling finals in the Cirque de Paris which was leased for this purpose by the Y M C A for a period of two months. There were approximately 6,000 seats in the building and standing room for 2,000 more. Here Carpentier, Jeannette, and McVey had fought famous battles before audiences that paid high prices for admission. Not a soldier paid a cent. For exhibition contests the General Finance Committee of the Y M C A made a special appropriation which enabled the athletic directors to engage many well-known French, English, and Australian, as well as American, boxers. Under this appropriation at one time 80 shows were held a week in various places to audiences totaling more than 200,000.

Character  
of Boxing

Generally speaking the finest of sportsmanship prevailed. To quote Col. Johnson:

"These men fighting under a new set of rules especially compiled for the A E F gave a magnificent exhibition of the manly art and demonstrated that boxing can be conducted along absolutely clean lines and in such a manner as to give it in the field of sport the eminent position it so justly merits as a clean and splendid game. The contestants treated each other with all the courtesy of the tennis court and

yet the fierceness of the fighting throughout all the rounds left nothing to be desired by the most ardent fan."

The closing tribute to the success of the A E F Boxing Championship Series was paid by General Pershing in his speech on that night:

"The fairness and cleanliness of these bouts is something of which we should all be very proud. The result of this type of athletics is sure to create a higher tone of athletics at home. Two million men are going to carry back home a better notion of what clean sport should be. The management deserves credit for carrying out these events, and to the men in charge I wish to express my very sincere thanks."

There was no lack of similar praise for the high ideals of sports-manship maintained, as audience after audience witnessed the finals in other sports. The boxing and football championships received the greatest publicity. Less general attention was paid to baseball because the finals were not reached until after the Inter-Allied Games. The soccer contests, which lasted four days, were, however, completed at Colombes Stadium by the middle of May and aroused great enthusiasm. The tennis championship was fought at the Racing Club of France toward the end of the same month. Shooting and musketry matches were held at the rifle range at Amours near Le Mans and swimming events in the lake, Bois de Boulogne, Paris. For track and field events, stars selected from all parts of the A E F were brought back to Paris for training and elimination contests. The finals were spectacular.

The whole series of contests leading up to the A E F Championships considered as one meet, constituted the greatest athletic program ever carried out under one management. The victors in the finals had to play through from ten to forty preliminaries. They were the best athletes selected from two million men. Many of them had gained topmost rank in amateur sports in a nation noted for its promotion of athletics. Many were professionals. To have taken part in organizing such a series was a high privilege.

#### THE INTER-ALLIED GAMES

The Inter-Allied Games provided a fitting climax to the championship contests. During the entire period of the eliminations it was known throughout the Army that the victors in the A E F Series would be eligible to represent the United States in the Inter-Allied events. Such knowledge naturally enhanced the fierceness with which the earlier series were fought.

The Finals in  
Other A E F  
Championship  
Sports

The Motive of  
International  
Fraternity

The main purpose of the Inter-Allied Games, however, was essentially different from that which underlay the A E F contests. The games occurred late in June and early in July after three-fourths of the troops had already left France. The problem of securing participation in sports, therefore, was rapidly disappearing. What the games did accomplish, according to purpose, was a demonstration beyond peradventure that in one field of human activity at least, intense competition could coexist with friendship. The world contests stood for the application in international relations of the sportsman's ideal of keen rivalry, a free field and fair play. They symbolized the ends for which the war itself was fought. The letter of invitation, sent by General Pershing on January 9, 1919, to commanders of the forces of 29 nations, colonies, and dependencies, presented this purpose in the clearest and most forceful language.

As his letter indicated clearly, the games were not an Olympiad promoted on the basis of joint-control by participating nations. The American Army was the host. Every effort was made, through repeated consultations, to make the rules and regulations agreeable to the nations that accepted the invitation, and in no case was expense incurred by the invited armies other than that involved in training, transporting, and billeting their own teams.

As finally arranged after numerous conferences with Colonel Johnson, responsibility for the games rested entirely in the hands of the Army Games Committee. This committee, established February 4, 1919, derived its authority directly from General Pershing. It consisted of Colonel Johnson, Chairman, two other army officers, and two Y M C A representatives. Numerous sub-committees were created to care for publicity, grounds, supplies, and ceremonies as well as for the program of competitions. To all these committees, Y M C A directors possessing technical knowledge on particular subjects were attached either as members or in an advisory capacity. Immediately before the games were staged, Colonel Johnson conferred upon Elwood S. Brown, then Y M C A Athletic Director for the A E F in France, entire authority, derived directly from the Commander-in-Chief, to act as Director General of the Games.

The original plans contemplated use of the Colombes Stadium, but when the acceptances came in and the widespread enthusiasm for the project was realized it became necessary to provide a larger arena. The Y M C A then guaranteed to build that monumental structure accommodating 40,000 spectators, the famous Pershing Stadium, later

Army and  
Y M C A Joint  
Control

The  
Stadium

presented to the French people as a perpetual memorial of America's goodwill. Situated in the Bois de Vincennes where knights of France since Henry of Navarre had contended, the site, donated by the French Government, was near enough to Paris to be ideal. To defray the cost of the structure and to carry on the games, the Y M C A appropriated 1,000,000 francs divided as follows: 450,000 for preparation of the site, 150,000 for equipping the Stadium, 50,000 for prizes, and 350,000 for general operating expenses including welfare and entertainment service to American troops and competitors of all nations. The whole project of the Stadium, however, would have failed completely had it not been for the spirited and efficient way in which the American Army met a very embarrassing emergency. After the structure was about one-third completed, the French contractor suddenly was confronted on May 2d with insuperable labor difficulties and was compelled to cease work. With the games scheduled to begin June 16th, the situation was apparently hopeless. The Army, however, rushed in engineers and materials, and by herculean efforts completed the Stadium on time.

The working out of the program developed many novel features.<sup>Novel Rules</sup> To avoid unfairness to nations weakened by the war, or accustomed only to a limited variety of sports, it was provided that there should be no general championship. Any country especially proficient in any given sport could make an entry for that alone, could have a chance for a special championship, and, if successful, could gain the satisfaction that comes from recognition of merit. This departure from usual procedure in Olympics had proven highly successful in the Far Eastern Games. In scoring, no account was taken of form. Any sport which had but one entry became an exhibition event and any country could stage a demonstration. Moreover the no winner plan encouraged many countries that wished to introduce particular games among their people, to enter teams against countries that had specialized for years in those particular sports. The object sought was many entries rather than extraordinary records. Eligibility was limited to men who had worn the uniform of any of the Allied Armies. Nearly 15,000 athletes participated.

In view of the enormous losses of men suffered by many of the armies the eighteen acceptances to the invitation were highly gratifying. Some of the nations were at a tremendous disadvantage. After eight years of devastating war, Serbia's sportsmen faced a hopeless task when they sought representatives. The Czechs had fostered <sup>Hearty Cooperation by Participating Nations</sup>

gymnastics but had long been discouraged by Austria from promoting sports or athletics. Great Britain, had she been able to participate, would have found herself handicapped as was France by the fact that in listing names illustrious in previous contests, scores would have appeared on the honor roll as "killed in action." Nevertheless many nations made very strenuous efforts to be represented and this naturally helped to encourage that spirit of good sportsmanship which the games were intended to foster. In some instances the example of the United States in its earlier encouragement of sports helped greatly to stimulate these efforts. Italian Army officers, for example, became much interested in the athletic competitions held among the United States troops that were sent to aid Italy's fight and they asked the Y M C A to introduce the same system into their own Army. The granting of this request led to a long series of elimination contests and the final selection of a team to represent Italy in the games. In other sports in which Italians excel such as riding, fencing, wrestling, and swimming, the nation was naturally well represented. Czechoslovakia sent as her soccer team the Prague squad that had been boycotted by the Austrians from 1908 to 1918, and had the great satisfaction of winning the championship in that sport. In fencing, too, the team of this nation gave an excellent account of itself. For the competition in tennis, however, her players had had no practice chiefly because in their country no tennis balls had been available since 1914.

France, in spite of her enormous losses of men, made a very remarkable showing. She combed her Army for athletes, held extensive elimination contests, and enlisted the cooperation of her many athletic federations. As a result she was one of the largest participants in practically every sport. Her fine spirit of cooperation and determination to conquer won her the same admiration in sport that her splendid valor on the field of battle had brought her in the war itself.

Among all the nations the United States was the least handicapped. Nearly all of her best athletes were in the Army. Comparatively few had been killed. Furthermore, the presence of some 50 athletes from the Army at home was a partial compensation for the absence of many victors in the A E F Championships who could not remain for the Allied Games. These considerations detract nothing from the merits of victorious individuals or teams but they cannot be left wholly out of the reckoning when accounting for the fact that American teams won twelve championships out of a possible twenty-four.

Thirty thousand spectators rose to their feet on the opening day at the entrance of the military parade headed by the Garde République Band, and followed by representatives of some of the most famous fighting contingents of the war. Tattered regimental flags, many stained with blood of battles long antedating those of the Great War; national ensigns of all participating nations; uniforms of various sorts, Chasseurs Alpins, Zouaves, Tirailleurs, French, Italian, Serbian, and all the rest—these, and the presence of thousands of spectators in uniform, were the thrilling reminders of the world-wide character of the long and bitter struggle now brought to a victorious close. The military were followed by 15,000 athletes who lined up in front of the troops marshalled before the reviewing stand.

In the presence of this audience the Stadium itself was presented by the Y M C A to General Pershing as representative of the Army, and by him in the name of the Army to the French people.

The inscription perpetuating the event, wrought in bronze and set firmly in the concrete of the Tribune d'Honneur, reads as follows:

"Pershing Stadium erected for the Inter-Allied Games by the American Young Men's Christian Association and presented by it through Edward C. Carter, Chief Secretary, to General John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief, for the American Expeditionary Forces, and in turn presented by General Pershing to M. Georges Clemenceau, President Council of Ministers and Minister of War, for the French people, that the cherished bonds of friendship between France and America forged anew on the common field of battle may be tempered and made enduring on the friendly field of sport."

The story of the exciting contests that took place during the next two weeks in the great Arena has required a book to itself.<sup>1</sup>

Suffice it to say that not one accident marred the success of the great meet. Not only the sports themselves but the exhibitions, such for example as the dare-devil horsemanship and swordsmanship of the Hedjaz Arabs or the swoop of the great Caproni to within twenty feet of the ground to rise by a masterful maneuver clearing the stands a few feet above the spectators—these and the many pageants, demonstrations, and night illuminations lent a picturesqueness and variety to

Gala Events

Presentation of  
the Stadium  
to France

The Success  
of the Games

<sup>1</sup> The Inter-Allied Games, Paris, 22d June to 6th July, 1919. Major G. Wythe, Captain J. M. Hanson, Captain C. V. Burger, editors. Published by the Games Committee, Paris, 1919. Concerning this volume it has been fitly said:

"Economists, diplomats, moralists of every persuasion, must instantly admit the strength of the spirit here set forth toward world friendship or belie their own sanity. It is moral, it is hopeful, it is religious in a most practical sense, it is the antithesis of war."

the celebration that was in keeping with its character as a symbol of international fraternity.

### ATHLETICS IN LEAVE AREAS AND WITH TROOPS OF ALLIED NATIONS

The Wide Range  
of Athletic  
Service

The history of athletics in the A E F in France is not complete without mention of the work accomplished at leave areas in France. Neither can an account of athletics overseas be adequate without some attention to the contribution which Y M C A physical directors made among troops of the Allied nations, both in France and in other fields of military activity. In the leave areas athletics were largely subordinate to entertainment and in consequence boxing and other sports that could be staged before crowds were featured. At Nice, however, the A E F tennis and golf championships, in which many famous players competed, were run off amid much enthusiasm. When weather permitted winter sports, skating, skiing, and mountain climbing were enjoyed to the full at Aix-les-Bains and other mountain resorts. Athletics among French troops was cared for by the Comité Nationale d'Education Physique et Sportive de l'Hygiène Sociale and with this Association the Y M C A worked in close cooperation. The French were particularly proficient in boxing, track events, and soccer. Franco-American contests in these sports aroused intensest enthusiasm. The American loves an up-hill fight and in competition with the French his mettle was tried at every instant. During the early period of exhibition boxing, out of 132 Franco-American contests held at the Palais de Glace the Americans won 56, the French 55, and 21 contests were draws. The Frenchman's fist was not exactly feeble. Moreover, his chivalrous conduct in the ring was equally influential in developing respect for his prowess. The French knowledge of Rugby football was likewise expert and their superiority over hastily trained American teams was easily demonstrated. On the other hand, the popularity of baseball among the Americans had so much influence upon the French as to produce a recommendation by General Cottez, Director of Physical Training in the French Army, that baseball be included in all centers of physical instruction. Following this order one Y M C A director at a training school for French infantry made it possible early in the war for the French soldiers to lengthen their grenade throwing considerably, and improved accuracy by 30 per cent. Other directors attached to the Foyers du Soldat aided especially in introducing mass plays such as line relay games, hand wrestling, and mass

boxing, with which the French soldiers had hitherto been entirely unfamiliar. The French were particularly pleased with the American game of basket ball. Avoiding the danger of a baseball to unskilled hands, basket ball has the features of speed, excitement, and open play. Moreover it develops the muscles of the arms as well as legs, and men somewhat deficient in the upper body profited much by interest in the sport.

Special efforts were made also to advance the sporting program among many of the Asiatic and African races serving in the Allied Armies. The Chinese Labor Corps and Indian troops serving the British Army, the Arabs, Senegalese, Tunisians, Anamites, and other Indo-Chinese with the French were all reached to a greater or less degree.

Athletics Among  
Asiatics and  
Africans

In fields outside of France the Americans were likewise influential in the teaching of athletics. The British were just as quick as the French to adopt the American basketball. After the Armistice an instruction tour by two American teams was specially arranged for by the Y M C A. Before demonstrations, a half hour lecture on the principles of the game was given. The result was a request for an expert to teach the game to British non-commissioned officers in order that they might in turn instruct their men.

Similar calls for expert instructors in various branches of athletics came from many other nations, especially during and after the Inter-Allied Games. The Chief Military Officer of Roumania asked the Y M C A that a trained recreation leader be assigned to that country for at least a year. The Y M C A responded by sending a director and four assistants. A number of directors were sent to work with the armies of other nations, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Belgium.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF ATHLETICS

Athletics proved to be one of the major features of welfare work. Pushed into the background at first by more urgent and engrossing concerns, it gradually won recognition as an unexcelled method of occupying the free time of the men with interesting, congenial, and beneficial activities. With physical improvement it combined relaxation of nervous tension and outlet for surplus energy. Through mass games for all, unskilled as well as expert, and hotly fought exhibitions of clean sport, it promoted the spirit of gameness, determination, comradeship, and fair play which is the soul of cooperative success. Fin-

ally it brought together, in competitions no less strenuous because friendly, the picked athletes of the Allied Armies, welding on the field of sport the bonds of fellowship forged on the field of battle. From purely individual ministry, the maintenance of a healthy mind in a healthy body, its influence extended to the promotion of a sound international unity, through mutual respect based on mutual acquaintance. The value of its contribution to the national welfare, in peace as well as in war, is beyond question.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### WOMEN'S WORK

The dominant part played by women in the initiation of modern efforts to mitigate the hardships of soldiers was a clear augury that, in such a struggle as the World War, women would not be content with Hooverizing and knitting. That the first development from the impulse given by Florence Nightingale should have employed primarily the unique gifts of women for nursing the sick and wounded, was in the natural order of events. But her vision had included also the well, and when welfare work for all began to be conceived as the extension of home influences and comforts into military camps, the indispensability of women, as well as their resolution to participate, might have been foreseen as certainties. It was only the fact that the Y M C A, to which welfare work was entrusted, was specifically a men's organization, that obscured for a little while the large and important function which could be best performed by women. When individual women began to seek admission into the ranks of welfare workers, they found advocates able to persuade those who feared embarrassment and difficulty to try the experiment. The result was a demonstration that a well-rounded welfare program requires women, not as substitutes for men, but as cooperators in a work for which neither sex is sufficient by itself. Performing a wide variety of practical service, they imbued it all with a comradeship in which the soldiers found a deeper satisfaction than in all the creature comforts they received. That this comradeship exerted an effective influence, not only upon the conduct of the men, but on their character and soldier spirit, needs no discussion.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Readers who would enjoy detailed information on Y women workers will find interesting accounts in the following books: *A Red Triangle Girl in France*, New York, 1918; *A Y Girl in France*, Letters of Katherine Shortall, Boston, 1919; *Canteening Overseas*, 1917-1919, Marion Baldwin, New York, 1920; *My A. E. F.*, A Hail and Farewell, Frances Newbold Noyes, New York, 1920; *That Damn Y*, Katherine Mayo, Boston, 1920; *The Big Show*, My Six Months with the American Expeditionary Forces, Elsie Janis, New York, 1919; *Trouping for the Troops*, Fun-Making at the Front, Margaret Mayo, New York, 1919; *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces*, Addie W. Hunton and Kathryn M. Johnson, New York, 1920; *Uncensored Letters of a Canteen Girl*, Katherine Morse, New York, 1920.

It was the exacting demands of the war itself which opened, to women, doors always before closed. The draining of the man power of Britain left gaps, first in civilian industry and soon in military support service, to fill which only women were available. They answered the challenge as spiritedly as did their brothers, and it was not long before, in munition shops and on farms, in trains and busses, and countless other occupations from which the requirement of bodily strength or technical skill had previously excluded them, women were busily and efficiently at work. Civilian life in Britain had been drastically scaled down by 1916; without the women doing men's work, it is difficult to imagine how it could have gone on at all. In the face of what women were actually doing, he would have been bold who had dared propose, for any occupation, the warning, "Women Excluded."

In the Army, too, women found place. Corps of women, familiarly and almost affectionately known as Waacs (W.A.A.C., Women's Auxiliary Army Corps), Wrens (W. R. N.C., Women's Royal Navy Corps), Rafs (W. R. A. F., Women's Royal Air Force) and Vads (V. A. D., Voluntary Aid Detachment) were cooking, typing, driving cars and trucks, speeding on motor cycles as messengers, and performing varied services in direct connection with the Army and Navy, not only in Britain, but in France and Belgium. They were uniformed and drilled, lodged in barracks and commanded by woman captains, majors, and colonels. It was inevitable, therefore, that women should have presented to the British Y M C A a solution of its serious recruiting problems, and as the months of 1915 and 1916 passed, with steadily increasing demands for men to fight, women came to carry most of the load of hut and canteen service in British training camps and cities, and a very large part of that on the continent.

Beginnings by  
American Women

The canteen door was the first one opened to women by the Y M C A. Mrs. Vincent Astor offered her services, and, arriving in France in June, 1917, was put in charge of the first canteen for sailors at Brest, and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., opened the first canteen in Paris in July. These two were the pioneers of more than 3,000 Y girls.

In early conferences between the American and British Y M C A leaders, the work of women in the British huts was carefully reviewed and discussed, with the result that in August, a message was cabled to the War Work Council, in New York: "Unanimous opinion that qualified women for canteen work are necessary."

An explanatory letter revealed the cautious approach to what seemed a revolutionary innovation:

"All should understand that the primary task for the women workers is assisting in the menial work, in the canteen, the kitchen and the café, at the same time having very limited opportunities in French and other educational classes, and in the entertainments. . . . Our official reason for bringing women into huts should always be that we desire to use women so as to free as many men as possible for military service."

In striking contrast to the careful limitations of this program is the statement of the head of women workers in Paris a year and a half later. She reported that she was eliminating all women from the dry canteen at the Pavillon Hotel because it, being a purely business proposition, should be carried on by men, in order to set women free for social service.

The Chief Secretary's judgment as to the type of women wanted,<sup>1</sup> Qualities  
Needed however, never needed revision. They must, he wrote, be strong, sensible, with some knowledge of life, good mixers, loyal to military and Association rule, in thorough sympathy with the Association's social and religious aims, and have interest in spiritual things. He adds, "the by-product of the presence of women in the huts is so very great, that the highest standards of character, religious interest, educational, and physical efficiency must be insisted on." Such requirements did not seem exacting and it was thought that all the women needed could be easily found among volunteers. In July and August several women hearing rumors of overseas canteen service had already applied. A group of women recruited from the American colony in Paris were aiding Mrs. Roosevelt in the Paris canteen. In August an American woman was sent to St. Nazaire, another to Nevers, a group from the American Fund for French wounded opened a canteen at Bourmont under the Association, and Mrs. Astor had made the beginning at Brest. By early September it was evident that the women's work was going to need the special care and guidance of women. By October, 25 women had come from the United States and at a conference at Versailles the Women's Bureau was formally organized as part of the Paris headquarters, with Gertrude Ely and Martha McCook in charge.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, recruiting women in New York developed in charge of the Women's Division of the War Personnel Board.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> Consult Chapter XV.

## WOMEN'S WORK IN THE FIELD

## Location

The one order from Army Headquarters relating to the stationing of women with the troops was that forbidding them to go beyond Brigade Headquarters. As, at the front, nothing is easier to lose than Brigade Headquarters, this regulation was never a guide. The general plan was that the women would work at the ports, in the S O S, and with the troops in training. The women with the 1st Division, moving with their troops, worked in the field hospitals during the first engagements in the Cantigny sector. In the view of the officers, their influence and helpfulness was so great that they were allowed with the divisions at Soissons, St. Mihiel, and through the battle of the Meuse-Argonne—some of the women marching with the troops into Germany. These of the 1st Division had the longest and most effective service of any of the women with the fighting divisions. There were, however, more than 50 under fire with twenty other divisions and with the Foyers du Soldat. Thirteen women secretaries received the Croix de Guerre, and many were cited for bravery. Practically all of the women hoped for front line service; but since the presence of welfare workers at the front was entirely under the control of the commanders, it was not possible to make any definite plans for these coveted positions. In September, 1918, an order was sent out from the Women's Bureau that no women should be permitted in the regions of the moving troops save those who had been from six to nine months in the service and who were especially recommended by their divisional chiefs for this honor. The Armistice came before this plan could be made effective, and whether one ever saw the front or worked the whole time in a port was a matter rather of chance than of selection. Though it was hard for the women of the rear to realize this, there is no doubt that the leaders were right in their feeling that the most valuable work the women could do was during the periods of waiting, or in those rear regions where the men labored incessantly with no hope of excitement and no incentive to heroism.

The actuality of the canteen was very different from the imaginary picture most of the women had conjured up.<sup>1</sup>

"We started with splendid plans to run a sort of quick lunch restaurant with ham and eggs, omelet, hot chocolate, steak, French fried potatoes, chops, etc. I laugh when I think of it. We got up at six and tried to start the fire. French coal is about half slate and you can't

The  
Canteen

<sup>1</sup> A Red Triangle Girl in France, New York, 1918.

depend on it a minute. Anyway, our range is a snare and a delusion, with a fire box about the size of a couple of bricks. We also had a balky little charcoal burner and my sterno. . . . The boys drank eighty gallons of chocolate and milk; and after the hours of serving were over some of the cadets came in to help wash the dishes, sweep the floor and put the canteen in order. . . . Our canteen, though too small, is better than many, for we have floors, a few little heating stoves, and best of all, electric lights."

Perhaps this worker had an exceptionally exaggerated anticipation of canteen work, but the conditions which enabled her to congratulate herself because her canteen had floors and a few little heating stoves, were typical, and suggest the situation better than a description. Not only were the services narrowly limited but the amount of labor and ingenuity required for even a minimum of service was prodigious. Such prosaic details as procuring wholly inadequate supplies of green wood and continual feeding of fires, or washing hundreds of cups, when water had to be carried from a distant pump or well and heated over a single tiny stove, absorbed hours and taxed good nature.<sup>1</sup> Running a canteen was not merely a matter of selling or serving over a counter, and it was only gradually that French women were hired to help out in the preliminaries. Until after the Armistice, soldier details were not to be spared from military duties.

Nevertheless, the extract quoted suggests ways in which the transformation of women's work began. The soldiers everywhere lent a hand in their free time. Their tendency to linger for a chat at the counter, had to be repressed because of delaying the line of men waiting for service. But they quickly found that helping in the kitchen gave better opportunities for talk with the girls, and men who despised and loathed detail as kitchen police in the mess kitchen competed for the privilege in the Y canteen. What the Chief Secretary had referred to as a by-product of women's work, the friendly association with the men, took in this natural way a start toward the most significant feature of their usefulness.

Cooking, too, led to satisfaction greater than the eating of the things cooked. Facilities and supplies were both lacking for a restaurant, or even quick lunch service in the huts. But the men would get materials and bring them to the girls for preparation. Sometimes it would be sugar for a batch of fudge; sometimes apples could be secured

<sup>1</sup> "It took three hours to boil our huge pots on the small stoves we had."—Letter of a canteen worker.

and the girls made pies; or flour for fried cakes. This was irregular and occasional, a matter of readiness to seize or to make opportunity. It meant, however, that many toothsome delicacies were enjoyed by the men, not to speak of the fun that went with stirring the fudge and washing up afterwards. Most of the huts and girls managed to develop specialties; at one it was doughnuts, at another, ice cream; but the point was that, in an unpremeditated way, a very large number of men felt that they had special personal attention for which they felt personal appreciation.

As opportunity offered, most of the women practiced a hospitality that went still further in this direction. The equipment for a tea table could often be secured or improvised, and invited groups gathered about the fireside in the hut, or in the women's billets if the situation permitted. Just how much such interludes, for they were no more, meant to men in the general squalor and roughness, is only to be inferred from the popularity of the women workers. The obvious dangers of seeming partiality were avoided, with few exceptions, by the social experience and poise which had been an emphasized requirement in recruiting, and by the fact that the women were genuinely intent on service, and watched continually for the men who showed signs that life was going especially hard for them. The situation demanded the utmost tact and sincerity, for the admiration and appreciation of the men were outspoken, and might easily turn heads susceptible to compliment. To be the only woman among hundreds of men, to see daily men undergoing experiences evoking sympathy, and to be unable to forget that sooner or later they would move forward into battle, and yet to smile and be gay and thrust aside the pathos and make a joke of the hardships even while intent on mitigating them, most of all to shed the personal tributes without appropriating them, as unconsciously as a duck sheds rain—all this was a severe test that only sincere devotion could successfully pass.

It is hardly possible to enumerate the details of women's work with the A E F, nor would the most complete enumeration convey the real significance that made it invaluable. One of the characteristic elements took the form of hut decoration. Apparently the first reaction of any woman on arriving at a hut was that it needed to be cleaned up and made attractive. A poster or two, or a string of flags; curtains hastily improvised out of materials bought in the nearest town; a touch of paint here and there—after all they did not make the barn-like huts or the barns themselves that served as huts, really beautiful.

But they served as reminders that beauty was real and would one day be again enjoyed; they helped to visualize home; they bore witness to the presence of the home-maker which perhaps means more to men than any concrete expression of the home-making instinct in materials. Without attempting to catalogue the details, one may visualize women, bright, inventive, resourceful, sympathetic, expressing themselves in ways that multiplied their limited numbers until each man's own womenfolk became real to him. When the chairman of the War Work Council went over the field in the spring of 1918 and observed the work of the women, he insisted that the limiting title, "Canteen worker," be dropped and the time-honored Association title, "Secretary," be given them.

While this aura of womanhood, so difficult to describe, yet so real, attended all that the woman did, it must be recognized that their actual concrete service was often of the most laborious and exhausting character. With many a division, the serving of hot drinks and sandwiches to troops entraining or detraining, was largely performed by them. Forty-eight hours without intermission, on a railroad station platform, in heavy rain, preparing and passing out hot chocolate, was an experience many of the women knew. Hospitals and dressing stations, when the wounded were pouring in, found women working at top speed for hours at a stretch, assisting surgeons, bathing and cleansing patients, preparing food and drinks, and ministering to every need within their power. Even the chauffeur's job was theirs at times, and although the conviction that they could be more useful in other ways prevented extensive employment as drivers, they proved in emergencies that they could negotiate the rough roads of the advance zone without lights, and what was still more important, take care of their cars. In the advance zone they experienced the hardships of the troops, serving in towns where nightly bombing or shelling made it necessary for all hands to go out into the fields to sleep. They were billeted in unheated rooms, and at times had to forage for their food. Although special efforts were made to secure comfortable quarters and conveniences for them, they had to go to some places where such things did not exist and could not be created, and they accepted conditions without complaint. Perhaps the severest conditions were those endured by the few women who marched with the troops into Germany. As a group, the women demonstrated physical ability to endure the strain of protracted periods of hard work, danger, and hardship, and a spirit that outran even the limitations of the <sup>Physical Endurance</sup>

body.<sup>1</sup> The record of serious illness was remarkably low. Out of 3,480 women overseas, nineteen died of disease, four before they reached the field.

## Dancing

The conception of dancing as a social enjoyment of the idle must be put aside when this feature of women's activity in the A E F is considered. To the men it was the favorite recreation, but their incessant demands put a severe strain upon their partners. When a dance was proposed for a unit in the billeting areas, after the Armistice, the Y girl attached to the unit would call upon all the women workers within motor radius to come and help out. Cars would be furnished by the Army to bring them and take them back to their posts. It was held that a girl who responded to such a call had the right to claim a return in kind when her unit gave a dance. One of the workers tells, in a letter, of her dismay when she realized that in collecting partners for her outfit's dance, she had put herself under obligations to go to thirty dances in other units. Since dancing was regarded as an extra, not releasing women from their regular duties, it became a serious problem. The director of the Women's Bureau, in writing to one of the regional directresses in March, 1919, said:

"It will be wise for you to tell the women in your region that they cannot leave their huts for more than one evening a week; I see no other way to curtail this mad dancing. . . . I realize that nothing quite takes its place, but it is certainly being overdone and we have got to substitute other methods of amusing our men."

Official  
Regulations

In Paris the matter had to be taken up with the prefect of police and with our army authorities. The rules as finally laid down for the entire Y M C A force forbade attendance at any dance where liquor was served, and ordered that all dances be scheduled to permit the workers to be at home by midnight. Y women were to attend only dances given by welfare organizations where there were stated hostesses, and they could go to but two a week. The situation, and the attitude of the army in the matter is made clear by a telegram from General Hagood with the Army of Occupation:

"Greatest immediate need is several hundred young women workers of pleasing personality. At a recent dance here twenty-one Y M C A, Red Cross and telephone girls were collected from surrounding country and there were fifteen hundred soldiers crowded into the

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Chapter XXVII.

hall. These women you have on the job are overworked and do not have even an opportunity to eat their meals."

The "flying squadron" was an attempt to save the hut worker for what seemed to the Women's Bureau far more important service, and yet not disappoint the soldiers and officers. These flying squadrons were groups of women under a chaperon who went from hut to hut dancing with the men. Although so far as the pleasure of the soldiers was concerned, this was most successful, it was a plan requiring such careful handling and fraught with so many dangers, that it could not be considered a solution; a setting of limits to the dancing was finally recognized both by Army and Association as imperative.

In the work of the Foyers du Soldat it was quickly seen that it would be impossible to answer the call of the French Army for 1,400 huts without the help of women. The recruiting of French women was begun in the autumn of 1917; but it was found impossible to secure the requisite number of suitable helpers. Several American women were secured and the first experiments were made with twelve French and American directresses. The plan was that the front line work should be in the hands of men secretaries exclusively, while in the destroyed towns each hut should be in charge of two women, a French and an American, the French directress being in charge. So successful were the twelve women that more were sent for and thereafter the French and American women worked together on an equality and planned out their huts according to their own judgment. There was much greater difficulty in securing permission to move among the French troops than among the American, so that the Foyer workers had often to wait long periods before they could set up a new Foyer when forced to evacuate an old one. These delays added to the difficulty of securing sufficient American women. It was necessary that American women working with the French should have, besides a knowledge of the French language, an understanding of the French people and such grasp of affairs as would make them tactful, sympathetic friends of the *poilu*. Although many such women went to France, the work for the A E F naturally seemed always the more urgent, and despite constant calls only 79 American women served with the Foyers. This meant working not alone with the French troops, but with Algerians and the Polish Legion and with the refugees fleeing before the Germans, or creeping back to their restored villages. The most thrilling incidents in the women's services came to

these *Sœurs Américaines*. The one woman who lost her life on duty under fire was a Foyer directrice at Ste. Menehould—Marion Crandall. Nowhere was there such opportunity for influence making toward international goodwill, as that which came to the women wearing the grey veil of the Foyers du Soldat.

In Italy

The women's work in Italy was theoretically under the Women's Bureau in Paris. Workers were assigned from Paris and Italy was treated exactly as one of the regions in France; but so far away was it in those days that the work went on necessarily with scant communication and little either of advice or equipment. An appeal for workers for Italy reached New York in the spring of 1918. In August, five women were sent down. In Rome and Florence the American women residents made strong volunteer committees so that the first women secretaries were used especially as liaison officers to bring the eager and generous members of the official corps and the American colony in touch with the men. The devotion of these volunteers was unwearying, and one of the most useful results of their interest was the opening of American homes to the boys. Women worked for short periods at Fiume, Treviso, Milan, Bologna and till the summer of 1919 at Rome, Florence, Venice, Genoa, and Trieste. Since only one American regiment was stationed in Italy, the work was mainly with the Navy, the soldiers passing through, the ambulance men, and the sailors from convoys.

In the United Kingdom

The women's part of the work in Great Britain<sup>1</sup> for the A E F began when Eagle Hut opened in 1917. From the British Y, from the Green Cross, the Association for volunteer war service, and from the American Women's Club gathered hundreds of eager helpers. They worked in teams, each under its captain, and many served throughout the whole two years and more while our men were passing through England.

The work could not have been carried on without this service from the already over-burdened English women to their late come Allies. "Not only did they 'carry on' in the face of air raids, and 'flu' epidemics and in the midst of personal grief" but they took the hard hours of night and early morning. This was partly because there were few American women, but largely because our women were not hardened to the discipline and heavy, steady work to which the British women were inured by three long years of war. Even Saturday aft-

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<sup>1</sup>The very significant service of women in the street patrol in London is described in Chapter XXXVII.

ernoons and Sundays there were shifts of English girls from shops and offices who gave up their holidays gladly to help the Americans.

In June, 1918, the women's department was organized under Lady Ward, who served without interruption from beginning to end. Absolutely necessary and successful as had been this volunteer service by women, there was decided opposition to the idea of women workers from America such as had been working almost a year in France. Lady Ward began with eight and wrote to New York for six more. After watching this innovation for a month the secretary most opposed asked for eight for his own district, and the cause was won. Before the work closed, 159 American women were working in the stations scattered from the Orkneys to Plymouth, from London to Bantry Bay. Under the London office, too, came the women at Corfu, Corsica, and Azores. Much of this work was, of course, in the ports, with the navy and the sailors of the transports. At Barry Docks, Cardiff, women were first used with the merchant marine. Here was a class of men, the same in peace as in war, always wanderers from port to port, always homeless. The success of the little Y at Barry Docks with its American house mother was so immediate that one wonders why so inexpensive and simple a method of giving the seamen a home in a foreign port had not long ago been discovered by the port societies.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to give a comprehensive and detailed account of all the service rendered by women to the Army. In the descriptions, both of plans and of performance, already given and to follow, there is constant allusion to their presence in all departments and fields. Wherever men were, there were women also, taking their full share of what was to be done and meeting emergencies with no hampering preconceptions as to what was and what was not their proper function.

The profoundly significant development of the war, in this connection, was the demonstration that the right kind of woman may live in military camps, not only without offense or harm to herself, but with incalculable benefit to the men. Even the entirely proper precaution, established at first, that women should be assigned always in couples and never singly, was soon quietly ignored under the pressure of the work, and was found in practice quite unnecessary. It may be doubted whether, in any surroundings except the privacy of home, women could be more secure, not only from danger, but from the slightest offense of word or look. The soldiers gave them undiluted

*The Influence  
of Women*

respect, and the perfect loyalty of comradeship. To this result the bearing and spirit of the women contributed equally with the chivalry of the men. In the long history of the association of the sexes, there is no better augury for the future than in this natural companionship in a great achievement, where sex unquestionably played an important part, yet without perversion or exaggeration.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

### IN THE BRITISH ISLES AND ITALY

In the description of the fundamental elements of service, the point of view, so far, has necessarily been that of men planning for the whole A E F, and setting ideal standards of service. Inevitably, the standards outran achievements, and the implied comparisons produce an effect distinctly unjust. In the following chapters the standards and the conditions that limited their realization recede into the background. Going into the field with the workers and the soldiers, we shall see through their eyes the things that were actually done. Inasmuch as the British Isles constituted an important field of service for the A E F-Y M C A, in which a large proportion of the soldiers first entered their overseas experience, it will be convenient to survey the work done there before considering the work in France.

In relation to the A E F, the British Isles had the character of Americans in the  
British Isles

an intermediate base. Approximately half the American forces landed at British ports and stayed a few days before proceeding to France. The business of forwarding these troops gave permanent employment to several thousand officers and men at the various headquarters, posts and rest camps. Naval operations, carried on jointly with the British, were based on British ports, in which 25,000 to 40,000 naval men performed shore duty or came on leave from the ships. Saw-mill units, cutting lumber in the forests of Scotland, and aviation mechanics, to the number of approximately 25,000, taking special training in the care and repair of aeroplanes, constituted a semi-permanent American population, while military and naval officers constantly coming and going on business in London, and the crews of the transports on shore leave at Liverpool and other ports, formed a transient personnel always numerous enough though always changing.

The American Y M C A in the United Kingdom had thus a two-fold function. It furnished service appropriate to the needs of Americans in those parts, and acted as a link between the organizations at home and in France, especially in the forwarding of personnel. More than 6,000 Y workers passed through England en route to France, of whom less than 1,000 stayed to give service for a few weeks or months.

Housing and transportation of these travelers was almost as difficult as the similar task performed by the Personnel Department in Paris.

The influx of Americans into the Britain which had resulted from three years of war,<sup>1</sup> brought a necessity for readjustments both extensive and delicate. On the personal side, there was a natural disposition to look upon the American advent as "none too soon,"<sup>2</sup> but the universal belief that the American Army and Navy would prove the decisive factor in the critical situation ensured a hearty welcome. If, as was unquestionably the case, the exuberant confidence of the newcomers irritated people who had passed through the sobering experiences of three years of war, it had also a certain contagion which revived the earlier spirit of the English. Certainly the civilian population, in spite of exhausting preoccupations, joined cordially in every effort for the happiness and well-being of the Americans.

On the physical side there were real problems. To house the newcomers, British camps were turned over temporarily or permanently, their occupants going to improvised quarters, or crowding into already crowded encampments. American labor battalions were employed in many places building barracks to replace those loaned to the Americans. The transfer of troops from Liverpool to Channel ports put a severe strain on railroad equipment. Food, too, presented problems. The American supply service provided of course for strictly American camps, but the many detachments in British camps were fed by the British commissary until, in some cases, the Americans' dislike of British rations forced a change. The civilian population were under sharply restricted rationing, and American civilian workers and soldiers away from their units learned what hunger felt like at times. The extent to which private hospitality was shown Americans when people were limited to eight ounces of meat, two ounces of margarine and eight ounces of sugar per person per week, when milk could be had by none except children and the sick, was eloquent testimony of the goodwill of the British.

There were in the spring of 1917 a number of American Y M C A secretaries in England in the prisoners of war work, while others, among whom was Edward C. Carter, were working with the British Y M C A. The first active work was undertaken at Bordon in Hampshire, where several thousand American engineers were encamped for a few days on their way to France. The saw-mill and other units ar-

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter IV.

<sup>2</sup> Consult *To Fighting Americans*, Rudyard Kipling, Paris, 1918, p. 12.

rived in succession, and the welfare work continued at this point until in the early autumn a purely American camp was permanently established at Winchester. Meanwhile, a large hut in course of construction in London for the English Y M C A National Council was purchased by the American Y M C A : this was the famous "Eagle Hut" in the Strand.

Since the general supervision of the operations in France necessitated Mr. Carter's presence in Paris, in August, 1917, Robert L. Ewing, who had been in charge of the prisoners of war work, assumed direct responsibility for the service in the British Isles as a part of the A E F-Y M C A. In October, Headquarters were opened at 47 Russell Square. The prisoners of war enterprise, which had been under the general direction of the English National Council, was transferred to the American Association at this time.

#### AMERICAN TROOPS IN TRANSIT

Of the 1,025,000 Americans who passed through England, 844,000 <sup>The English Rest Camps</sup> or nearly five-sixths landed at Liverpool. Approximately 50,000 landed at each of the ports of Southampton, London, and Glasgow, with a scattering few elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The need of opportunity to recuperate after the trans-Atlantic voyage, and the irregularity of Channel transport, necessitated a few days' stay in England, and encampments of large capacity, known as rest camps, were established near the ports. Those at Winchester, Romsey, and Southampton Common, being very near the principal point of departure for France, were usually utilized so long as space was available. Close to Liverpool was Knotty Ash Camp, where men just off transports could be held overnight, or, if the camps near Southampton were filled, until room was vacated by departing troops. In the autumn of 1918, camps at Codford, Flowerdown, and Stanton were also used as rest camps. The men usually arrived at rest camps in a most uncomfortable state of mind and body. Sick and tired of the long voyage in cramped quarters, weak from sea-sickness or lack of appetizing food, with nerves abnormally tense or abnormally relaxed, and often with a long ride in crowded trains following immediately their debarkation, they were in real need of rest, good food, and diversion. The rest period proved, however, a rather uneasy repose. In face of the possibility of submarine interruption of the Channel transport, the stream of men was kept flowing at full height, and some detachments had hardly settled

<sup>1</sup> See Plate XV facing p. 70.

in barracks when their turn came to move on, while others, though they stayed several days, were in constant expectation of embarkation orders. It was not easy to settle down, and something interesting at every moment was required to keep these "resting" men occupied.

The general characteristics of Y service can be easily imagined. First of all the men wanted food, and crowded into the canteen. Then they wanted to write home. If 5,000 men arrived at a rest camp in the morning, it was a certainty that 10,000 letters would be written and handed in for mailing that day. Impromptu athletics would appeal to many as the first chance for a week or more to limber their muscles. Concerts, shows, and movies exerted an unfailing attraction, while, if time allowed, short sight-seeing trips appealed to those curious to see something of England. All these activities were promoted by the Y in all the rest camps, of which a brief account of two will represent this type of work.

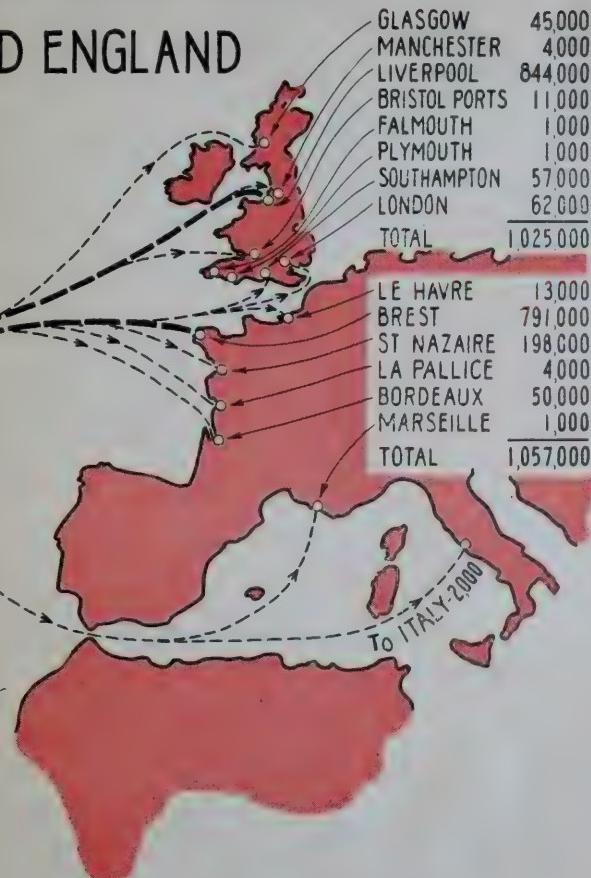
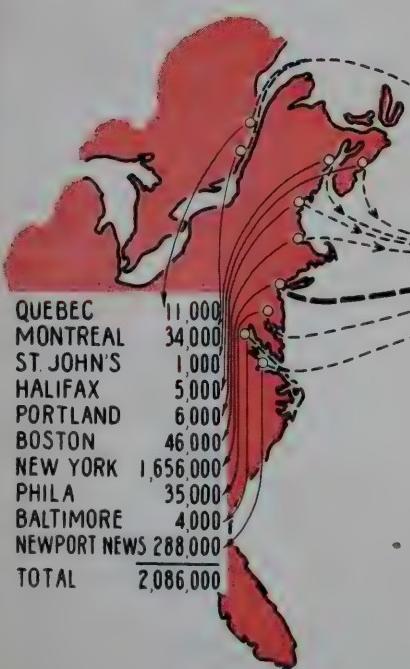
The camp at Winchester was transferred to the American Army by the British, and the American Y was able to secure two huts in which the British Y had been operating. Very soon a building in the town, known as the Garrison Theater, was hired. This had a seating capacity of 500, far too small to accommodate the audiences, and two large tents were erected in combination as one, with a capacity of 4,000, for entertainment purposes. Another hut, 30 x 90 feet, was bought and moved to Winchester to serve as an officers' club, and still later several large marquees were erected in different parts of the camp.

Being less than two hours' journey by rail from London, it was possible to secure the best of talent for all kinds of entertainment for this camp, as also for Romsey and Southampton close by. The British Committee on Entertainment furnished a large number of programs by professionals, and local talent obliged most willingly when needed. An entertainment was given every night when as many as 1,500 men were in camp, and if the camp was filled, shows and movies were given at three or four places simultaneously, often twice in an evening so that two relays of men might be entertained. At one time or another, every crack British band played in this camp.

All the buildings and tents were equipped with tables and chairs for reading and writing, plentiful supplies of books, magazines, and American newspapers, musical instruments, including pianos and phonographs, billiard or pool tables, post exchange and wet canteens adequate to serve 15,000 men. In six months 35 match and 600 in-



# TROOPS SAILING FROM AMERICAN PORTS AND LANDING IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND



formal games of baseball were played, besides football, soccer, basket-ball games and boxing matches in proportion. Winchester had eight baseball diamonds, five basket-ball courts, two football fields, and an athletic field with quarter-mile track, besides ample facilities for other sports.

Lectures were well attended, the new arrivals showing lively interest in talks on England, and France, their history and customs, and on the war. Other educational work was for the most part, with the men permanently stationed in the camp. In one week in October, 1918, classes were meeting in five subjects, with a total attendance of 450. Eight libraries were maintained, with a circulation of 200 books or more a week. Bible classes were organized among the permanent detachments, and services for worship and preaching were held regularly in the Garrison Theater and the Auditorium, as well as in the huts. At these services many of the leading preachers of England and Scotland, as well as those brought by the Y M C A from America, were heard by the soldiers.

The life of the 35 Y M C A secretaries in Winchester was extremely uneven. With the arrival of a convoy bringing 20,000 to 35,000 men, the rest camps would be filled to capacity, and for a few days every secretary would be working at top speed, snatching meals and sleep as opportunity offered. Then the camp would be emptied as suddenly as it had filled, and in the breathing space the staff would renew stocks and equipment, plan for the future and make themselves useful to the depot brigade, who also had time for Y activities only in the lulls between successive convoys.

The camp near Liverpool was constructed by the Americans in February, 1918. It spread over a meadow, about five miles from the landing stage, and had accommodations for 13,000 men. In fifteen months, 250,000 men passed here their first hours on foreign soil. Beginning with a single tent, the Y M C A work expanded until there were eleven centers manned by 21 secretaries. The stay of troops was, on the average, shorter than at the rest camps in the south. One of the frequent features was a parade of the newly arrived men, to receive a welcome in England from a representative of the King, when a printed copy of a greeting signed by the King was given to each man.

Activities were carried on in the manner already described. The Liverpool Gymnasium was secured for basket ball, and the chemical laboratory at Liverpool University for instruction, military transport being provided to take players and students back and forth between

the camp and the city. For nearly a year welfare service was provided at the hospital to which many soldiers were taken who had succumbed to influenza or other diseases on shipboard.

Closely connected with the Knotty Ash Camp was service at two social centers in Liverpool and the very important work at the landing stage for debarking troops. After June, 1918, a corps of secretaries met every ship to answer questions, exchange money, distribute postcards and collect letters and cablegrams, and to give the men copies of the Association publication, *Home News*, containing the latest cabled news from the United States. At the Dewey Rooms a restaurant served 1,500 men a day in busy periods. Three hundred local women gave volunteer service here. Just after the Armistice another social center was opened at Lincoln Lodge, with sleeping accommodation for 300 and a large restaurant. Here a corps of 250 volunteer women made the extensive service possible. Both these centers had frequent religious services and entertainments. A well equipped American Officers' Inn was opened in November, 1918, and was used at double capacity most of the time. Special centers for the Military Police unit and the Motor Transport Corps were also provided.

The cooperation between the townspeople, the military authorities, and the Y M C A, was notable at Liverpool, as at practically all centers of important American activity. The ladies gave unlimited time and labor at the city centers, leading citizens served actively on committees for social and entertainment activities, and the various institutions of the city helped in all possible ways. There was effective effort to impress the Americans at their first entrance into England with the fraternal friendship which welcomed them, and to promote their comfort and happiness.

#### TRAINING CAMPS AND FIXED POSTS

One of the first groups to claim the attention of the Y M C A was the saw-mill units. The estate of Sir Charles Ross along the banks of the Dornoch river near Ardgay, Scotland, was the scene of the labors of about 400 skilled New England lumbermen. Within two weeks after their arrival in July, 1917, the Association pitched a marquee at Ardgay near the center of operations, and later erected smaller huts in each of the isolated camps of the ten units. For ten months the industrious lumbermen felled trees with a rapidity that outdistanced any other unit in per capita production. With no other

resources for material or social comfort within 1,600 square miles, Association service contributed largely in keeping the men contented in their isolated camps. The marquees and huts all had well stocked canteens. Billiard tables and libraries were installed and American newspapers and magazines were furnished weekly. Entertainments, vigorous athletic programs, and first-class lecturers were provided. Services were held every Sunday in the various huts, 95 per cent of the men attending these services. At Christmas, with the cooperation of the American Citizens' Committee, the Association offered a ten day holiday in London, of which 135 men availed themselves. They were cordially entertained at Eagle Hut, guided to the sights of interest, and furnished free tickets to theater and other metropolitan places of amusement. These camps were disbanded in June, 1918, but before leaving, the soldiers presented the secretaries with seven engraved silver loving cups in appreciation of their services.

The Americans who were detailed for training in British camps Aviation Mechanics presented very special conditions of service. The detachments were small, numbering from twenty to 1,500, with 150 to 200 as the ordinary unit. These groups found themselves in the midst of British soldiers numbering perhaps several thousands, and of course under British command. The camps were in out of the way places, usually two or three miles from a village, and often as on Salisbury Plain, even further away from any but military communities. Most of the camps were flying schools, and the work of the American mechanics was extremely irregular. In good weather, flying was going on from daylight until dark, which in summer meant from 4 a.m. to 9 p.m. Then the mechanics worked in shifts through the whole 24 hours. In bad weather no flying was done and the men were idle.

In these mixed camps there was more or less friction between English and Americans, due in part to difference of manners and customs, and in part to inability on each side to put themselves in the place of the others. It was generally supposed that athletic contests, in which each would appreciate the good sportsmanship of the other, would overcome such difficulties, but singularly enough in numerous instances, the result was exactly the opposite. Field and track meets planned simply as camp events took on an international character, and in most cases the Americans won. There was no resentment of that, but unfortunately the Americans, in accordance with our national habit, celebrated their victories rather noisily as national triumphs, and this was resented. The Americans, for their part, for-

got that while they were the first choice of American young manhood, the best of England's athletes had gone to Flanders in 1914, and most of them had stayed there. Just why the Englishmen should have been despised for accepting without complaint the rabbit stew that Americans denounced with vigorous and picturesque vocabularies is not clear. Worst of all was the fact that few Americans had any just knowledge or appreciation of the magnitude of England's effort and sacrifice in the war, while many Englishmen only partly concealed the opinion that America had stayed out of the war a little longer than was compatible with self-respect. Out of such causes, most of them trifling, and all curable by genuine desire for mutual understanding, there grew a feeling that made it necessary in some camps to separate the groups as much as possible. This involved separate Y M C A service for units of Americans much smaller than the average, and proved a serious drain on the inadequate force of American secretaries in England.

To assign more than one secretary to such a unit was impossible, and it was not uncommon for one to serve two camps on alternate days. The plan was devised of dividing the territory into areas, and of putting into each area a staff including a secretary for each activity. These area secretaries had a much more direct relation to the soldiers than the regional staffs in France with which they superficially corresponded. They carried on the educational or athletic work themselves, going from camp to camp, organizing classes, arranging game schedules, or entertainments, and assisting the local secretary-of-all-work in all possible ways.

The difficulties encountered in the endeavor to carry out a regular program were many. Squadrons were cut into four detachments and changed stations every four weeks. Hours were irregular. Nevertheless it was possible in some camps to establish classes in Bible study, the French language, history, economics, government, and other subjects. The lecture program was more effective and the library service still more efficient. In the air service alone there were distributed 30,000 circulating books, 300,000 copies of magazines and newspapers, 350,000 leaflets such as Ian Hay's "Welcome to England" and Kipling's "To the Fighting American" and thousands of religious pamphlets. Because, otherwise, no technical books were available for the training of new aviators, a technical library including a large number of special treatises on aeroplane construction and flight, on photography, mechanics, wireless, and internal combustion engines,

was installed in each camp. Every camp had a piano and phonograph, and a large number of band and orchestral instruments were supplied when there were musicians to use them. Athletic supplies were liberally provided.

In addition to activities in the camps, social centers were established in seven cities and towns to which the men could easily resort when off duty. These were halls leased or loaned, and furnished comfortably for lounging, reading, and writing. It was usual in the evening for a number of young ladies to be in attendance, chaperoned by their elders, and singing, dancing, games and conversation proved attractive to the men.

A field secretary had general responsibility for service to aviation units, which during the period of activities totaled 83. He enjoyed the confidence of the military authorities who informed him of the location and movement of squadrons. Altogether 156 secretaries, including headquarters and field workers, participated in this service. Tents were used very largely, with occasionally space in barracks assigned by local commanders. A few huts were provided.

For the naval air patrol, some ten or more stations were established by the American Navy. At these stations the Y M C A put forth special efforts. The largest camp was at Killingholme, an isolated spot, where an entire British airplane reconstruction plant was turned over to the American forces. The duty consisted of scouting over the North Sea for submarines. The American Commander at Killingholme did not, at first, desire to have the Y M C A in the camp at all. He planned to have officers and enlisted men run the large theater and recreation hall which the English had erected. It was some weeks before the Y M C A secretary who had been admitted to the camp on sufferance won his way sufficiently to start the usual program. Quiet, practical service to the men eventually won confidence and approval. Not only were the two large buildings transferred to the Association but smaller centers were permitted. Four secretaries were assigned including physical and educational specialists. Motion pictures were staged every night, elaborate entertainments were given at least once a week, regular educational classes were conducted, and on the athletic field a full program was put in operation. Thus there was at all times some means at hand to offset the strain of the strenuous work the men were doing, to relieve the rigors of severe discipline, and to break the monotony inevitable when men found themselves off duty with nowhere to go.

The Naval  
Air Service

Services of a similar character were carried on at Dover, Eastleigh—the aviation repair base—and especially at naval patrol centers in Ireland; namely, Wexford, Whiddy Island, Aghada, Lough Foyle, the Berehaven kite-balloon station and other points. Men attached to destroyers, submarines or air squadrons naturally had excitement in plenty. But several thousands engaged in very monotonous work were stationed at the most out-of-the-way places imaginable. With fine irony they referred to their service as “the great Irish offensive” or “the Battle of Bantry Bay.” At the construction camps, on the battle cruisers, the seaplane repair bases, the kite-balloon centers, life for the most part was a steady grind. The journey to some of these secluded places was an adventure in loneliness. To reach them there was first a ride to the end of a little branch railway. Next came a wait for a chance to take a tug or a drifter—a day’s journey down some bay or lough. Finally a trip in a jaunting car completed the last stage. Sometimes there were little towns near the station, but they offered nothing worth while. The usually warm-hearted Irish were not particularly pleased to see the Americans on their island and when off duty the sailors found little to occupy their time. In addition to the usual equipment, technical libraries were provided, and systematic lectures on scientific subjects were well attended. This educational work among the Naval Patrol men in Ireland was highly successful. The men represented a fine type of volunteers. Each group was stationed in a single center for a considerable period of time and in each was a fair proportion of college men able to lend effective assistance. Moreover, the commanding officers gave cordial support.

At Naval  
Bases

The work of the Association for the Naval Patrol, however, was but a small part of its services to the American Navy in the waters around the United Kingdom. Both in Irish ports where destroyers, ever alert for the dreaded submarines, were constantly running in and out, and in Scotland where the mine laying bases were the scene of perilous and unremitting toil, every effort was made to utilize the spare time of the men to good advantage. Naturally at ports of embarkation and debarkation such as Liverpool and Southampton no separate provision was made for the Navy and Army men. In London also the men of both services were welcome at all service buildings. At the special naval base at Plymouth, at the naval repair station at Newcastle, at Queenstown where American destroyers first participated in the war, at Cardiff which was both a navy and a mercantile marine base, at Inverness, the mine laying base, and at Kirk-

wall, the mine sweeping base, the Association provided secretaries and equipment to meet the particular needs of the Navy.

When ships of the Navy were known to be on their way to a given port, every effort was made to see that the sailors who were coming ashore had the best that could be provided. Not only does this mean that huts, canteens, hotels, and recreation facilities were furnished in most of these centers, but that recreational equipment was sent aboard the ships and that parties "on leave" were routed and often personally conducted on tours through various parts of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Naturally during the war itself the service was largely localized. As soon as the major part of the fleet was released from active duty, however, the men began to come ashore and to reach the larger cities in great numbers. Sometimes notice of their arrival was extremely short.

An occasion of this character was the assembling at Weymouth in December, 1918, of the fleet that was presently to escort President Wilson to Brest. The "Atlantic City of Southern England" was suddenly invaded by 20,000 sailors ready for a ten days' revel.

A telegram received in Southampton the previous afternoon was all the warning the Association had. Weymouth was 70 miles distant, and there was no equipment there. A motor-lorry carrying a 90 x 30 marquee and 3,000 pounds of canteen supplies, left Southampton shortly and twenty secretaries were soon en route to the famous watering place. In spite of the fact that three moves had to be made in the first two days before a lease of the Palm Court could be secured, entertainments were staged in rapid succession. Concerts were given aboard ships and daily at the Pavilion there were vaudeville programs, dancing and theatrical productions. In cooperation with Admiral Barnard, particularly enjoyable dances for naval officers and the ladies of Weymouth were arranged. Two baseball fields were also leased and turned over to the boys of the fleet. Light refreshments were freely served.

In Scotland, work for the Navy was begun as early as March, 1918, when a hut was erected at Corpach and a secretary was making regular visits to the station at Kyle. In the same month, the building known as the Northern Meeting House was opened in Inverness. This large club house containing a concert hall, club and game rooms, restaurant, and 80 beds, was served by four secretaries and 400 volunteers. In the long twilight of the summer evenings, it was the center of much merriment of the men who endured the dangers and discom-

The Fleet  
at Weymouth

In Scottish  
Ports

forts of mine-layers. In May and June additional Y M C A huts were opened at Invergordon, Glen Albyn, and Dalmore for some 5,000 men. So dangerous was the work in which they were engaged that a great hospital was erected by the Government in anticipation of a disastrous explosion; fortunately it was not needed.

The Y M C A complement for these three stations was fifteen secretaries. Large huts were erected and were thoroughly equipped with library, billiards, club and social rooms. The restaurant at Invergordon served from 1,500 to 2,000 meals per day. At Glen Albyn there were two band concerts and informal dances daily. Concerts and movies were staged at all three units. Athletics were promoted and more than 25 educational classes were conducted. The following summer when men of the mine sweeping fleet were removing the great mine fields that had imprisoned the German submarines, the equipment at Dalmore was transferred to Kirkwall, there to serve men for whom the war, a year after it ended, was still the grimdest kind of a reality.

#### IN THE CITIES

The conditions encountered by American soldiers in foreign cities included all those met with in America, with the additional features arising out of the effects of the war and the fact that the men were strangers in a strange land. For the most part the visitors were transients, on business errands or short leaves. Housing accommodations for such were less than normal, while the demand was exceptionally great. In London, as in Paris, government and military authorities had commandeered the largest and most famous hotels for office purposes. Restaurants and small eating places had limited supplies of food and charged high prices. The most fundamental services that could be rendered were to provide lodgings and meals for transients, to supply a place which they could use as a "hangout" with the certainty of finding congenial companions, and information and guidance to the best out of the innumerable interesting and amusing possibilities of a great city. The largest work of this sort in England was naturally in London, but similar needs were met in Plymouth, Liverpool, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The large number of officers who visited London on matters preliminary to the arrival of the Expeditionary Forces, found great difficulty in securing satisfactory hotel accommodations. The Y M C A grappled with the problem, and found a lively interest in the matter

among influential Londoners. Early in January the American Officers' Inn was formally opened at No. 5 Cavendish Square, the house formerly occupied by Herbert Raphael and at one time the home of Lord Nelson. Additional buildings were leased later, until the Inn finally included four private residences. A Y secretary was manager, with an English lady as hostess, and a large staff of ladies, many of them possessing titles of nobility, formed the working staff of volunteers. Through loans, the rooms were beautifully furnished; famous paintings from private collections adorned the walls; and the place had the comfort of a high class club with the atmosphere of a delightful home.

The eagerness with which officers sought the privileges of the <sup>The</sup>  
<sup>Washington Inn</sup> Inn led quickly to plans for another. The Association secured the use of the garden or park in St. James's Square, a high class residential section in the West End, by virtue of a "peppercorn" lease—the obligation being to pay one peppercorn annually and restore the ground to its former condition within a year after the end of the war. Here a unique building was constructed, consisting of eight cement and cinder huts radiating from a central court like the spokes of a wheel. In the center of the court stood an equestrian statue of King William IV, and around it was a colonnade connecting the huts. The great trees which were the chief beauty of the square were carefully protected, and, rising through the huts, gave a novel effect to the interior.

One of the huts served as lounge; another as library and reading room, with facilities for social gatherings and entertainments; a third was the dining room; and five were divided into sleeping cubicles, and supplied with shower baths and other comforts. The 300 women volunteers who performed the necessary services in such an institution were recruited and directed by influential English ladies.

Apart from the very practical service to officers whose allowances were severely strained by the charges of ordinary hotels, there were developed social and recreational features that were highly valued. Many distinguished visitors were entertained, and gave formal or informal addresses to the officers. Parties were organized to visit the Houses of Parliament, the Guild Hall, and other places of interest, where they were shown exceptional consideration. For two seasons a box at Drury Lane Theater was placed at the disposal of the Officers' Inn by its titled owner, and innumerable theater parties were arranged. Invitations to dinner or to week-end visits in country homes were accepted by many officers, and acquaintances made in the

Inns developed into valued friendships. Whenever accommodations were available, officers of the other Allied Armies were allowed the use of the Inns, and fraternal feeling was promoted by the informal and natural contact that resulted.

The  
Eagle Hut

Even more significant, and on a much larger scale, was the service to enlisted men in London. This centered in the famous Eagle Hut—the largest single soldiers' club conducted during the war. It consisted of a cluster of huts erected in the Strand, at the foot of Kingsway, near Temple Bar and convenient to Waterloo and Charing Cross stations. The equipment was designed for only 2,000 but the number actually served often reached four or five thousand men per day. Any uniformed man of the American or Allied forces was welcome. Lack of space was the only other limitation. The most popular feature of the hut was the restaurant. Here in a single month (March, 1919) 142,020 meals were served, an average of 4,500 meals a day. On certain occasions this average was greatly exceeded, although on the architect's plans the restaurant space was marked "capacity 250." An American soda fountain, where real ice cream was served, was always popular. The four rooms used for dormitories were designed for about 200 beds but actually contained 410. Hardly a night passed that did not see all of them occupied. The kit-room where the men could leave their belongings held over 800 bins and was generally overtaxed.

The main doorway to the building opened upon the lounge. This large room usually presented an animated scene, the different uniforms of the Allied armies and navies intermingling everywhere. On one side was the "store." Its total turnover from November, 1917, to May 1, 1919, was about \$75,000. Nearby was an information bureau and a directory to indicate where outside lodgings and meals could be obtained. A register of visitors was kept and by means of this and a huge wall map into which men stuck flags bearing their names, to indicate their home towns, many friends were enabled to meet. The "money exchange" not only performed the function its name indicated but also took care of such remittances as the enlisted men desired to have sent home. A large hall with stage served for entertainments, religious services, and social gatherings. In several corners might be found pianos, at every one a friendly young woman chatting and playing the songs called for by the group surrounding her. Several billiard tables were in constant use. A large "quiet room," with comfortable easy chairs and plenty of books, furnished

a retreat for men tired of the confusion and fun of the crowd. The staff of Association secretaries at Eagle Hut ranged from nine to twelve. After November 11th four Y M C A women were added. In addition there were about 50 paid employes. A very large part of the work at Eagle Hut, however, was carried on by volunteers. Without their assistance the hut could not have achieved the results it did.

The corps of men volunteers was organized into an Association known as the "Eagle Hutters." To all members very definite duties were assigned; to some the bed-booking office, to others the kit-room and to still others the billiard tables and games. To greet and direct men newly arrived, one or two Eagle Hutters were always on duty. Others were close at hand to bar civilians, or roughs, or various types of passers-by not allowed to enter. From some other huts drunken men were barred but not from the Eagle. There "the Hutters" took them in hand, straightened them out in a reservation known as the "poet's corner," and on the morrow sent them back to their units sober and perhaps wiser. Some of the Hutters rendered special service so quietly that even their fellow members did not know what they were doing. A dentist, for instance, it subsequently became known, treated 250 soldiers and sailors gratis, and said nothing about it. Many a man in trouble was helped. Perhaps the best service rendered was through quiet talks with hundreds of men who will not soon forget the way they "bucked up again" after a visit to Eagle Hut.

The women attached to the Hut vied with the men. At the height of the work some 700 women were on the roll of volunteers. Many came each week for as many as four days. All averaged at least eight hours. They worked in shifts of 25 but over week-ends or holidays 40 was the more usual number. A large proportion were business women who gave a part of the only free time they had— evenings and holidays. Many served on the all night shifts; others during the early morning hours till nine. Canteen, cash register, room and meal desk, telephone exchange, information bureau, store or restaurant—all were alike to them—none shirked. No matter how tired they were, on duty or off, they were always ready with a smile for whatever was to be done. Whether British or American, the volunteer women worked with a will at even the hardest tasks and without a thought of commendation.

Several hotels were also maintained in London by the Association. Three of these situated near together in Bloomsbury had a

The Eagle  
Hutters

The Women  
Volunteers

The Y M C A  
Hotels

common dining room and were under one management. Fully three-quarters of the men living there were from the Army and Navy Headquarters Staff in London. Two other hotels containing a total of 328 rooms were maintained in similar manner. Under the skilful management of a hostess, a paid staff of 25 and a volunteer corps of "Green Cross" girls, these hotels furnished not only living accommodations at prices much lower than were charged elsewhere, but a friendly atmosphere that was beyond price.

Similar services, larger in a total sum, were rendered in other cities of the United Kingdom. In Edinburgh, St. Andrew's Hut, situated in the most prominent square of the city, was nearly as large as the London Eagle Hut. Because of unavoidable delay in construction it was not opened until March, 1919, but thereafter it admirably supplemented the earlier work at the Officers' Inn in Drumsheugh Gardens. English and Scotch as well as Americans came to the hut in great numbers. There was a large corps of volunteers. It proved well worth while as a means of promoting international goodwill. By the spring of 1919 this type of work was well under way in Liverpool, Southampton, Plymouth, Birmingham and other cities.

Extensive as was the city work which the Y M C A carried on in huts, officers' inns and hotels, there were other phases of service that were equally important. These divisions of the work might be termed extramural activities in cities. They included the meeting of men on leave when they arrived at railroad stations, the establishment of information bureaus and night patrols of streets, the organization of entertainment in private homes, the conducting of theater parties and sight-seeing tours, and the maintenance of close cooperation with other welfare organizations. These phases of the work, largely carried on by volunteer workers under the supervision of the Association, were eventually merged into the Y M C A International Hospitality League.

The League began in a very natural way. Some of the American and British ladies who were anxious to serve the American forces had early found work at the huts and hotels, but not all had discovered what they could do until Army and Navy men on leave began coming to the cities in large numbers. Some of these men were country boys alone in a large city for the first time in their lives. Practically all were strangers in the United Kingdom. They were at liberty in a most complete sense. For the time being neither Army nor Navy exercised any control over them so long as they kept the peace. Many

of these men, it was discovered, wandered the streets in the most aimless fashion.

To place information booths with volunteer staffs, at the railway stations and to maintain kiosks on conspicuous street corners was a simple matter. Here maps were to be found, and printed material showing the location of restaurants, hotels, and welfare service points. Here all church services, entertainments, sight-seeing trips, and theater parties were advertised. Groups of volunteers attached to these booths soon began acting as guides and general advisers. These volunteers also, especially the ladies, were not long in discovering that one of their most appreciated services was the entertaining of American boys in their own homes. Such spontaneously offered hospitality was immediately recognized as one of the finest possible benefits to the men as well as a means of promoting mutual understanding and international friendships. It was soon discovered, too, that many all through the country, who could not give personal service in the huts, would welcome Americans and British colonials to their homes, if a way could be found of bringing host and guest together. To make sure that the opportunities were fairly distributed among the different armies, and to protect both sides from undesirable associations, the Y M C A International Hospitality League was organized in the spring of 1918. This was formed by representatives of the Y M C A's of the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, each of which delegated four to six secretaries and contributed £200 for initial expenses. The League was soon operating in a number of cities, in each of which the information booths were run in cooperation. Through churches, chambers of commerce, and other organizations, it was made known that the League would receive invitations from people wishing to entertain soldiers, and would apportion them so far as possible according to the wishes of the hosts and the men who desired hospitality. Within a few months several thousand soldiers enjoyed a week end or more in such homes.

The League's work grew rapidly during the summer of 1918 and presently developed new features. One of these was the street patrol. A considerable number of cases of men in a bad way from dissipation came to the Association workers, and there was evidence that soldiers were being deliberately rendered helpless by drink or drugs for purposes of robbery. The venereal record of casuals in the cities was disturbing. While, in the large, the Association activities exerted a powerful counter force to evil conditions, the dangers to which inex-

Information Booths

The Street Patrol

perienced men were exposed impelled many workers to more direct methods. Such secretaries and volunteers began, of their own initiative, to patrol streets late at night ready at any moment to assist any soldier, and the results led to organized efforts. Women as well as men were eventually enlisted in this service. Among the women two New Zealanders were the pioneers. They had decided that more than offering welcome in a hut was necessary if their countrymen were to avoid the effects of ill-spent leisure. They were convinced that women could sometimes bring results when men could not. Two weeks in London were given them by the League to try out their methods. Success followed. Two American women were then designated to learn their methods. Soon eight more were added. Finally many volunteers were enlisted in various cities. All were mature women, especially chosen for this type of work. Donning their uniforms shortly after supper they patrolled the main thoroughfares, in pairs, until the small hours of the morning. Usually a male worker kept within sight or hearing, and when possible an automobile was stationed on the beat for use when required. Many a soldier in London was persuaded to go to his lodgings or was escorted to Eagle Hut there to be put to bed by the "Eagle Hutters." No influence other than that of these women patrols could have so successfully met the situation. "It beats all," said one lad who was brought in, "I can't understand it. I've been over here a year and this is the first time anyone cared a rap what I did." After the Armistice there were crews of rollicking "gobs" on leave and always some felt that no celebration was complete unless they got drunk. But they did not resent the approach of American women who, separating them from companions they had met for the first time, took them to the Y M C A and sent them back to their ships with a clean record. Even the street women often accepted help in good part. Many were sent to hospitals and others were restored to honest industry through the efforts of the street patrol. A few showed resentment but the police gave support and there was no serious trouble. The men almost without exception were courteous and often extremely grateful. "I never found one who did not thank me," wrote one worker after weeks of patrol duty.

As more and more volunteers entered the service of the League, its work as a whole grew to large proportions in various cities of the United Kingdom. For the entire twelve months ending May 31, 1919, the League's officers reported services to men in the uniforms of all

the Allied Forces as follows: inquiries answered 1,237,777, taken to lodgings by car 120,093, given hospitality in homes 41,881, dealt with by street patrols 528,377, sent on tours with guides 118,111. The special extramural work of caring for men on leave was under the direction of the League from July 10th to October 15, 1918. By that time, however, the number of men to be dealt with was increasing enormously. Moreover, the various associations had largely developed their separate constituencies. The League, therefore, retransferred to the various associations that part of its activities which were distinctly leave work.

In London the American Association had already created a definite Leave Department. Establishing operating headquarters in one of the buildings in the Eagle Hut group, the department was well equipped to arrange for the accommodation and entertainment of officers and men who had several consecutive days off duty. At times, however, this type of work was far too heavy for a single department to carry alone, and practically every worker of the entire Y M C A organization in the city was utilized to put through a great entertainment program. One such occasion was on the Fourth of July, 1918, when Americans and British fraternized as never before in history. Another was in the early part of December, 1918, when the sailors from the Grand Fleet, on leave for two weeks, arrived in London in throngs. On the latter occasion the Leave Department in London was reenforced by the addition of 30 extra secretaries called in from other districts. On the former, every secretary in the city assisted.

The Fourth of July celebration was unique. At a great fellowship meeting at Westminster, statesmen voiced the feelings of the British nation towards America in speeches eloquent because of the intense earnestness of the men who delivered them. Mr. Winston Churchill, son of an English noble and an American mother, expressed this feeling most clearly when he said:

"Deep in the hearts of the people of this island, deep in the hearts of those whom the Declaration of Independence styles 'our British brethren,' lay the desire to be truly reconciled, before all men and before all history with their kindred across the Atlantic Ocean; to blot out the reproaches and to redeem the blunders of a bygone age; to dwell once more in spirit with our kith and kin; to stand once more in battle at their side; to create once more a true union of hearts, to begin once more to write a history in common. That was our heartfelt desire, but it seemed utterly unattainable. . . . But it has

The Leave  
Department  
in London

The Fourth  
of July, 1918

come to pass and every day it is being emphasized and made more real and more lasting. However long the struggle may be, however cruel may be the sufferings we have to undergo, we seek no higher reward than this supreme reconciliation."

London was decorated from end to end. The Stars and Stripes were displayed everywhere. The British public attended all the meetings in thousands, lined the streets cheering Americans and entering into the festivities as if they were their own. More than 3,000 American soldiers were in the city for the day. In the morning the Y M C A arranged a coaching tour for several hundred men. At ten o'clock the boys at the Eagle Hut piled into the high seated coaches and were driven off to visit the famous places of the town. After the return for the noon meal, furnished by the Association, they again mounted the coaches and were off to the baseball game between teams of the Army and Navy. Hundreds of other men in uniform—all admitted free—were piloted to the game by Association secretaries.

The King went out on the field with Major General Biddle and Admiral Sims to greet the players. There were no guards and the crowd pressed close around his Majesty as he shook hands with the captains of the teams already flushed from warming up. The game, closely fought, aroused intense enthusiasm and when the Navy won by 2 to 1, the uproar equalled that of a final series game at the Polo Grounds. Again, the high seats on the coaches—this time to a fête and supper at Kensington Gardens prepared by 300 cordial English hostesses. An evening concert and return to Eagle Hut for the night ended the memorable day.

Other entertainments were held in various sections of London. A British committee provided 1,340 London theater tickets free. At the Officers' Inn, at Eagle Hut, and other buildings, festivities were held. In other cities, too, the celebration was observed with great enthusiasm.

On other national holidays, the Leave Department was equally busy. Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, received fitting recognition.

The early weeks of December, 1918, brought the hardest strain. With two weeks' leave, sailors from the Grand Fleet were arriving in London at the rate of 1,000 per day. Fifteen or twenty secretaries met the incoming specials. Trucks supplied by the British Navy and busses hired by the Y M C A, transported the sailors to the Association's hotels or lodgings engaged by its representatives. From the

Eagle Hut and the Association hotels, sightseeing parties left twice daily with Y M C A secretaries as guides. Each day there were two standard trips. The "East" included the Law Courts, St. Paul's, the Bank, and the Tower. The "West" gave at least a glimpse of the Embankment, Charing Cross, the National Art Gallery, Piccadilly, Westminster, and the Houses of Parliament. Y M C A lecturers accompanied the parties. Other trips included Kensington Museum, Greenwich Observatory, Hampton Court, Eton, and Windsor. Daily at 11.30 groups of American soldiers joined with similar parties of British colonials at the Chapter House to hear John Burns lecture on English history. On Tuesday afternoons at Windsor there were special receptions for which the Y M C A received invitation cards for 25 men. Representatives of the Royal Family were always present and sometimes the King and Queen.

Another service which the Leave Department rendered was the outlining of sight-seeing tours through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Ten, in addition to these for London and vicinity, were very carefully arranged. Oxford and the Shakespeare country, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, the Scotch Lakes, the Cathedral Cities, South Wales and the Wye Valley, Dublin and Belfast, and a circular tour, were among those chosen by large numbers of men. Both individuals and groups were booked and the Y M C A facilities in the large cities were utilized for their physical comfort en route. From every city center also the Leave Department arranged short trips of educational and historical value. In some places classical works relating to the scenes to be visited and standard novels whose plots were laid in the vicinity were furnished days in advance. Men who were particularly interested in industrial conditions were also aided to visit some of Great Britain's most important manufacturing plants. Special preparations were made for American students who came to the British universities after the Armistice.<sup>1</sup>

A plan for an extensive system of leave centers similar to that on the Continent was developing when the Armistice and the decision to return very few men through England rendered it unnecessary. One center was opened in the Shakespeare country at Stratford-on-Avon, where 600 officers were guests, and one for enlisted men was begun at Leamington Spa in Warwickshire, but operations ceased in February, 1919, owing to demobilization.

Provincial  
Sight-seeing  
Tours

Provincial  
Leave  
Centers

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XXXIV.

## HEADQUARTERS AND ORGANIZATION

The Y M C A headquarters in England were first housed at 45 Bedford Square in a building then occupied by the British Association. In October, 1917, a private house at 47 Russell Square was obtained. Later, an adjoining house and two other buildings, 1 Montague Street and 50 Russell Square, were added. In these buildings were housed the main offices for the staffs of the seven central administrative divisions.

The Headquarters organization was in the main similar to that in France. The number of men to be served was probably not more than one-tenth of the forces in France, except of course that brief service was given to half the A E F in transit. The Y M C A staff was much smaller in proportion, and subdivision of organization was not carried to the same extent. All activities were directed by an Activities Division, within which bureau staffs specialized on religious, athletic, and similar work. A cooperating committee of prominent American residents acted as an unofficial cabinet to the Chief Secretary for the United Kingdom, who bore a subordinate relationship to the Chief Secretary of the A E F-Y M C A.

This division, which carried on the direct work for the A E F in the United Kingdom, was naturally one of the largest. Within it were several departments. The Religious Work Department promoted evangelism, Bible study, lectures on missions, religious literature, and sex hygiene. In a five weeks' campaign among the aviation men two secretaries held 33 meetings with an average attendance of 200. Other secretaries did similar work. Some 175 Bible classes were organized and thousands of Bibles, Testaments, and religious books and pamphlets were distributed. Educational Department activities were carried on by three agencies, the library, the lecture and the instruction services. The first two were organized soon after the troops began to arrive in England. Working in close cooperation with the American Library Association in the United States—the organization which supplied most of the books—the Library Service, from May, 1917, to March, 1919, besides shipping over 1,500,000 books and 3,500,000 copies of other publications to Paris, had distributed in the United Kingdom 93,000 books. Of these 8,500 were text books. Nearly 3,000 were of a technical character relating to aviation. Nearly 450,000 newspapers and magazines were supplied to the men in the United Kingdom by the same depart-

ment. The Lecture Service which routed some of the most eminent of American and English speakers, up to April 1, 1919, had provided 670 lectures attended by about 160,000. In regular classes some 8,000 were enrolled in October, 1918. The Athletic Department succeeded in organizing some form of athletics at practically all of the points where Association secretaries were assigned. Besides promoting the usual forms of mass play and supplying materials, athletic fields were laid out on a large scale. At the city centers innumerable match and exhibition games were played before enormous crowds. A special program of contests was also carried out among the A E F men at the Universities. The approximate figure for participations in athletics in the United Kingdom was 500,000, for spectators, 7,500,000. The value of athletic equipment distributed free was \$84,465. Under the supervision of the Social Department provision was made for supplying entertainers, both American and British, and for the routing of moving picture films. Close cooperation among these various departments was effected both by centralization at headquarters and by the fact that all operated through the ten area headquarters.

Most soldiers who were detailed to duty in Britain, and even those who were detained there for training, were discontented if not resentful at the fate which kept them from the advanced zones. From the training camps in America clear to the front limits of the S O S, men were straining forward. The fact that they were more comfortable and safe than the fighting men did not count. They were not in the Army for the purpose of being comfortable and safe. The same was true of secretaries in England. Though they accepted the duty presented, they wanted to be in France. Considering that very few were recruited with the understanding that they should serve in England, and that the staff there was made up of men who responded to appeals for volunteers to stay and help, or who were held by authority secured from New York or Paris, the spirit in which they worked was distinctly commendable.

The service owed much, for its success and scope, to the assistance of volunteers. Not only in the notable achievements at Eagle Hut and the Officers' Inns in London, which would have been impossible without the hundreds of men and women who gave all the time their personal situation allowed, but throughout the organization and the field, the interest and sympathy of the nation showed itself in extensive and steadfast activity. The Government, the universities, and local organizations of all sorts, and individuals ranging from the high-

*Disappointed  
Hopes*

*Volunteer  
Assistance*

est rank to self-supporting women who gave up hours needed for their own rest and recreation, expressed in the most practical ways their solicitude for American soldiers and their desire to strengthen the friendship between the two great English-speaking nations.

Because of this, and because military arrangements made possible a fairly permanent localization of service at fixed posts, the character of the work resembled more closely that done in home camps than did the work in France. It developed in more orderly fashion, experienced no violent deflections because of emergencies, and earned the cordial approval of those who observed it most widely and those for whose benefit its steady practical activity was maintained.

#### AMERICAN FORCES IN ITALY

Besides Britain and France, American Expeditionary Forces served also in Russia and Italy. In Russia Y M C A service was rendered to all Allied forces without distinction,<sup>1</sup> but in Italy the work for Americans was administered separately from that for Italians. Although it was related officially to the Paris Headquarters, it can be most conveniently described at this point.

The 332d Infantry constituted the fighting American forces sent to Italy. They arrived in midsummer of 1918, and entered the lines in September. Before their arrival, however, there were many Americans in uniform scattered through the country. About 1,200 young college men were serving in ambulance units, a group of 400 aviators were stationed at Foggia, and sailors frequently appeared on shore leave especially at Genoa and Naples. After the Armistice, a large number of men from the forces in France and Germany came to Italy on leave. The service of all these presented the familiar characteristics of impermanence and of distribution in small groups at posts widely separated.

A beginning of service was made at Foggia in February, 1918, which, after a brief interruption, continued as long as the unit remained there. A hut was erected, canteens established and many pictures furnished. The practical impossibility of securing entertainers in that remote spot only stimulated the ingenuity of the secretary and men, and amateur shows, mass athletics and stunts filled the spare hours.

In Genoa a room was rented in February, but was not opened as a service station until April 7th. In June, secretaries sent to Rome to

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter LVIII.

serve Italian soldiers opened spacious quarters especially for Americans. Up to this time the work had been directed by the Y organization for service to Italians, but with the coming of the 332d regiment in July, a director was sent from Paris for the American work. He found 6,850 Americans scattered at ten centers, 1,200 ambulance men in scattered units of 20 to 40 men each, besides casuals at many points. By October, a staff of 31 secretaries was at work in fixed centers or with rolling canteens, which reached men at 49 different places. Their efforts would have been quite inadequate without the invaluable assistance of ladies from the various American colonies, who cooked and served, sewed on buttons, talked and danced with the soldiers.

When the troops entered the fighting lines in September, secretaries accompanied them close up to the Piave, and drove truckloads of supplies nightly to their posts. The last battle in Italy began in the mountains at dawn of October 24th. The enemy was badly shaken when the Americans were ordered into action on the 28th. They cooperated with the Tenth Army of Italians and British, under the Earl of Cavan, in shattering the enemy's improvised lines at Monticano, and advanced to the Livenza. There the retreat became a rout, and the Allied troops followed the enemy in forced marches which exhausted the pursuers as well as the pursued.

At the Piave came an opportunity for exceptional service. The pontoon bridges would not support the heavy army trucks. The Y's light camions had been serving the marchers for two days with canteen supplies. Now, by official request, they were put into commissary service, and for two days transported all food supplies to the pursuing troops. This done, they took up again their usual tasks, and arrived at the Taliamento with the marchers, bringing in all the stragglers they could carry, on the fenders, and even perched astride the engine hoods. On the night of the Armistice with Austria, November 3d, thousands of cups of hot coffee were served around a roaring bonfire made by the men. They needed the warmth and stimulation. It is said that 25 died of exposure and exhaustion in that terrific pursuit.

Soon after the Armistice, the regiment was divided. One battalion went to Treviso, one to Cattaro on the Dalmatian coast, and one to Fiume. A single company went to Cettinje, capital of Montenegro. Secretaries went with all. Service varied. At Cattaro for weeks the Army was unable to supply standard rations or clothing. The Y had no supplies, but the hut served at least as a place where the men could gather. At Fiume, they fared better, and the camions

made bi-weekly visits to the ambulance units. Service continued at Rome, Florence, and two aviation camps. Sailors and marines from the Adriatic fleet swarmed ashore at Venice and Trieste, and were welcomed by secretaries serving Italians until an American service could be organized. At Genoa, five centers served the men waiting for embarkation, and after them the ambulance units.

With the arrival of men on leave, the Y M C A found itself a busy tourist agency. Soldiers and officers had only a few days to "do" the country, and every hour counted. With efficient Italian helpers the secretaries relieved the men of all formalities relating to passports, located them in hotels, bought them tickets for railway, opera, or concert, and furnished English-speaking guides for their sight-seeing. At times in Rome there were ten parties of twenty each, in motor busses, circulating through the famous ways of the city. Similar service was rendered in Naples, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Trieste. The fleet remained in the Adriatic through the Fiume controversy, until the spring of 1921, and service was continued in Rome and Venice until practically all Americans had departed.

The work for Americans in Italy was highly commended by the American consuls in Rome, Venice, and Trieste, and by Colonel Wallace of the 332d.

The impression made upon Italians was most clearly indicated by the oft declared resolution that the work of practical brotherhood, demonstrated by the American Y M C A, must be perpetuated and developed as an indispensable element in their national life. From the soldiers and sailors who were the most concerned came many expressions of appreciation. The secretaries themselves, in practically every report, emphasized the services of American cooperation, especially of American ladies, to whose devotion and efficiency they attributed a large share of the success attained.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### WITH THE SERVICES OF SUPPLY

Reverting to the military organization and functions of the Services of Supply,<sup>1</sup> it will be remembered that their territory embraced the whole of France outside the zone of active military operations and was divided into nine Base Sections (six in France), which included the ports of arrival and the large rest camps in their vicinity, and one Intermediate Section, across which ran the lines of communication and in which were located the main storage depots of the A E F, a number of great industrial plants engaged in the production of war materials, and training camps for the air force, artillery, and other technical services. The District of Paris was a separate administrative area, the seat of the Headquarters Organization and its several bureaus, within the same territory.

In the area behind the advanced sections the Association's activities attained their fullest development. Partly this was because conditions were sufficiently stable to justify the erection or leasing of permanent buildings, but more significant was the fact that here were really the strategic points for welfare work. In the Base Sections were quartered about one-third of the entire A E F—550,000 men, forever preparing and passing forward the materials essential to the combat divisions. Their days were spent in dull, laborious tasks, free, it is true, from the peculiar dangers and hardships of the fighting line, but equally devoid of their zest and variety. The presence of these permanent troops in itself constituted an irresistible call for service. There was, however, a still stronger reason. The entire Army passed twice through one or other of the base ports. There Americans made their first contacts with the countries and peoples in whose crusade they had joined, when all the uncertainties of war were before them. There victorious, they bade farewell to France returning to an America made dearer by all their experience. In the base ports sooner or later every American would be found; and most Americans, taking training, leave, and occasional journeys on duty, would be there many times.

The Center of Activities

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter VIII.

## BASE SECTIONS

The magnitude and stages of the need at these points are reflected in the record of debarkation of American troops in Europe. During the first thirteen months of America's participation in the war, half a million men were transported to Europe; during the last six months a million and a half landed in the ports of England and France.<sup>1</sup> The Association was at hand to welcome the first men who arrived and was on the ground continually thereafter, but with the unprecedented troop movements of the last crowded six months before the Armistice, welfare work at the ports reached a magnitude and intensity undreamed of in the earlier period. Of the more than two million men who constituted the A E F, about half landed first in England, while the other half were distributed among the six chief American ports in France approximately as follows: Le Havre, 13,000; Brest, 791,000; St. Nazaire, 198,000; La Pallice, 4,000; Bordeaux, 50,000; Marseilles, 1,000.<sup>2</sup> The ports at which the smaller numbers debarked were used more largely for the discharge of freight cargoes.

With the first intimation, in April, 1917, that American destroyers were to be sent to European waters, the volunteer Y M C A committee in Paris<sup>3</sup> despatched representatives to Brest and St. Nazaire to prepare for their coming, and the first American sailors landing at a French port were greeted with the sign of the Red Triangle. Beginning in May with a few rooms in a store at Brest, a tent on the St. Nazaire docks, and a rented building at Pauillac, near Bordeaux, the Association added more and more equipment to serve the growing population. Special navy huts were erected, the first in July at Grange Neuve, and aviation huts were opened at St. Rafael on the Mediterranean, and at Moutchic on the Atlantic, 30 miles west of Bordeaux. Soon detachments of the Quartermaster Corps, the forerunners of the American Army in France, began to arrive. Engineer and labor companies set to work building the vast rest camps near the ports. Then, with the coming of the 1st Division and other combat troops, the huts lost their distinctively naval character. The expansion of the Y kept pace with the expansion of the need with a fair degree of success until the inundation of troops after March, 1918, temporarily swamped the organization. It was, however, not long before the Association once

<sup>1</sup> The War with Germany, Leonard Ayres, Washington, 1919, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> The Same.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 495, 496.

again began to catch up with its task. There was a period of feverish building to meet the new situation, and before the Armistice a vast equipment had been installed.

The Americans at the base ports were of several distinct classes. Some were stationed permanently in the areas, to carry on their activities, such as engineer, quartermaster and motor transport troops, and stevedore and labor battalions. There were groups of aero men in remote camps and all sorts of detached units. There were sick and wounded in the base hospitals. The majority, however, were transients. The cities swarmed with casuals, men from the cargo-boats, troopships, and mine sweepers, the rescued from torpedoed ships, officers idly waiting, sometimes for months, for their assignments, individuals on short leaves or on duty. By far the largest number were men of the combat divisions landing from the transports, staying a little while at the rest camps, and then passing on.

As a result of these varied conditions several different types of huts were evolved. In the large camps were large double huts that served both the troops regularly stationed there and the transient units. When a large contingent arrived there was a period of intense activity in which canteen work predominated. Thousands and thousands of boys, thinking this to be their last opportunity to "stock up," thronged the huts to buy comforts. Some idea of the volume of these sales may be gained from the figures reported from the Brest area. Beginning in November, 1917, with sales amounting to a little over 30,434 francs for that month, the dry canteens in this section alone reached a total of 1,235,359 francs for March, 1919. The entire personnel of a hut sometimes had to turn to this task during many hours of the day. This canteen service was not without its welfare aspect: not only did prices in French shops rise suddenly with the American advent, but many of the things Americans wanted could be had only at the Y canteen. Often it served as a point of personal contact, which led to opportunity for some special personal service. The canteen was thus the center of activity, but, great as were its demands upon the personnel, it was never the only activity. Somehow or other the secretaries would manage to organize games and furnish entertainment to compete with the city resorts.

Then the troops passed on, and there was a lull until the next division arrived. In these calmer intervals, the huts in rest camps served the stationary troops, and the work was more like that done in the second type of hut—the smaller huts in the isolated camps.

Work for  
Transient Units

This work for the permanent garrisons of the large rest camps and of the smaller detached camps scattered throughout the base sections was not so thrilling as that for the newly arrived hosts of men on their way to the front, but the circumstances under which it was done were more favorable for work of an intensive character with permanent results. The men reached by this service included engineer troops engaged in various forms of construction work, quartermaster troops handling supplies for all parts of the A E F, mechanics employed in overhauling airplanes and motor transport equipment, cadets in training for flying, and many other classes. They worked as a rule on a strenuous schedule and had little time for recreation. The huts were the social centers for these men and in them was done an inconspicuous but constructive work along the lines of the Association's four-fold program. The buildings had the familiar club equipment. Professional entertainers came often from Paris, and there were motion pictures. Athletic contests between units, even league schedules, were possible, subject to interruptions. Educational classes were organized with some chance of continuous work and religious services gained something of intimacy as soldiers and secretaries got acquainted. On Sunday afternoons the Y kept "open house" and served refreshments to its guests.

As so many of the organizations permanently stationed at these points were stevedore and labor units, a considerable proportion of the troops served were colored men, and a number of the huts were devoted exclusively to their needs. At La Pallice, for example, a standard A-type hut, with full equipment, was provided for a group of about 3,000 colored men. The number visiting the hut daily was about 1,500 and the number served by the canteen about 700. It is significant that at this time about 1,000 sheets of letter paper were required for their needs. The religious services on Sunday always attracted a good attendance. A popular feature was the jazz band which played every day and also furnished music for other camps in the area. Colored women secretaries proved to be a most wholesome influence at some of these huts.

When General Harbord assumed command of the S O S in August, there was urgent need of accelerating the unloading of ships. The stevedore units were full of men who had enlisted to fight and were chafing under their assignment to duty in the rear. The General called Y representatives into consultation, asking their cooperation in improving the efficiency of the labor troops; and as a result of this

conference a plan, known as the "Race to Berlin," devised by the Entertainment Department, was put into effect. A championship contest in car loading was started among the nine ports, with prizes given by the Y to the port winning with the highest record of loaded cars. An intensive propaganda was conducted to speed up the service and to sustain rivalry. The work went on day and night and for twenty-four hours each day the huts were open to the men. The Association conducted a program of entertainments to fill the rest periods and operated wet canteens for refreshments. The contest reached a stage of feverish excitement which the Y men shared equally with the stevedores. The secretaries resorted to all kinds of expedients to secure entertainment features to maintain enthusiasm. There were midnight shows and concerts. At Marseilles the secretary in charge even secured a menagerie. In these huts and in tents on the docks the stevedore passed his rest period in warmth and comfort, was entertained and returned refreshed to his work. The final victory was won by Brest, with Rochefort and Rouen very little behind. The schedule had allowed eight weeks for the contest, but it was actually won in six weeks and three days. General Harbord stated that by these means the efficiency of the ports was increased by an average of eleven per cent.

Lastly, there were the city centers. Many men attached to headquarters units were stationed permanently in cities. Others, released on leave passes from the camps, made at once to cities near by. The situation was typified by Bordeaux. A colonel in the Medical Corps there called on a Y representative in Paris and said: "You have got to do something more in the Bordeaux area, particularly in Bordeaux. There are a thousand men every night walking the streets in Bordeaux. You have got to put up a big hut." He was taken to the Chief Secretary, who, it happened, had been trying for several months to get the necessary permission to erect such a hut. With the facts furnished by the colonel, the Chief Secretary was able to go direct to Army Headquarters and secure the permission.

The city center organized the men's leisure. It furnished sleeping accommodations in its hotels, meals in its restaurants and cafeterias, provided indoor and outdoor games, staged entertainments of all kinds, and organized sight-seeing tours. At Le Havre three hotels were operated by the Y M C A, one primarily for the accommodation of enlisted men stationed in the city, one similarly for officers, and one for transients. In addition to furnishing comfortable beds and good

Work in  
City Centers

meals at reasonable prices, these hotels operated canteens and provided all the facilities afforded by the huts, such as reading and writing rooms, information and money exchange service, dances, entertainments, and religious services. At the two busiest ports, Brest and St. Nazaire, the operation of week-end leave hotels was especially appreciated. The best hotels in Trez-Hir and Ste. Marguerite were leased and operated as seaside resorts with comfortable beds, good meals, games, entertainments and dances. Some men were able to spend several days in these places and hundreds passed week-ends there. Every week the Association conveyed large parties of men out from the ports as guests at the Saturday night dance. In these and many other ways the Y attempted to seize every opportunity to provide an environment of happiness and wholesome influence.

One of the prominent features of the base port huts was the money exchange. The men who landed at the ports had American or English currency or its equivalent in traveler's checks or, in thousands of cases, only personal checks or drafts. The French currency was strange to them, the traveler's checks good only at banks which it was often impossible to reach, the personal checks not negotiable. To meet this situation individual Y secretaries began the practice of changing money at the huts; and as this was found to be of real service, in December, 1917, an Exchange Department was set up. Sailors from the destroyers and transports, soldiers in ever increasing numbers, officers with no security but the reputation of the service, cashed their checks. Rates of exchange were on a par with or lower than the current bank rates, thus saving the men from exploitation by money changers. The huts accepted payment for goods in American, French, Italian, and Belgian currencies. It will easily be seen that the receipt of this money, its clearance through a central exchange and the necessary bookkeeping involved great labor. The Brest area alone had a capital of a quarter of a million francs for exchange service, and this was often insufficient. In the year 1918 the exchange transactions in that area totaled almost 28,000,000 francs.

In connection with the huts various other forms of equipment were employed. For physical activities athletic fields were leased and gymnasiums and bath houses built. Public theaters and auditoriums were taken over for entertainment purposes. In the St. Nazaire area, during the early weeks of 1918, the Y was providing 85 entertainments each week. Entertainments were given on board transports in the harbor as well as at the centers ashore. Such well known

artists as Elsie Janis and E. H. Sothern were among the performers. Classes in all kinds of subjects were held. In cooperation with the American Library Association, libraries were placed in the huts, and books and magazines distributed.

There were also various clubs and institutes, such as Farmers' Clubs,<sup>1</sup> and the Honey Bee Clubs<sup>2</sup> had their origin here. Religious work secretaries held services frequently at all points.

Sight-seeing tours by boat and auto were also arranged at the ports. The Y provided free transportation and box lunches, so that the only cost to the soldier was for his dinner at some hotel—usually about four francs. A specimen weekly program at Brest shows a trip up the river with its ancient castles, a coast trip to the ruined abbey of St. Mathieu, by auto to the cathedral at Leon, to the quaint fishing village at Camaret and to other places. These trips gave the soldiers a splendid chance to see the country, to travel through the land of dolmens, menhirs, and druidic monuments, and to see the ancient churches and picturesque religious festivals, which survive as distinctive features of the local home life.

Behind the huts of all types there was an immense business organization, operating warehouses through which Y supplies were passed on their way to canteens all over France, bakeries, ice-cream factories, a motor transport service with many garages.

Of the nine Base Sections only the three busiest on the western coast can be given particular mention, and even in dealing with these only a few of the special features can be outlined. As more than three-fourths of the troops who landed at French ports passed through the Brest area, the work for transients here was of special importance. It began with two secretaries in a small building opened scarcely seven weeks after the United States declared war. From this small beginning it expanded until it employed 210 secretaries, besides a large staff of French employees, and was carried on at 50 different centers of various kinds. The headquarters of this area was in Rue de Traverse, a two-story building, containing business offices, a postoffice, check-room, canteen and assembly room, used by day for reading or writing and in the evening for entertainments. More than 2,000 men per day were served in various ways at this place. Nearby were two restaurants with a capacity of 1,200 per day. These were

Base Section  
No. 5: Brest

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XXXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Consult Chapter XXXIV.

converted into cafeterias after the opening of the larger restaurant at Flag Hut, in which as many as 4,600 in one day and 78,000 in a single month were served. There was also another cafeteria, or "bite between meals" counter, at this hut. The average cost of meals was slightly over two francs. For half a franc the soldier could purchase a meat or cheese sandwich and a large hot drink.

The Red  
Triangle Café

One day a secretary passing down the Rue de Lian noticed an auction in progress and found that a French café, condemned because it was nearer to a church than the law allowed, was being sold. Seizing the opportunity, he bought at once, for a ridiculously low figure, the whole property and fixtures, including the bar, and in a short time it was reopened as the Red Triangle Café. In this place twelve women were constantly employed in serving soft drinks and there was usually a crowd four or five deep around the bar.

The Doughnut  
Factory

To supply these eating houses, bakeries and ice cream factories had to be provided. Among these was the Doughnut Factory. The only bakery to be had was one that had been so long abandoned that the oven had to be fired for a week before it could be heated through. There was a small gas hot plate upstairs on which the secretary and his seven French assistants tried to heat the lard pans, but the supply of gas was insufficient and spasmodic, so they resorted to the use of the small stove and, as the stove pipe was not long enough to reach the roof, these amateur pastry cooks worked in a constant cloud of smoke for many weeks until an army range was secured. Two women secretaries were induced to come over in their leisure time for the first week to teach this peculiarly American art to French helpers. In spite of all difficulties they succeeded in turning out cakes with the old oven and in a very few weeks were producing 6,000 doughnuts per day. The demand for their product increased to such an extent that a second crew and a night shift had to be employed. These men, by working from 4.30 a. m. till 11.30 p. m., under the charge of one secretary, managed to produce 15,000 doughnuts daily which were delivered to the restaurants, cafeterias, the Red Triangle Café, and the Pontanezen camp. Once a week they were sent to outlying points for free distribution at the Sunday afternoon "at-homes" in the huts. Over 75 per cent of the product was thus given away.

With the expansion of Camp Pontanezen and the arrival of troops in ever increasing numbers the Y put up hut after hut and opened many additional centers. The Grand Hotel Moderne was leased as an officers' club. It had bedrooms for 127 officers, a dining room

holding 110 and averaging two sittings at every meal. It was equipped with all the conveniences usually found in an American hotel. Afternoon teas were served. An orchestra played during dinner. There were billiards, pool, and other games and frequent entertainments. In this hotel about 700 guests per month were accommodated and 11,500 meals served. Later an additional apartment next door was added; and a leave hotel for 40 officers was opened at Château Bellevue on the Atlantic shore about 25 miles from Brest. There were still other hotels and dormitories for Y personnel.

For the men there were the huts—the Flag Hut on Place du Château; the J. B. Ellis Hut for the Motor Ambulance Park; the Soldiers' Hut at Casemates Fautras outside the city gates and serving the permanent camp there; the hut at Camp Porte Foy for the Military Police companies; the Takeiteeasy Hut at the Motor Reception Park; two huts, one for white and one for colored men, at Camp President Lincoln, where the Transportation Corps and labor battalions were quartered; the Thanksgiving Hut at Fort Bouguen; the Engineers' Hut at Fort Fédérés; the Portuguese hut at Kerangoff; and other huts for negroes at the Sorting Yards, for the baking companies at Camp Gambetta, as well as at the Kerhuon Hospital, the Chinese camp, the four American Polish camps, and the Russian camp. Even these do not exhaust the list. In the Pontanezen division there were no fewer than seventeen additional huts for the large camp there, and in outlying districts, notably at the aviation centers, there were still others.

Two from this list will suffice for special mention. The J. B. Ellis Hut with the Ambulance Park was typical of the smaller hut serving a permanent unit. In this camp were about 250 men whose duty was to meet hospital trains and ships and who had to be ready for a call day or night. Here the men could always get pies, ice cream, and doughnuts. Here they wrote their letters, read, played, saw movies and shows, and attended Sunday and weekday religious services. The two women workers at this hut were known throughout the camp as "mother" and "sister."

The largest and most complete equipment was the Flag Hut at Place du Château. This was originally the Navy Hut and to the end the women workers wore the navy blue. It began in four rooms in the old château, part of the ancient fortifications of Brest, used as a naval station. When the numbers of navy men in port increased, other rooms were taken, soon to be outgrown. Then the local French authorities very graciously came to the rescue, giving the Y permis-

The Men's  
Huts

sion to build huts on the entire Place du Château, the historic plot that back in 1769 had been solemnly consecrated by the populace "to loyalty to the Nation, to the Law, to the King." On this site what was then the largest hut in France was opened in May, 1918. The navy men decorated it and did all the wiring for electric light. On the walls were ships' clocks and ships' flags. Through the generosity of private patrons the equipment was particularly complete and the furnishing artistic. But this hut, large as it was, proved insufficient when the great troop movements began. It was enlarged, its name was changed to Flag Hut, and it became a military as well as a naval center. The restaurant and cafeteria, already mentioned, were added, as well as a large gymnasium with attached shower baths, an American barber shop and souvenir store, and even a wireless apparatus to snatch from the air the day's news for the bulletin board. It was completed by the addition of an auditorium seating 3,000 men.

The Association also leased the Municipal Theater. In these two large halls and in all the other centers varied educational and entertainment activity was carried on. Reports show that in a single week eight American professional and four local amateur companies appeared, giving performances in 28 different huts and that five additional units were being requisitioned from Paris. No fewer than 34 athletic fields were laid out in this area, including the Polygone across the River in old Brest, where every Saturday and Sunday afternoon half a dozen baseball games of the Army and Navy League were in progress; and the Velodrome, with its nine tennis courts always busy and its facilities for track meets and baseball. Ten physical directors had charge of promoting and arranging games varying from formal league baseball games to extremely informal pillow fights. To some of these centers were attached bath houses with free supply of soap and towels.

The St. Nazaire area was second only to Brest in the number of troops handled. A Y tent had been erected on the dock to meet the first detachments of the Quartermaster's department and before even a single American soldier had landed, a baseball diamond had been laid out. By November, 1917, nine different centers in this region had been opened; by March, 1918, there were 19 in St. Nazaire and 62 in the region. Before the end there were four clubs, a hotel, restaurant and leave center for the officers; twenty huts for the soldiers; a cafeteria serving 25,000 meals a month, three auditoriums, and two large warehouses, besides athletic fields, factories and bakeries, and mess rooms

for the Y personnel. There was a similar development at Nantes, Vannes, Coetquidan, and other outlying centers.

The growth of the organization in this area may be made more vivid by the story of how it grew in one small camp. The secretary assigned to a camp of engineers engaged in building the huge warehouse and siding system at Montoir found his men housed in an old French warehouse, a wooden building with cement floors. They had no stoves except a few that they themselves had knocked together out of sheet iron. There were very few even of these and, as the pipes did not reach the roof, the building was always cold and full of smoke. These men were in a very forlorn condition. During the day they worked in swamp land, with water often to their knees. As the camp was temporary, the commanding officer discouraged the building of a hut, so the Y began its service in one corner of the warehouse. The secretary's first job was to get hold of a real stove, which he stoked with coal picked up from passing trains. Soon he installed a phonograph, obtained a couple of hundred books, and supplies of stationery. He was not allowed to open a canteen but, in no way discouraged, he turned over what supplies he could secure to the mess sergeant for distribution.

Soon the 250 men originally stationed at the camp were increased by many hundreds and day laborers came in by train each morning. The Y equipment was now increased by two tents. After heavy rains the men had to stand in rubber boots to see the shows. There was no electricity in the camp, and the French candles were expensive and so full of "bubbles" that they did not last long. Nevertheless, an entertainment hall was opened just as soon as an empty warehouse could be secured. A few Japanese lanterns gave some illumination. There were no chairs or benches, and no lumber to make them, but the men welcomed shows, even though they had to stand shivering in their overcoats. At first the entertainments were provided by local talent, but in a little while the Y began to bring in professionals and lecturers. One evening when a Chicago judge was lecturing, there was no light in the hall except a small flashlight held by the secretary to light up the speaker's face. Once a week the St. Nazaire office sent up an acetylene moving picture machine in charge of a French operator. The car had to stop three-quarters of a mile below the camp, since there was no road except the railroad track, but a small detail met the auto with a flat car and on this the apparatus would be pushed by hand to the entertainment warehouse.

By the end of 1918, this camp had increased from 250 to 8,000 men and the Association had erected five huts with a resident staff of six men and seventeen women. The equipment included wet canteens for both white and colored troops, an enlisted men's club, an officers' club and an auditorium.

Base Section  
No. 2:  
Bordeaux

Within a radius of 25 miles of Bordeaux there were ten camps and two large base hospitals with an approximate American population of 75,000. This district included, besides the City of Bordeaux itself, Bassens, where the greatest of all the American dock construction projects was carried out; Camp St. Sulpice, with its enormous storage facilities; the Beau Desert Hospital Center; and other stations, the most important of which centered about Limoges, Libourne, and Souges. The Y operated at all these points, and in addition, Association work in Base Section No. 7, the La Pallice area, was administered from the Regional Headquarters at Bordeaux. In addition to the general types of service already described, it will be sufficient to mention a few special features of the work in Bordeaux itself.

The  
Tourny Y

The center of activity was the famous Tourny Y near the heart of the city, originally the Café des Anglais. Rented by the Association in December, 1917, renovated, decorated, and gradually adapted to the needs, it was opened every day at 7.30 a. m. and remained open until 1.30 next morning. On the first floor was the cafeteria, which, when troops were passing through, served an average of 6,000 meals a day.<sup>1</sup> On the second floor was an information bureau, the American Express Company's money office, a lounge, with billiard tables and other games, and a quiet room for reading and writing. On the third floor was the tearoom, where light lunches and ice-cream were served and where Army and Navy bands gave almost daily concerts. Near the entrance to the tearoom was "Mother's Corner," where one of the women workers was always in attendance, ready to talk to the boys, admire their sweethearts' pictures, sew on a button, or mend a torn tunic. The fourth floor accommodated a library (operated in cooperation with the American Library Association), class rooms where French language and history were taught, and, beyond them, wash rooms, shower baths, shoe shine "parlor" and barber shop. During the busiest times as many as 10,000 men per day were served in vari-

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<sup>1</sup> There were 120 French employees on the staff, and in its kitchens were cooked one steer, four calves, 42 lambs, 400 rabbits and over 7,000 eggs daily. Three-quarters of a ton of bread per day was consumed. Two hundred turkeys were needed for the Sunday dinners.

ous ways at this center. In reviewing this work at its close, the secretary in charge stated: "It may be said that no one has ever been turned away from the Tourny Y without bed or food or any other necessity that could be provided, for lack of money."

Even as early as the winter of 1917-18, it was found that there <sup>Lodgings</sup> was great need for sleeping accommodations for the men compelled to pass the night in Bordeaux. Cots were placed on the upper floor of the Tourny Y, but these soon proved inadequate. The lounges in the tea room were occupied, and soon as many as 125 men were sleeping nightly on pallets on the floors of the rooms and corridors. The Y reserved all the beds it could possibly secure in respectable hotels and lodging houses. Hospitable secretaries met trains all through the night to pilot the men to these billets. Finally a hotel, which became known as the Hotel des Américains, was leased, at a high rental. Its capacity was 75, but from the first it housed 250. Over the week-end it would be so crowded that it was almost impossible to move about the corridors. It is reported that 600 have crowded in at one time. In a period covering about a year over a million men in Bordeaux were provided with a place to sleep.

A large entertainment center was opened at Franklin Hall, a public auditorium holding 1,500, with a particularly large stage and orchestra pit. It was at first leased for three evenings a week, but it was so popular that the Y assumed entire possession. Throughout the day the main floor was cleared for basket-ball and once a week an athletic tournament was held. In the evenings entertainments and popular religious services were given. Every Wednesday there was a dance.

Marseilles was little used for debarkation, but when the troops were returning, the French steamers touching at that port were utilized especially for casuals. Activities there were developed accordingly, of the types already described, with the special features added in all embarkation ports.<sup>1</sup>

#### INTERMEDIATE SECTION

The Intermediate Section, which occupied a great area in the central part of France extending from northwest to southeast, served as a storehouse for supplies and the connecting link between the base ports and the fighting troops in the Advance Section. Along the

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XLII.

lines of communication which traversed it in three main highways were located a series of great storage centers and industrial plants whose operations gave employment to thousands of members of the A E F, as well as camps where other activities essential to the conduct of the war at the front were carried on, such as the supplying of replacements to combat divisions, the reclassification of troops for various reasons, and the training of men for aviation, artillery, and other technical services.

Y M C A  
Stations

By March, 1918, the Y M C A had, besides 62 stations at the base ports, 71 stations along the lines of communication, at such centers as the Headquarters of the S O S at Tours, the storage depot at Gièvres, and the casual camps at Blois and St. Aignan, 20 stations at the artillery camps, such as Valdahon, Mailly, and Coetquidan, 10 in the newly organized aviation centers at Issoudun and elsewhere, 12 serving detached units of engineers and foresters, and, by arrangement with the Red Cross, 11 at ambulance headquarters and military hospitals—total 204 in the S O S, an equipment which increased later.

In general, the work done in the Intermediate Section was similar in character to that done in the Base Sections and already described. Here we find the same types of service—for men permanently stationed in the camps, for those passing through on their way to and from the front, and for visitors to the cities.

G. H. Q.  
Chaumont

Although Chaumont was situated in the Advance rather than the Intermediate Section, its personnel was to a large extent fixed and the welfare work carried on was so much like that in the S O S that it may well be considered here. Chaumont was selected as Headquarters for the A E F in September, 1917. The military population which was ultimately assembled in its vicinity included such a mixture of troops as could not be matched anywhere. Approximately 1,200 officers were on duty there. In Chaumont itself, as well as at Hanlon Field, Donjeaux, Bourmont, St. Blin, Rimaucourt, Luzy, Jonchéry and other neighboring points, were detachments of all units that go to make the complex thing we call an army—artillery, engineers, pioneers, infantry, cavalry, railroad companies, motor park units, labor battalions, hospital units, headquarters troops, military police, casual companies, and other minor units. The total strength of these varied detachments, plus the casuals and convoys daily passing through, aggregated close to 70,000 men. The area eventually covered several hundred square miles and included about 25 towns or camps, adjacent to Chaumont, where troops were stationed.

The Y M C A erected its first hut in Chaumont in November, 1917, Association  
Service at  
Chaumont and as the military population increased added to its equipment and service in order to keep pace with the needs of the men. This first building was a large double hut intended for the use of enlisted men. It served also as a lodging house, often affording sleeping accommodations for as many as 250 men, who were also served with chocolate and cakes free of charge.

A few months later a hut was built for officers, containing a reading and lounging room with large open fireplace, a dining room seating 200, sleeping rooms for 50 and an overflow with tents for 30 more. This building served an especially useful purpose, because of the large number of officers always to be found in Chaumont. It was so well patronized that on many occasions, after all the regular sleeping accommodations were exhausted, officers up to the rank of major-general were found sleeping on the floor.

A distinctive work was done at the interpreters' school at Biesles, The Interpreters'  
School at which, in preparation for liaison work, French officers and men were given instruction in English, together with information about American customs and traditions. The men at this school, numbering at the maximum about 400, were provided with athletic material and taught American games and physical recreation methods. They took great delight in playing baseball, as did the Americans in watching them. To these men, as well as to the American soldiers, the Association brought as lecturers many of the distinguished American visitors to France, who, of course, rarely failed to include Chaumont in their itinerary. It is difficult to estimate the results, in international understanding, of bringing such men into contact with these groups of the most intelligent and influential French soldiers. In return, many of the French officers at the interpreters' school helped the Y by giving lectures at the American huts.

Daily there were many casuals in Chaumont, some for a few hours, some over night, and the Association operated a canteen near the station where these hungry and tired soldiers could find a welcome and be given food and a bed. This hut, a canvas barrack, served an average of nearly 400 daily. Many troop trains, en route to other points, stopped at this station for a little while, and when the men were not permitted to leave the box cars in which they usually traveled, the secretaries carried chocolate, sandwiches, and cigarettes to them. Only a reader who has traveled in a box car and dined on hardtack, "corned willy," and tepid coffee can appreciate such service.

On July 1, 1918, the Chaumont area had a Y personnel of about 25 men and 12 women, but this number was much increased later. An idea of the extent of the service is conveyed by the facts that the average monthly canteen sales exceeded 500,000 francs, the amount of A E F remittances averaged nearly 100,000 francs per month, and free supplies to the average value of 33,000 francs were distributed monthly.

The directors of the athletic, entertainment, religious, and educational activities maintained almost uninterrupted service in their special fields. Proximity to General Headquarters made available facilities for the conduct of these activities which did not exist at most other points, and unusual service was rendered along these lines. But here, as elsewhere, what counted most was the things that the hut made possible—some amenities of existence, reminders of home, the welcome companionship of American girls, and the unnoticed and unreported round of small services. These things almost evaporate in the telling. The visit of the King and Queen of the Belgians to Chaumont and the bestowing of decorations upon Y M C A women was an interesting occasion.

#### Tours

Tours was the headquarters of the S O S and, from the American military point of view, the second most important city in France. Its military character was similar in many respects to that of Chaumont. The administration of the vast enterprises of the S O S necessitated the presence of an unusually large number of officers, either assigned to regular duties or going in and out on business, and the units stationed here represented nearly every branch of the Army, but particularly those concerned with construction and supply.

The Y service was inaugurated in the autumn of 1917. In December, there were in operation one center in the city and five at outlying points. By August, 1918, work was being carried on at 26 established centers throughout the area and six outposts without permanent equipment. These included hotels, cafés, clubs, and theaters, besides the huts with their standard activities. Up to July, 1918, no other welfare agency had established welfare work in the area, except the Young Women's Christian Association, which had hostels for English and French telephone operators, stenographers, and clerks in the service of the American Army.

The main center of Y M C A service in Tours itself was the Café du Palais, opened in January, 1918, as a club room and restaurant for enlisted men. During 1918 this building served an average of 4,500

soldiers every day. An average of 425 meals a week were given away to transients; only the secretary and the men concerned knowing that they were gifts. The following incident is typical. Two men, with tunics much the worse for wear, stood for a long time in the entrance of the Café du Palais, without moving or speaking. They seemed too reticent to make their wants known. The secretary approached and asked if there was anything he could do for them. They told him that they were casuals who had been gassed at the front and were now on their way to the States, that they were hungry but had not the price of a square meal. One reached down in his pocket and drew out a franc and a half, offering this in payment for as much as it would buy. He was told to put it back in his pocket and both men were given a good meal. Afterwards, one of them came to the secretary and said, "Look here, Secretary, I ain't never bummed a meal in my life, and I want you to take these coins and let me give you my I. O. U. for the rest." "Nonsense," replied the Y man, "you're not bumming anything. You're just the guests of the friends back home, that's all. This is their house and you have been sitting at their table. Take your coins with you, for you'll need them before you get through." The men passed on with a grateful farewell and, a few days later, the secretary received this letter:

"Dear Secretary: I've just met my major and nicked his bank roll for fifty francs. Am sending you ten francs to pay for them meals you let me and my buddy have. If there's any change use it to pay for a meal for some other hungry guy that comes along. Thanks ever so much."

Under agreement with the Red Cross, work was conducted for men in the hospital at Tours. A secretary daily passed through the wards with his handbag, distributing without charge tooth brushes, toothpaste, shaving cream, cigarettes, chewing gum, and other articles, and taking orders for such things as the men might desire him to buy in the city. Twice a week during the summer, the Commandant placed a camion at his disposal and he would take about 30 convalescents and a supply of food down to the River Cher for an afternoon picnic.

Cooperative Work  
With the  
Red Cross

Because of the large proportion of officers in Tours, special provision was made for them at three hotels and a club known as the Béranger Gardens. Arrangements were also made whereby they might for a small fee have the use of the facilities of the Tours Golf Club.

Y service buildings, with the usual activities, were located at Saumur, Angers, St. Maixent, and other points within the Tours area. The huts at Rannes and Rochambeau received over 3,000 men each daily. At the Meeker Memorial Hut, located at the 2d Aviation Instruction Center, 1,500 bowls of chocolate and as many sandwiches were dispensed free every afternoon. Daily within this area some 23,000 men visited the huts, 1,500 letters were written, 500 books were issued from the library, thousands attended shows, boxing bouts or other athletic features, or the movies. Hundreds danced and took sight-seeing trips. Magazines and newspapers were distributed, lectures given, educational classes and clubs established, and religious services held with excellent attendance. The rolling canteen made daily trips to detachments that were too small for regular service.

Near the little town of Gièvres American Engineers constructed the main storage center of the Intermediate Section, the General Intermediate Storage Depot. This was an immense industrial plant employing about 25,000 men, with a hundred acres of storage and packing space, a network of railroad sidings, and a camp nearly seven miles long and a mile wide. It included separate supply sections for troops of the quartermaster corps, signal corps, engineers, medical corps, and chemical warfare service, besides a gasoline and oil section, and warehouses of several of the welfare societies. Near by, at Romorantin, were 13,000 more Americans attached to the great Air Service Production Center and Aviation Training Camp there.

The welfare work at this point differed from that at the two headquarters centers just described in that the proportion of permanent units served was larger and therefore less provision for transients and casuals was required. YMCA work kept pace measurably with the military growth until there was a personnel of 125 operating at 30 different points, and a general and complete program was developed as rapidly as conditions would permit. As many as 200 religious meetings were held in a single month, 500 entertainments of one kind or another were not unusual in a month's program, enrollment in educational classes at one time exceeded 10,000, the business department usually handled over 1,000,000 francs monthly, athletics entertained many thousands, and all needed equipment was supplied free. At practically every one of the 30 places a wet canteen, with American girls in attendance, was in operation. One day each week was "at home" day, refreshments were served free, and the huts were always crowded.

In addition to the welfare activities directly touching the soldiers, the Y maintained three large warehouses in which were stored great quantities of supplies intended for all parts of France. As many as 120 carloads of supplies were handled in a single day, and during the month of September, 1918, nearly 1,450 carloads were handled. The Y storage space aggregated over a half million square feet.

The Nevers area covered 22 different camps, whose military <sup>Nevers</sup> population was about 50,000. Nearly every arm or department of service was represented. There were aviation camps, railroad engineers and railroad operators, labor battalions, motor repair units, a remount station, hospital units, and many others. There were several thousand German prisoners and nearly a thousand homeless Russians. At the time of the Armistice there were 30,000 patients in the great hospitals at Mesves and Mars-sur-Allier.

Camp Stephenson, where three thousand men of the Railway <sup>Camp Stephenson</sup> Engineer units were building and repairing locomotives, was one of the most interesting stations in the Nevers area. The Y M C A activities at this camp were typical of those at many surrounding camps, but the fine spirit of cooperation between the Y and the Army, made Camp Stephenson stand out as a shining example. The soldiers constructed and the Association paid for the material of the Y building, which was one of the most complete and attractive in France. It contained living quarters for the Y personnel, kitchen, canteen, billiard room, library and reading room, and an auditorium seating 1,700, with fully equipped stage and dressing rooms. It was built largely of tile and concrete, had a large veranda with flower boxes, and presented the appearance of a first class club. There was a show, motion pictures, boxing bout, dance or tea nearly every afternoon and evening. On Sunday, well attended religious services filled the morning hours, while athletics, a band concert, and open house were the afternoon attractions. A departure from ordinary overseas practice, which proved very successful, was that of securing the active participation of the men in the management of the hut. The hut secretary reports:

"The success of the work in this camp was in a large measure due to the fine spirit of the Committee of Enlisted Men. This Committee initially formed to conduct the dances, agreed, at the request of the hut secretary, to take over a larger interest in the welfare of the men of the camp. Their advice on points that might give rise to misunderstanding and discontent, or any course of action, and their explanation to men of their companies of any difficulty that arose,

brought about a confidence and an appreciation that could not have been had in any other way. We practically let them manage the work and we put it across."

Blois, a city of about 25,000 people, was selected as a base hospital center and classification camp. It was, in reality a great casual camp, where officers and men were held pending their return to duty or to America. It was, therefore, a place where a large part of the military personnel was transient and welfare activity was principally directed to such things as would best serve a floating population. Association work here suffered all the disadvantages which accompanied situations in which it was impossible to establish personal acquaintance between the welfare worker and the soldier.

In Blois proper the Y operated two excellent hotels, an enlisted men's club, cinema theater, a number of athletic fields and a large supply warehouse, while seven outlying stations or camps were under the supervision of Y Divisional Headquarters. The most important Y center at Blois was the hut erected in the courtyard of the Caserne, where an average of 5,000 men per day availed themselves of the privileges offered. There was as great a diversity of activity here as could be found in any one building in the A E F.

St. Aignan

St. Aignan was the Y headquarters for an area of nearly 600 square miles. The city is best known to Americans as a great replacement depot from which troops were forwarded to the combat divisions to fill the depletions due to casualties. This First Replacement Depot, familiarly known as "The Mill," furnished 555,000 replacements to the fighting units. During the weeks preceding the Armistice the daily strength of the camp ranged between 35,000 and 45,000 men. After the Armistice it became a reclassification camp, at which casualties received the same preparation for embarkation as that through which the organized units went at Le Mans. For months the average stay of individual soldiers in the camp was less than two days. The impressions which it made upon them may be surmised from the fact that they nicknamed it "St. Agony."

Y M C A work began in February, 1918, and by the time of the Armistice was being carried on at 39 established centers within the area by a personnel of 78. The hut commonly known as Classification Hut was the busiest of all the welfare stations. It had all the features to be found in other buildings of its type, and in addition facilities for a number of inconspicuous but useful services not so commonly rendered. One of the most distinctive of these was the maintenance

of a loan fund, which helped hundreds of American boys over difficult situations. This was financed partly as a gratuity of the hut and partly from funds supplied by generous friends. Another unusual feature was a bundle wrapping, cable, and telegram department. Bundles prepared for shipment averaged 50 a day, and cables and telegrams at times numbered as many as 600 a day. A post office for casualties was maintained here, as at Y headquarters, enabling many men to receive mail which they would otherwise have missed. In this hut as many as 8,000 men were served in four hours, requiring more than 300 gallons of chocolate. The religious services were splendidly successful, many meetings attracting an attendance of nearly 2,000.

Physical work secretaries in this area sought to keep every boy active and give every one a chance to engage in athletics. Boxing, football, and other kinds of outdoor and indoor sports were promoted. Some of the athletic events were held in big hangars, with as many as 10,000 men as spectators.

During the six months ending with November, 1918, canteen sales within the area amounted to more than 2,500,000 francs, while more than 1,000,000 francs were sent out in the form of A E F remittances.

Here and there throughout the area of the S O S were scattered the training camps at which the technical branches of the Army trained men for service at the front. The largest and most important of these were established for the artillery and aviation units. Near Valdahon, for example, there was the camp where many famous artillery brigades received their final training before going into the line. With the artillery of three divisions generally in training here at one time, soldiers were billeted in six or seven surrounding villages as well as in the old French barracks. The Y M C A began its service in the summer of 1917 by first renting and later purchasing from local French people an old tent with a seating capacity of 1,000. One of its early enterprises was the production of the first grand opera ever heard in the village, with the aid of a company from Besançon. Later, two barracks were assigned to the Y and two huts were erected. The latter were built, with some aid from the Army, by the secretaries themselves, who, while construction was in progress, worked on the new buildings from seven to four, while most of the soldiers were away at the artillery ranges, and then carried on the regular activities in the barracks centers from five to ten. When

Artillery and  
Aviation Camps

units set out for the front, especially in winter, the Y put up an outdoor canteen and served hot chocolate, sandwiches, and other food. In the village of Valdahon itself a small hut was erected for the purpose of serving the men while on liberty from the camp. Here, at Christmas in 1917, one of the first activities was a celebration to which the children of the village were invited. There was a big Christmas tree, with gifts for the children from the soldiers, and one of the men acted as Santa Claus. Official motion pictures of the scene were taken for the Army. At Coetquidan, a heavy artillery training camp in the St. Nazaire area, where 25,000 men were stationed, the Y M C A operated at one time five huts, with other service centers at outlying points, employing for the district a personnel of 36. These were only two of more than 20 such camps where the Association carried on its activities.

The outstanding work in aviation camps was that done at Issoudun, where the A E F had one of the largest flying schools in the world, with seven separate flying fields, covering 50 square miles, and housing by the time of the Armistice more than 6,000 officers and men. The Y M C A entered the field in September, 1917, and for two months occupied the same building with the Red Cross, until its own first hut was erected at the main camp. A second hut was built in March, 1918, for the men engaged in the machine shop and repair depots at the other end of the field. The interior of this building was decorated with a landscape border by two useful brothers. These men, who had an interior decorating business at home, happened to be clever boxers, and were recruited as physical directors. When the Hut Decorating Department was organized, they were captured by it because of their special ability in its line of work and sent about to improve the interior appearance of the huts. They played a double rôle—spending their days in painting walls or devising window curtains out of cheese cloth and stencils, and in the evening giving exhibition bouts, usually closing with an invitation to take on all comers in the ring.

By the end of July eleven centers were in operation. In addition to the usual hut activities, there were one or two distinguishing features here. Because of the distance of the camp from the town and consequent difficulty of securing needed articles, an information bureau was established, where checks could be cashed, orders placed for articles which could only be obtained in the city, and general information of a helpful character furnished to the men. As many

as 70,000 francs were paid out in one day to officers and men cashing checks.

Athletic work was emphasized at the special request of officers as meeting a condition peculiar to flying men. Their duties occupied but a brief part of the day, were irregular because of dependence on weather conditions, and were characterized by high nerve tension with practically no muscular exercise. Off duty, complete mental diversion and physical activity were desirable. General Patrick, Chief of the Air Service, and Surgeon General Ireland invited Dr. McCurdy to confer with representatives of the Research Board and Medical Staff, and an extensive athletic program was recommended. Committees of officers and men were organized to promote interest and organize sports in cooperation with the Y M C A.

A typical week's program in the summer of 1918, when seven Typical Activities huts were in operation, included the following events: Eleven well attended religious services were held, besides four Bible classes. Six French classes, enrolling 124 men, were conducted, and 31 pupils helped privately. A radio class was suspended temporarily on account of the instructor's illness. Two illustrated lectures were given, and two concerts by a French company. There were eleven motion picture showings, including four different sets of films. Stunt nights were held in three huts, and a dance in one. On one night there were outdoor boxing bouts, accompanied by a band concert, with a special view to holding the men in camp. One day 50 men were taken out by truck for a swim. On Sunday afternoon there was the usual reception, with free refreshments. Finally, a traveling canteen carried food and drink, music and stunts, to two new fields as yet without permanent equipment.

Service on a smaller scale, but of the same essential character, was rendered at other aviation centers, such as Clermont-Ferrand, Romorantin, St. Maixent, Châteauroux, Avord, Gondrecourt, and elsewhere.

No class of American soldiers in France had less to divert them Isolated Units or more to justify discontent than those in the detached units. Many men, white and colored, of the Pioneer Infantry Regiments, Forestry Units, and Graves Registration Service were located in lonely and for the most part inaccessible and unattractive places. There were little detachments of Military Police along the lines of communication; Signal Detachments at more or less lonely spots along the coast, and larger units—from 100 to 1,000 men—cut off from the

rest of the forces and located where even little villages were few and far between.

South of Bordeaux, scattered over 10,000 square miles of forest land, often low and swampy, were some 6,000 Americans engaged in cutting lumber for various purposes, principally railroad ties. These men were among America's first arrivals. Other forestry units were in the wooded hills around Epinal and Besançon, close to the border of Switzerland, and still others were stationed about Dijon, Orleans, and Gien. Isolated units were served by the Association even in the Azores. There were 26 camps south of Bordeaux and about an equal number in the other districts.

The Y was the only welfare organization whose workers penetrated these isolated camps. But for the diversions which it planned and carried out, these men would have been without entertainment. Barracks, rented rooms, tents, portable huts, and every conceivable kind of shelter were utilized for the maintenance of this service.

The following extract from a report on one of these camps submitted by an inspector, gives some conception of the kind of labor required of a welfare worker in order to make his mission successful:

"In February the Y M C A was asked to care for the needs of small groups of men scattered around the neighborhood in five camps. \_\_\_\_\_ did an exceedingly effective work for the troops. He ran at first three and later the five points alone. He had no transportation. He carried supplies on his back once a week to the different stations. He built up an educational program that included classes in the French language, French history, algebra and geometry. He arranged a magazine supply system that met the needs of the camp in a most practical way. He lectured, preached, and when the 'flu' broke out, nursed the sick and read the funeral services over the dead."

It is not possible, in the brief account which space permits here, to mention all of the points in the S O S at which the Y M C A brought its service to the men of the A E F. A few centers have been described, where the work attained great proportions because of the large numbers of men reached or where it was distinguished by some particular quality, but it must not be forgotten that at more than 200 other unnamed places the men were receiving the benefits of a service without which they would have been thrown upon their own resources, or those of a French city or village, for recreation, amusement and all that they needed for the employment of their

leisure time. The particular need of such a service in the SOS, where men were engaged in a monotonous routine involving long hours of arduous toil or office duty, with none of the excitement of actual combat, has been mentioned. Its value in terms of human service cannot be indicated. The "Race to Berlin" is a sufficient index of its military value.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

### WITH THE COMBAT DIVISIONS

Of approximately 2,000,000 soldiers sent to France 1,300,000 became engaged in active fighting. They were organized into 42 combat divisions, twelve of which were used as depot brigades and replacements, and one arrived so late that it never passed beyond the base ports. Twenty-nine operated as divisions on the front line, their casualties replaced by the fighters from the other twelve.

In general, combat troops were passed up through the base and intermediate sections to the training areas, and thence to the fighting line. In both situations existing conditions made necessary types of service quite different from that in the rear. Up to July 1, 1918, only three divisions had been in battle, the 1st entering an active sector late in April and the 2d and 3d going into the lines with the French about June 1st to check the Aisne-Marne offensive. In July, seven divisions entered the fighting line and in September, fourteen more, the month of August having been largely employed in organizing the First American Army for the St. Mihiel operation. Of these 21 divisions, seven went directly from training areas into active fighting; fourteen had seen service in quiet sectors for periods varying from five months to one week.<sup>1</sup>

July 1, 1918, constitutes therefore a convenient date for division between service to training and to fighting troops. Of course, there was service to fighting troops earlier, and on the other hand even after active operations began, divisions or parts of divisions were withdrawn for special training of a week or two, and late arriving divisions were entering training areas. Before July 1, however, the service to combat troops was comparatively stable; after that date it was typically service to troops in rapid movement.

#### SERVICE IN TRAINING AREAS

A study of the distribution of troops and the organization of the Y M C A in training areas<sup>2</sup> makes quite clear the outstanding charac-

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, Plate III facing p. 152. This diagram shows for each division the approximate date of organization, arrival in France, entry into quiet sector, and entry into active fighting.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XXVII.

teristics of this service. Instead of a camp and hut staff with secretaries assigned to each special activity, as in the rear, there were at most points in the training area a single secretary, or at most two, charged with responsibility for complete service. At divisional headquarters there was a staff representing each of the four principal activities, but these divisional workers had to spread their efforts over a territory of 50 to 500 square miles<sup>1</sup> containing 25 to 80 villages in each of which was stationed a group of Americans numbering from 150 to 3,000. The impossibility of being in two places at once and of doing three or four things at the same moment imposed limitations upon both variety and extent of service. On the other hand, the soldiers were undergoing intensive training, including long practice marches by night as well as by day, trench digging, and all the operations which they would soon have to perform under fire. Their principal needs were for comfortable places to spend their leisure hours, facilities for simple recreation and amusement, and canteen supplies. The army policy discouraged the erection of new buildings and the local resources were used to the limit, supplemented by tents and occasionally by space in army barracks. There was no uniformity. The hut in one place was a cowshed, in another a château, in another the town hall, in another a disused dance hall or a commandeered wine-shop. As the buildings varied so did the service. At each point unique conditions made special demands and individual secretaries showed extraordinary ingenuity in taking advantage of local facilities and in inventing ways to make the men more comfortable and contented. Under such circumstances the only way to convey an idea of the service rendered is by gathering up instances which are more or less typical.

The 1st Division embarked for France on June 14, 1917, and the last units arrived there on July 2d. The 5th Regiment paraded in Paris July 4th, then with the rest of the division went into training in and about Gondrecourt in the foothills of the Vosges, about 30 miles directly south from St. Mihiel, then occupied by the Germans. Secrecy was the watchword and two weeks passed before Association Headquarters learned where the troops were. Then service was started in Gondrecourt and several adjacent villages.

A floorless barrack was turned over to the Y. The secretaries, including a woman, laid a floor and painted and papered the walls.

<sup>1</sup> The 10th Area with headquarters at Prauthoy extended 18 miles north and south and 31 miles east and west.

Officers of the 1st Corps used it for study during the day, and the staff did their night work there after supper. Chocolate was ready at ten o'clock each evening, as many as 500 cups being served in 45 minutes. There was no bread for sandwiches, but little cakes were sold with the chocolate. On Sunday mornings the religious services were attended by 15 to 25 officers. One Sunday during service the roof blew off. Often men slept in the hut because they had no blankets and no fires in their barracks. There was only green wood to burn and one man after another coaxed the smoky stove most of the night.

At Tréveray there were 2,200 soldiers in a village of 900 civilian population. A single secretary was furnished with two small tents by the side of the road. One served as canteen; the other as reading, writing, and rest room. After two weeks a French barrack, without floor, was turned over for his use. The men soon tramped the mud hard as cement. Limited canteen supplies were secured and distributed. The secretary got the men to playing games, races, jumping and the like, and organized classes in arithmetic, French, and reading and writing. Spelling bees were popular. On Sundays, morning and evening services were held. Twice a week 30 or 40 men in the hospital were visited.

By Thanksgiving the division had an athletic director who had arranged a field meet of the entire division for that day. A five mile relay race with 88 men on the side, each running 100 yards, was followed by a tug of war with 50 men on a side. Other events were a relay jump, 50 men on a side each jumping once, the largest aggregate winning, and a contest in which groups of 50 men each kicked a football around a short course in the shortest possible time. The Army provided turkeys for Thanksgiving dinner and the Y workers cooked as many as they could. Afterwards a soccer football game with four balls, 105 men on a side, engaged those who had survived the dinner.

During November canteens were operated in 25 towns. By Christmas there were 28 huts in the division and in each a Christmas entertainment was held, with a present for every man. At many huts children of the town were invited in and the men felt a greater pleasure in giving them their first Christmas celebration in three years. The division suffered for lack of equipment, especially shoes, and frequently men were ordered out on 48-hour maneuvers with their feet poorly shod. After such a march the hut was practically the only place to rest and get dry and warm, and hot drinks were regularly served free to the returning men.

Early in January half the division was ordered to the Toul front, and within ten days 65 Y men and 13 women were operating headquarters and warehouse in Toul, and 22 service points in or just behind the lines. These were in dugouts, tents, and rooms in partially demolished buildings. Pianos were bought in Nancy. Moving pictures were shown in rooms accommodating 50 men within 500 yards of the German trenches. Seven hundred cases of apples contributed by the American Apple Growers' Association and 700 cases of oranges bought by the Y M C A, were distributed. The tea served hot to the men in the trenches used up thirteen chests. When the division left the Toul front after ten weeks each man and officer entraining received two cakes of chocolate, two packs of cigarettes, two packages of sweet biscuits, and a hot drink. These were distributed by two men and two women at each entraining point, who served continuously for 48 hours in a cold rain. Secretaries went with each train and at the end of the 150 mile ride to Chaumont-en-Vixen they were ready to serve hot drinks to the men as they left the comfortless box cars. When Colonel King, Chief of Staff, received his cup of chocolate he said,

"This is the last straw, when men and women will stand in the cold and rain for hours to serve comforts to 25,000 men I am convinced there is something to it. I am for them. They can have anything they want."

The 2d Division was organized in France during the last three months of 1917, and went into training in the vicinity of Bourmont. As early as October 1st service was being given to the first units at Gondrecourt where within a week a barrack, a walled tent and a barn were used in succession for the hut. At St. Thiébault a circus tent was secured but wind and rain were too much for it and a double walled tent took its place. By November 15th, 20 secretaries were at work in Bourmont and eight nearby villages, and by January 1st there were 94 workers in 30 villages. In Griffigny no place could be found except the town hall. The mayor was appealed to for the use of a room on the third floor and, after a council meeting, gave the use of the entire building rent free, only asking that care should be taken not to injure the town records which extended over 700 years and were regarded with great pride by the townspeople. In Brainville a convent was housing 100 or more French and Belgian refugees and 30 American soldiers were billeted there. The Y M C A secretary requested the use of the woodshed, which was granted free. At Damblain a barn 40 x 120 feet was secured and soldiers of the 5th Marines

Service to  
2d Division

laid a floor, built a stage, and painted scenery for a little theater where many amateurs and visiting troops gave entertainments. By January 1st three portable moving picture machines were giving shows in eighteen villages each week and three stationary machines were in use twice a week in the larger towns. The typical weekly program included two religious services on Sunday, a midweek Bible class, two evenings for moving pictures and one each for lecture, boxing, and stunts. One woman secretary conducted French classes in five villages, reaching each once a week. The intensive training left the men little inclination for study. A divisional athletic field meet was conducted on February 22d, and the division was fortunate enough to secure a physical director for practically every regiment, who promoted formal and informal games, boxing and wrestling, as opportunity permitted.

The whole division labored under a scarcity of motor cars and gasoline during this first winter. Roads were covered with drifted snow that at times stopped traffic altogether. Repair parts were scarce and skilled mechanics still scarcer. The Army shared its small supply of gasoline with the Y which reciprocated by running its trucks for army use. Canteens were operated in all the huts to the extent that supplies permitted. As with the 1st Division, a special effort was made to serve the troops departing for their first experience in the trenches. In March the 2d Division was ordered into the line at Verdun where the French troops had by that time recaptured the ground lost in the Crown Prince's desperate offensive. The Y M C A staff was divided, some going ahead to be ready to welcome the troops at arrival, the rest remaining to serve them as they entrained. The quartermaster furnished bread which was made into sandwiches with jam for filling and these, with hot chocolate and cigarettes, were given to every man and officer. A secretary recorded that he had to pay \$40 a cord for green wood to keep the chocolate boilers going. When the 6th Regiment of Marines reached Camp Massy near Verdun they found a secretary established in a cowshed by the side of the road. He had secured "several wonderful boilers" from headquarters and for six weeks he filled canteens with hot chocolate for officers and men tramping by. This secretary later ran a canteen in a wine cellar at Seicheprey until it was demolished by shells and filled with chlorine gas. He then set up his chocolate boilers in a sheltered corner of a courtyard. The army kitchen had also been demolished and the men at four o'clock in the afternoon were about to go unfed into the

trenches for the night. The secretary ran to his abandoned cellar to get a case of condensed milk to add to the chocolate he was serving. As the "all clear" signal had been sounded he did not wear his gas mask, forgetting that the gas would remain in the cellar after it had cleared away above ground. He was dragged out unconscious and after weeks in hospital was pronounced physically unfit for further service.

Early in September the Y was notified that the 42d Division would train in the Neufchâteau area. On September 4th, accordingly, an organizing secretary began preparation and ten days later nine more secretaries joined him. The 42d, however, was split up in transport, some of the troops coming by way of England, and debarkation in France was not completed until December 2d. Meanwhile the 26th was ordered to Neufchâteau, divisional headquarters being established October 31st.

For a couple of months the secretaries served various casual units found at Base Hospital No. 18 at Bazoilles and a company of telephone engineers at Liffol-le-Grand. A secretary arrived at Bazoilles on a truck which also bore a piano and phonograph. The men began playing the piano before it was lifted off the truck and kept it in action even while it was being carried into the hut. Willing volunteers carried it to the nurses' quarters for a dance that evening and brought it back for the Sunday morning service next day. The Y program began with a baseball game the first afternoon, athletic supplies having also been brought by the secretary. Soon a specially designed hut was ordered which was opened on Christmas Day.

At Liffol-le-Grand work was immediately started for the telephone engineers in two Adrian barracks. The canteen was a plank supported by two barrels. Supplies were not received from Paris and secretaries scoured the country for 50 miles buying whatever they could find, usually at full retail price. The men's pay was in arrears and rations were inadequate. One evening a piece of hardtack was offered as a reward for anyone who would tell a story, sing or dance, and a piece of bread and jam was offered as grand prize for the best performer of the evening. It was hotly contested. The winner was a professional actor who became chairman of the entertainment committee and arranged many a good program of soldier talent.

About the middle of November three battalions of the 103d Regiment of infantry arrived. The Adrian barracks could not begin to accommodate the increased crowd. Volunteers were asked for to

Service  
to the 26th  
Division

erect a big double hut for which the Y M C A had material. Men volunteering were relieved from military duty and as many as 200 a day worked on the hut, with the result that it was finished in two weeks, ready for a grand opening on Thanksgiving Day. Something was going on every night at this hut—lectures, movies, indoor athletics or boxing, stunts, amateur shows, religious services. Five of the first six secretaries working here were sent to the hospital suffering from overwork and exposure.

The delay in arrival of the main body of the 26th Division enabled the Y to get its secretaries on the ground at every point in advance of arriving troops, although the record was maintained in some instances only by swinging the Y truck in ahead of soldiers marching from the trains. Billeting plans called for the placing of troops in 40 villages. Some barracks were erected but most of the men were billeted in houses or barns, some of them sharing accommodations with the cows and chickens. There was no coal and wood was scarce. Electricity and gas were not to be had, and even kerosene could not be secured until several months later when the Army obtained a supply.

The Y M C A was able to get a small supply of candles for the hut and during part of the winter shared its stock with the Army for use in the mess barracks, a single candle being allowed for a whole barrack. With night closing in at half past four, and no place warm and light except the wine shops, the Y M C A, the only welfare organization in the field, had a heavy task to combat darkness, cold, and gloom.

The big double hut at Neufchâteau became famous. It was not only the divisional headquarters to which came men and officers from all the surrounding villages, but it was on a main road leading from General Headquarters at Chaumont to the Toul front, and unending streams of officers and men flowed by it in both directions. Everyone was welcome. The atmosphere was dominated by the head secretary who introduced himself to the men on opening night thus: "I have a title at home and I insist on being called by that title here. My title is Billy. Now, everybody who is able to pronounce it—BILLY." Neither soldier nor secretary was able to maintain a grouch long in Billy's presence. His motto for the staff was, "Do if possible anything for any service man at any time he wants it done."

The vice-president of a college in New York State was assigned to this hut early in January. His first day's work, on a Sunday, was to clean the mud out of the hut, after which he made 1,600 sandwiches. He was appointed "handy man" for the hut, in which capacity he

repaired floors, set up stoves, cut wood, opened cases of supplies, and built a stairway and walk from the street to the hut. After a period in the hospital, where he narrowly escaped amputation of his hand for blood poisoning, caused by a nail stuck into his thumb while opening a case of supplies, he opened a hut at Orqueveaux in an old mill. His experience driving a team of four army mules, which he secured to haul a load of supplies from the warehouse at St. Blin, would amuse the students to whom he returned after a year of service.

In the Neufchâteau area, huts or tents were operated by secretaries in fifteen villages in November, 1917, eighteen in December, nineteen in January. In February part of the division went to the Toul front, and most of the huts were dismantled except in Neufchâteau and Liffol-le-Grand. The area was transferred to the French, but was recognized as an American area in April. In addition to the huts, some 20 villages were served by itinerant secretaries with Ford light trucks. Portable moving pictures were kept busy. Letter writing material was always available in this and in all training areas. A few lecturers and entertainers came from Paris and good talent was discovered among the soldiers and extensively utilized. Outdoor athletics, when weather permitted, and indoor boxing and wrestling during the winter, were steadily promoted.

Transportation was inadequate. At one time the Y had only one serviceable truck for the whole area of 400 square miles. Army trucks were generously loaned whenever possible and all sorts of conveyances were used to distribute supplies from the divisional warehouses at Neufchâteau and St. Blin. In December there were 51 secretaries; in January, 66; yet in April, 1918, the division had been furnished only six cars, of which three were reported unfit for service. As late as December, 1918, there were only eight trucks, of which three were "no good."

The 42d Division was arriving at St. Nazaire and Brest from November 1st to December 7th. The Association sent thirteen secretaries to the division, of whom three were women. All these accompanied the division to the Vaucouleurs area where it assembled between December 7th and 12th. A rented building with wet and dry canteens and a room for officers was opened. After a week the division moved to La Fauche where the Y force was increased to twenty and eleven service points were operated in nine towns. The stay there was only two weeks, the division moving the day after Christmas to Rolampont in the Langres area where a Y organization was already

set up at a few points and was rapidly expanded during January and February. Service was similar to that already described. On February 16th the division entered the line in the Luneville sector.

The 41st Division arrived late in December and was stationed as a depot division in and around St. Aignan where it received and forwarded 263,385 replacements to fighting divisions. Service at St. Aignan has been touched upon in the preceding chapter.

The 32d arrived in sections during February and March and was designated as a replacement division with headquarters at Prauthoy near Langres. In May it was changed to a combat status and moved into the lines near Belfort in Alsace. These were the last fighting divisions to arrive in France before the great rush of Americans which was started by the German offensive in March.

During this period of nine months, then, six fighting divisions arrived in France, of which three had been settled in training areas long enough for service to be firmly established, one had been stationed in the intermediate section, one had moved several times at short intervals, and one had just arrived at the end of the period. All received service, the three that had been in France longest being supplied with 50 to 100 secretaries each. The Association had learned what was required. General Headquarters was systematically advising it of expected arrivals and their proposed location. It had experienced organizers ready on notice to enter an area, locate service points, secure buildings and establish the nucleus of a working staff with divisional warehouses and transport ready for the first comers. Its personnel was increasing and the general character of service, quite different from that in the cantonments at home and from the base port service, had defined itself. The great need was for physical comfort, for places of refuge from the dark, cold, cheerless barracks, barns, and billets in which the men lived. Even without special activities a light warm room is better by an immeasurable difference than a dark cold one. Something to read and materials for letter writing must always be at hand. Next in importance was the canteen, and the activities of the General Supply Division were producing results that promised better things in the early future. Moreover, spring had come and the prospect of outdoor activities promised relief to the crowded huts and tents and increased recreation for the men merely by supplying them with athletic materials and physical directors who were believed to be on the way. Most secretaries who had worked through that first bitter winter felt that nothing to come

could be worse and the organization, which had learned side by side with the Army what service in France really meant, looked forward with confidence to the steady but gradual increase of its task.

The illusion was soon dispelled by the pouring in of a flood of soldiers such as no one had even dreamed of. In the next three months eighteen combat divisions landed in France, and July and August brought eleven more. The latest arrival to share in active fighting was the 88th Division, its last units landing September 9th. After two weeks' hasty training the 88th relieved the 38th French Division in Alsace and on November 2d became part of the Second American Army Reserve until the Armistice. None of these 29 divisions had more than twelve weeks' training and some had only one month. Five of them were designated as depot or replacement divisions and were stationed in the intermediate section where they received service from the established huts. Two others trained with the British troops and received services from the British Y M C A. All those which went into American training areas received service both from established centers and from their own divisional Y M C A staffs.

The American Avalanche  
There was no possibility of keeping pace with such an avalanche. Although both workers and supplies increased, the number of men to be served increased three times as fast. Experienced men and women were drawn from the older divisional staffs to head up new ones. The 1st Division alone supplied seven divisional directors for the new arrivals. These secretaries organized service on the tested lines, setting up divisional headquarters and scattering their assistants by ones and twos into the surrounding villages. Humble as had been the requirements for huts in the early days, places now were utilized under the increasing billeting needs of the Army that would have been scorned before. More and more tents were used and the canteen lines formed outside instead of inside. Workers redoubled their efforts, cut down their sleeping hours, and refused the furloughs to which they were entitled. Because of inadequate supplies canteen sales were limited to two or three hours a day and the selling hours were advertised as widely as possible so that all would have an equal chance to buy. Quantities to be sold to individuals were limited for the same reason. Between selling periods secretaries foraged through the country on foot, truck, or motorcycle, in desperate hope of finding something somewhere for the men. Knowing that the stay of the troops would be short and that in a few days they would be going into the line, attempts were usually made to reserve enough cigarettes,

chocolate, and biscuits, to give every man a supply at the moment of departure. Newspaper and magazine service improved and daily distribution of the Paris editions of American papers became fairly regular. Entertainers were increasing in number and numerous parties made their way into the training areas giving two or three scheduled performances a day and frequently two or three unscheduled to groups of men met in the villages or along the roads. The Community Motion Picture Bureau too got into full action and stationary and portable outfits were increasing in number every month while couriers rushed to and from Paris with films. Educational class work was for the most part out of the question, but lecturers reached many of the units, and a good many men were getting help in their study of French. Athletics in the form of impromptu baseball, basketball, football, and mass games, constituted perhaps the most successful activity. Divisional records for the period are far from complete, for no one had time to write formal reports. Correspondence reveals innumerable glimpses of men and women doing the same sort of things that have been described in earlier pages, but doing them with nervous haste. There was little that was novel; just a universal effort to extend the essentials of service to the largest possible number of men.

Figures compiled at Headquarters show that, from March to July, dry canteens increased from 304 to 639 and wet canteens from 84 to 325. Remittances increased from \$96,961 in March to \$1,227,405 in July. Canteen sales amounted to 28,733,565 francs between May 1st and August 1st. Entertainments furnished from Paris numbered 200 in March, 390 in April, 613 in May and 782 in June. While these figures apply to the entire A E F, it was with combat divisions that the greater part of the increase occurred. Although unquestionably there were groups of men unreached by any form of service the figures given will serve as indicators of the degree of success with which the Y M C A expanded its service with the expansion of the A E F.

#### PERIODS OF COMBAT

Already, however, American troops had begun to fight. The 1st Division entered the Cantigny sector April 25th after two brief periods in quiet sectors. The 2d Division entered the Château-Thierry sector May 31st, after service in comparatively quiet sectors near Toul and Verdun. The 26th had seen active fighting, in what was regarded

as a quiet sector, near Toul in April. With these operations began that period of extraordinary movement to which frequent reference has been made in preceding pages. So intensely has the brilliant fighting of American soldiers impressed the minds and stimulated the imaginations of their fellow citizens, that an effort is required to realize that all their fighting was done in one fourth of the time that the A E F spent in France. Eleven months, lacking one week, elapsed between the arrival of the 1st Division and its first major action, the taking of Cantigny; nine months after the Armistice the Y M C A was still serving belated soldiers in France exclusive of its continuing service to the American Forces in Germany. From the entrance of the 1st Division into the line at Cantigny to the Armistice was exactly 200 days or six and a half months. Nevertheless, though short, the period was one of indescribable activity. For the Y M C A the fundamental problem was to keep in contact with shifting troops. They moved without notice, sometimes crossing half of France at a single jump. The conditions are comprehensible by a glance at the map showing the movements of the 1st Division in France.<sup>1</sup> Units of the division were located, for longer or shorter periods, at 8,995 towns and hamlets.<sup>2</sup> To keep with this division the Y M C A moved divisional headquarters seventeen times, and opened more than 400 service points so as to maintain an average of 25 points at all times. No other division moved so extensively, but, in the succession of operations on the Aisne-Marne salient, the St. Mihiel salient, and the Meuse-Argonne, in the loaning of American units to the British and French Armies, every division was shuttled here and there with disconcerting suddenness and speed.

This activity naturally presented the Association with the task <sup>Continual  
Changing  
Service Points</sup> of continually shifting service points to the location in which the troops settled for a few days or a week. On the journeys it was practically impossible for the Army to provide the soldiers with hot food and there was no certainty that at a journey's end the army kitchens would be ready. The men depended for sustenance en route on the hard tack and "corned willy" they carried with them. The Y M C A met this condition by developing service to entraining and detraining troops. The order for departure was at every point the signal for the chocolate boilers to be rushed at high pressure, for the making of sandwiches by thousands and the preparation of little

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, Plate IV facing p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Tabulation by the Statistics Branch of the War Department.

packets containing a few cigarettes, cakes, and chocolate bars, so that each officer and man, upon boarding the train, might receive a hot drink, sandwich, and supply of smokes. This service was invariably free, and it was repeated hundreds of times. Entraining usually required not less than 48 hours for a division, and the secretaries, both men and women, stuck to their jobs until the last train had pulled out. If possible, one or two secretaries traveled on each train, with all the supplies they could find room for, and at each stop ran from car to car distributing what they had. If the movement was by marching, a small fleet of Y trucks was assembled and usually given place near the head of the column. From time to time a truck would stop near the side of the road and serve hot chocolate and other supplies to the men as they marched by. No records are available of all the troop movements that took place in France, but such service is recorded at least once for the whole or for parts of every fighting division, and for most of them several times.

Casualties  
Among  
Welfare  
Workers

As the divisions took their places in the fighting lines, the Association and the Army faced a problem that was never solved systematically or in principle. Extraordinary examples of effective service are recorded but they cannot be said to be typical; they were rather characteristic of the individual secretaries who were able to get in touch with the men. Military authority was not clear as to what service it wanted or would permit. Attention has been called to the order<sup>1</sup> prescribing that each divisional commander specify in writing the number of welfare workers he was willing to have with his command. The effect of this order was that in nearly half the divisions only the secretaries already with the troops on July 7th were able to accompany them to the front. Divisional welfare staffs suffered casualties; eight secretaries were killed, 123 wounded, and many broke down from exposure and overwork, but even these could not be replaced without written request from the commanding general, who had many other things to occupy his attention.

There was similar uncertainty and variety of opinion as to the proper places for service. Some commanders permitted secretaries to penetrate the trenches and even to go over the top. Others forbade them to go beyond field headquarters, usually located several kilometers behind the line, thus limiting service to men in reserve and to the sending of supplies forward by army trucks. Still others ordered the welfare staff to serve in dressing stations and field hospi-

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XXVII.

tals during action, or sent the women workers back to base hospitals. The impression received from hundreds of reports, letters, diaries, interviews, and military orders, is one of workers persistently pressing toward the front with or without permission, and of such variation in the attitude of officers that workers felt justified in avoiding the notice of those known to be opposed to advanced service.<sup>1</sup> It is beyond question that this was, in some cases, the cause of exasperation to officers, because of actual or potential interference with military operations. The clearest outcome of the experience was the necessity of systematic study and definition of the legitimate functions of welfare workers with fighting troops.<sup>2</sup>

The Problem of  
Advanced Service

<sup>1</sup> Every division which entered a battle received service during action. The service was uneven owing to the uneven distribution of workers. In some divisions workers were sufficient only for a few units and other units received only casual service when at established service points. The detailed instances in the following pages are chosen solely to illustrate types of service.

<sup>2</sup> The judgment of the Commander of the First Division after six months' experience in welfare work on the fighting line, is expressed in the following order:

“Headquarters First Division, American Expeditionary Forces,  
France, October 25, 1918.

“Memorandum No. 173.

“The Division Commander appreciates the efforts of auxiliary civilian organizations to furnish supplies to the personnel of the Division under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances while the Division is in the line. It is observed that the functioning of these organizations throughout the entire sector while the Division is in the line has resulted in their inability to furnish adequately supplies and recreation to the personnel of the Division when the Division is in a rest area and the personnel can best realize and appreciate the efforts of these organizations. It is realized that their inability to serve more efficiently the need of the Division while it is at rest is due to the unavoidable deterioration of their transportation and the necessity of a rest for their workers, due to their efforts during the preceding period of activity.

“The following rules are prescribed for the functioning of these organizations in the future when the Division is in the line, it being considered that they are for the best interest of all concerned:

“(a) Distribution of supplies will be made by means of organization supply trains.

“(b) Each civilian organization may have one secretary or representative for each Division organization to which supplies are to be delivered, at the point of delivery of said supplies.

“(c) Except as above stated representatives from these organizations will not go farther forward for the purpose of delivering supplies than Field Hospitals, at which point they may deliver supplies.

“(d) These organizations will, in so far as practicable, hold their personnel in reserve and build up their equipment while the Division is in action.

“(e) In order to carry out the above provisions organization commanders will render to these organizations such assistance and cooperation as is possible.

“By command of Brigadier General Parker.

“W. R. WHEELER,  
“Lieutenant-Colonel Infantry, U. S. A.,  
Division Adjutant.”

Workers  
With Combat  
Divisions

The amount of service rendered was, of course, largely determined by the number of workers. The Y M C A attached to combat divisions every man and woman for whom it could secure military permission. At two periods it called in from the S O S a large number of workers for transfer to the front, many of whom, after waiting in vain for the travel permits which the Provost Marshal would not issue, returned to their posts in the rear. Workers were sent to regional headquarters in the advance section in the hope that, although they could not go directly from Paris to the designated divisions, the regional secretary might find indirect ways to get them to advanced posts. The maximum number of workers recorded as with Combat Divisions was 833, on November 1, 1918.<sup>1</sup> At the same time 885 workers were reported "unaccounted for." Actually many of these were with combat divisions, having reached them by the roundabout methods suggested above. Moreover, a considerable number whose workers' permits read "Paris headquarters" came under the head of "General Supply Division," "chauffeurs," "mechanics," "accountants," "educationalists," "athletic directors," "religious directors," and were on duty with fighting troops. The Chief Secretary, after a special study of this situation, stated:

"It may safely be assumed that there were not less than 1,200 Y workers in service in the zone of the Army during the first week of November."

These 1,200 had to serve 1,200,000 men. According to the estimated requirement of 120 workers per 25,000 fighting men, there should have been 5,760 instead of 1,200. Had the workers been evenly distributed, each one would have had 1,000 soldiers to serve instead of 200, the estimated maximum for satisfactory service. As related to the other points of service, the combat divisions had 28 per cent of the entire force of workers on November 1st.<sup>2</sup>

Direct service on the front line narrowed to furnishing comforts and sending home soldiers' money, plus such individual ministry, religious and friendly, as was acceptable and possible. Supplies depended, of course, upon motor transport, and the work of the Y truck drivers deserves more than passing mention. They secured their loads from the divisional warehouses at the railheads, or, when these

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<sup>1</sup> Special Report by Records Bureau to Chief Secretary, November 1, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, those engaged in *general* service cannot be counted as belonging either to the front or the rear areas. This percentage must be placed considerably higher when considered as percentage of workers *actually available for field service*.

Motor  
Transport  
Workers

were empty, at the base warehouses at Gièvres and Paris, even at times hauling direct from the ports to the front. As they drew nearer to the lines, the roads became more and more congested, long columns of vehicles and marching men traveling constantly in both directions on roads so narrow that a disabled truck was immediately ditched in order not to block the traffic. Within twenty miles of the line the roads were pitted by shell holes. Movement was confined to the hours of darkness, but no lights were allowed. The strain on muscle and nerve was beyond description.

Among the army chauffeurs the Y M C A men held their own. <sup>The "Brewery Gang"</sup> There were, for instance, with the 1st Division, the men of the "Brewery Gang," so called because they had lived for a while in an abandoned brewery and prided themselves upon its entire absence of comforts or even conveniences. To be eligible for initiation into this group, a driver had to qualify by working 24 consecutive hours without complaint; and to keep his place, his truck had to be in running condition at 6.30 every morning and ready at all times to go at the call of the transportation chief. An excuse of any kind meant exclusion from membership. Since nobody knew when the division would move, they had to be ready at a moment's notice. A mobile repair outfit with its full equipment of garage supplies, a stock of canteen goods and a number of phonographs, portable cinemas, and athletic supplies were always kept on hand. When orders to move were received, these things were quickly loaded into their special trucks, the unit swung into the convoy to follow the whims of a mobile division and when the troops finally landed at their destination the goods were as quickly unloaded to supply their needs. When the division made its quick run from Toul to Montdidier, 300 miles across country, the 25 autos were the second group in the line, and not a single car lost its position during that long, exhausting drive of six days, with very little food and no shelter, in the rainiest season any of these men had ever seen. When the division was settled, they would begin again the ordinary routine trips between the warehouses and the various Y huts. Often, reaching a warehouse, they would find it cleaned out, and then the trucks would be started towards places far back in the S O S region where it was rumored supplies were held up because of lack of railroad cars. Many trips were made to Is-sur-Tille, about 150 miles each way, or to Le Havre, 200 miles involving several days of almost continuous night and day traveling. When they had obtained the stuff their work had only begun. It had

to be delivered. For this front-line work picked men were used. Driving was always hazardous. The roads were under shell fire, gassing was frequent. One of these drivers writes:

"I had driven from our tent where our supplies and headquarters were at Montfaucon, on this, my third trip, with rush supplies and daily papers into Romagne. On going out I was caught under as beautiful a barrage as I ever saw laid down on a road. Luckily I escaped injury by throwing myself face down, first beside the car and then in a ditch beside the road, but poor 'Lizzie' was badly shot up; top, tires, cushions, body and hood were literally riddled, and there were over 50 holes in the rear of the car itself. Strange to say, the engine was not injured, and after varied and sundry repairs, I drove this same car for weeks afterwards, always an object of curiosity and interest."

This kind of work was not spectacular. If the truck was late its driver was soundly cursed by disappointed waiting men. Success brought no rewards except the pride of service expressed in the report of the transport chief: "Not a single driver ever left his truck or found it impossible to get through with his load during all the time the front line activity was continued."

The "Brewery Gang" was not unique. Every cigaret and piece of chewing gum and cup of chocolate of the millions distributed in the front lines rode part of its journey in a truck driven by just such men; nor should the mechanics who worked miracles in keeping trucks in running condition be forgotten.

A woman worker<sup>1</sup> describes a village hut as follows:

"Beyond the mess-hall is the hut, a French abri tent with double walls. Ducking under the fly, one finds oneself in a long, rectangular canvas room, lighted by a dozen little mica windows. The room is filled with folding wooden chairs and long, inkstained tables over which are scattered writing materials, games and well-worn magazines. Opposite the door, at the far end, is the canteen counter, a shelf of books on one side, and a victrola and a bulletin board, to which cartoons and clippings are tacked, on the other. Back of the counter, on the wall, held in place by safety pins, are the hut's only decorations, four of the gorgeous French war posters brought with me from Paris. There are two stoves resembling umbrella-stands for heating in the main part of the hut and behind the counter another about the size and shape of a man's derby hat, on which I must make my hot chocolate. For lights at night, I am told that one can occa-

<sup>1</sup> Uncensored Letters of a Canteen Girl, New York, 1920.

sionally procure a few quarts of kerosene and then the lamps that stand underneath the counter are brought out and, for a few days, we shine; but usually, we manage as our ancestors did with candle-light. Our candlesticks form a quaint collection; some are real tin bourgeois, brought from Paris; some strips of wood; some chewing-gum boxes; while others are empty bottles, 'dead soldiers' as the boys call them . . . . For the rest, the hut is equipped with a wheezy old piano, a set of parlor billiards and a man secretary."

"Orders took us to Saizerais, Divisional Headquarters, where the problem of finding a building was a pressing one. We finally found an old house, the dirtiest I have ever seen, and by the use of ten pounds of soda, twelve French peasant women, and a lot of white-wash, we managed to make the place habitable. After we had spent three days cleaning it and a few more days living in it we received the inevitable orders to move.

"We had our Y in a hall over a barn, the odors of which defied ten pounds of chloride of lime. We held services here, also had a battalion service for the men killed in the Soissons affair and managed to put on one movie show. On the whole, in spite of the liquid manure trickling down the streets of the little town and the rest of the dirt and the filth, we had a pretty good time of it."

Still nearer, the Y center was a cellar or a dugout. There was, <sup>A Typical  
Y Dugout</sup> for instance, the dugout at Villers-Tournelle in the Cantigny sector. During the time the Americans were there it was under constant bombardment. When the two Y men arrived all the cellars and dugouts were full of soldiers and for three days they operated a canteen in a barn on the surface. Then some Moroccan troops moved out and they got hold of the vacated cellar. It was only a small provision cellar about six steps down from the street level. When they moved in there was one shell hole through the roof. When they left with the regiment after three weeks, the whole house, with the exception of a few feet of brick wall, had been pounded flat. Frequently, the debris had to be cleaned away so that men might enter. The bombardment was so intense that there were many more casualties in the town than in the trenches. The Y was ordered to remain closed during the day time. A big sign was painted on the door, "This Y M C A is open from dark to daylight only," but a shell soon blew most of the door down the cellar steps. It was unnecessary anyhow. Only group selling was permitted. The soldiers were kept in a nearby dugout to wait their turn. From dusk till dawn the secretaries served the men who crowded down into the damp, dingy cellar. Each

man brought a sack or an empty box to carry back a load of stuff to the other men in his squad. Often the shells struck so close that the candles were blown out by the concussion; but they were quickly relighted and the work went on.

The story of this dugout at Villers-Tournelle illustrates front line service in the quiet times. It was mainly canteen service.

"This little cellar in the actual front line," writes the secretary, "carries canned Hawaian pineapple, peaches, pears and apricots, six kinds of sweet cake and cookies—stuffed dates and boxed figs, cigarettes and chewing gum."

Many times the Y was ordered to move its huts further to the rear so that crowds might not collect, or the tracks of men going to the huts reveal positions to the enemy airmen. Even the thin column of smoke from the stove used for making hot chocolate would be a danger and limitations were put on the Y for these reasons.

"By order of the commanding officer," reads a sample report, "we have been compelled to shut down our Y M C A work in two of the foremost positions which we had located in dugouts. I am sending into Paris four of the men who worked in these dugouts. They are bringing in two Y M C A signs which are shot full of holes."

Women too shared in the common dangers and hardships:

"We could not serve hot drinks here because the Germans could see the smoke. We weren't allowed therefore to cook outside and that was the only way we had. We couldn't get enough water either to make drinks. We had a pocket edition of the movies and used to run them ourselves, having three sets of films a week. We operated a tent there, but had to move it because they bombed it once. Next time we camouflaged it more thoroughly. We slept in dugouts most of the time. We used to feed the men coming back from the front. The relief would come up at 10.30 when it became dark and the men coming from the trenches would be served hot chocolate from 2 till 3.30 in the morning. We would get to bed about 4 o'clock and had to be up at 8 to be at the hut."

The Argonne drive started with the barrage at 11.30 p.m., September 25th. At six o'clock in the morning of the 26th, troops of the 37th went over the top. The first village they took was Avocourt. At noon of that day, three secretaries reached Avocourt with a Ford loaded with supplies. They took possession of a German dugout, opened for service, and sent the car back. It brought a second load and some more secretaries during the evening. Two field hospitals

were opened in the town and the secretaries gave hot chocolate and cigarettes to the wounded all night.

Lieutenant Colonel Herr, 305th Infantry, 77th Division, made the following statement in a report to the divisional chief of staff (G-1) :

*St. Mihiel salient offensive.* On the second day of this offensive, <sup>Official Comments</sup> I had occasion to go from Corps Headquarters through Mamey to the town of Thiaucourt. In so doing I passed through the Army and Corps Artillery, then engaged in the fight toward the northeast. I observed several Y M C A stations actively engaged in serving those who passed along the roads; in fact I was rather anxious about the exposure . . . . On arriving about two kilometers from Thiaucourt, I overtook an automobile carrying one man and three women workers of the Y M C A, who were handing out their wares from the sides of the car en route to Thiaucourt to continue their operations there. I thought that this party had gotten too far to the front, . . . . so ordered them to leave the road by the west and to retire back in the direction of the south, getting out from the vicinity as soon as possible.

*Argonne Offensive.* In the advance through the Argonne I found establishments of Y M C A personnel at Varennes, Châtel-Chéhéry and Fléville, several days, in fact a week or so before the enemy had been pushed back so far that his artillery could not reach these towns. At this stage of the war, in fact, there appeared to be so many Y M C A and other establishments that I protested several times against their activities because of the fact that it seemed to be necessary always to locate their main and secondary dumps and wheeled establishments where the traffic was at times seriously interfered with. The traffic management in the Argonne was an extremely difficult and serious problem to contend with, and it seemed at times that the removal of just this much interference would help a great deal in carrying up ammunition and food.

The chaplain of the 102d Engineers, 27th Division, wrote to the Chief Secretary November 18, 1918, in part as follows:

"Our regiment has recently come out of the front area where we have seen very active service. I have many letters to write and much back paper work to catch up with. But the very first claim upon my heart and mind which I must satisfy before I do anything else is to write you a word attempting to express the appreciation every man in the regiment feels for the benefits received through the Y M C A canteen which has been with us every step of the way . . . . Our boys have never wanted for supplies. In the face of seemingly impossible conditions Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has kept his canteen open and well stocked. . . . I suppose that an engineer regiment is the most difficult to serve because the men are always widely scattered and have long hours of work. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has met the situation by carrying supplies to the separated battalions."

Beyond the point where canteens could be set up, secretaries carried supplies on their backs. Narrow escapes from exploding shells are often humorously recorded with frequent brief but sober records of secretaries wounded and killed. The commander of the 151st Field Artillery issued the following special orders No. 73, July 21, 1918:

On July 16th, during heavy shell fire, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, a Y M C A secretary, visited the batteries of the 1st Battalion and the Regimental P. C., and distributed cakes and tobacco. Approaching the batteries along the Suippes-Souaine road, he fearlessly made his way with great danger to himself, and after completing his mission returned, giving no thought to his personal danger and only concerned with the comfort of the men. He is to be commended for his distinguished coolness and bravery.

The Sergeant of Company H, 111th Infantry, 28th Division, wrote:

"I have never, in all the time you have been with us from Fôret-de-Fère (August 1, 1918, until the finish), wanted for anything in the eats or smoking line, due to your ceaseless efforts. Your presence among us in the front lines was a common sight, gathering up mail, passing around smokes, etc. Though without any military training, we have seen you go through gas attacks, and 'Jerry's' stiff barrages like a veteran. One of my most memorable occasions was shortly before an attack on Aisne Heights when the boys of Company H were supplied with so much stuff that they did not miss their meals, which could not be gotten to them for forty-eight hours."

A major of the 101st Infantry, 26th Division, recommending a secretary for the Distinguished Service Cross wrote:

"During the fierce fighting at Molleville Farm, Houppy Bois and Belieu Bois, October 23d to 21st inclusive, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, a Y M C A man, although wounded by a shell fragment, refused to leave his boys, as he called them, and stayed with them during the intense artillery and machine gun fire. He brought them cigarettes and hot chocolate, each trip being made under continual hail of shells and bullets. He ministered to the men of the battalion in every way possible, giving great assistance in rendering first aid. His courage and devotion to this entirely voluntary duty, his utter disregard of his personal safety, that he might be of help to others, merits the highest praise."

In a letter signed by seventeen officers of the 8th Machine Gun Battalion, 3d Division, to the Chief Secretary, occurs the following:

"During the great Marne battle his work was peculiarly conspicuous. On July 15th, just after the heavy barrage, his Y M C A

supplies were the only rations which the men of this battalion, in his immediate neighborhood, had to eat. He not only distributed food, but saved wounded and gassed soldiers at great risk to himself. On one occasion a shell knocked a chair from under him. On another, the house in which he was resting was struck by a shell and he was buried in débris. In all our army life he was one of us, in our dangers, our work, and our recreation. We heartily commend him as a good soldier and trustworthy friend."

There was hardly a division in which secretaries are not on record as serving in the dressing stations and first aid stations during action. The service included provision of hot drinks for the wounded, supplying cigarettes, holding lights for the surgeon, cleaning instruments, taking messages and writing letters for the men, and even medical attention under doctors' directions. At Varennes, with the 82d Division, as soon as the wounded began to come in, a tent was erected in a field of mud in the midst of barbed wire, shell holes, and trenches on ground recently taken from the Germans. One of the doctors sent for two women workers to make hot chocolate for the men as they were brought in. Some of them had lain two to four days on the field, wet through and muddy. The Y girl fed them through tubes as they lay on the tables. The doctors said that many lives were saved, as the food enabled the men to endure surgical operations. Shells were bursting around continually. Only candles lighted the improvised hospital. There was no floor and the mud was ankle deep. There were no beds. The wounded lay on stretchers which were lifted to the table in turn. A surgeon of the 32d Division wrote to the Association Headquarters August 21, 1918, in part as follows:

"In behalf of the men of the 2d Battalion, 125th Infantry, I wish to thank, through your office, the Christian services rendered by your representative, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, to the men of our battalion during the recent advance of this regiment. He was with us at all times under shell and machine gun fire . . . giving cigarettes to the wounded and fighting men who were wet and cold. . . . In many instances he helped litter bearers to evacuate the wounded. In the aid stations he rendered valuable services in procuring hot coffee and warm food for the wounded, going without sleep himself in order that the soldiers could have all possible comforts."

It would require several pages merely to list the different things which individual secretaries did upon occasion. Practically every secretary on the field received money in large sums to be sent home for the men. Soldiers gave them watches to get repaired when they

Miscellaneous Service

should visit towns in the rear, and battle souvenirs to be packed and sent home. They collected soldiers' letters for mailing daily. These were routine services common to all. At Grand Pré, between November 1st and 11th, 3,000 newspapers a day were distributed in the 6th Division while men were actually advancing, and a total daily circulation of 160,000 newspapers was attained. In one month 379,-854 magazines were supplied. On the St. Mihiel front airplanes dropped papers to the men in the front lines, and in the Argonne, motor trucks carried papers up daily during the most strenuous days of action.

But there were numerous unique and novel services rendered. A secretary with the 37th Division wrote:

**Unusual Conditions**  
"I took the Khaki Trio and their folding organ Wednesday, August 20, 1918, up on the ration wagon with me, reached battalion headquarters at 10 p.m. and gave our first concert in a dugout to eighteen men. We spent the rest of the night at the guard house, sleeping in bunks, hammocks, and on the floor with rats running all over us. Got up early next morning, gave our first concert at 6 a.m., then started up the trenches, stopping wherever we found a platoon of soldiers, gave them a concert, and put on our fifth and last concert for the day at 3 p.m. at the farthest outpost on the edge of No Man's Land; then sang a song to Fritzie, looked through a periscope at them, and left."

The commanding officer of the 9th Infantry, 2d Division, wrote to the Chief Secretary on September 19, 1918, in part as follows:

"In the recent operations of September 12th to 16th Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ went over the top with the assaulting battalion of the regiment, took care of the wounded on the field, and when the battalion was halted to re-form at its first objective, took possession of a German kitchen, reorganized it with four German prisoners as kitchen police, and fed over four hundred men with coffee, steaks, rice and potatoes. Meanwhile he was ministering to the wounded and spent the night with those who were not evacuated until the next day. The following day he went on with his usual work of supplying troops with cigarettes and other articles."

Lieut. Colonel Whittlesey, Commander of the "Lost Battalion," wrote, "I take great pleasure in stating that on the relief of the 'Lost Battalion' the first hot food which the men received was the cocoa supplied by the Y M C A." In the report of Lieut. Colonel Herr, already quoted in part, occurs the following:

"I was in this defensive action (Château-Thierry) with the 3d Division from June 2d to July 2d. During this time I executed a relief on Hill 204 with my battalion and two battalions of the 53d Colonial Infantry, French Army (General Marchand's Division), and the Y M C A secretary accompanied us and continued to provide such articles as the military transport could bring him. At one time during this service I learned that the company commanders of the battalion had carried with them their company funds amounting in the aggregate to 60,000 francs more or less. I had these funds turned over to the Y M C A for deposit in Paris banks, and the matter was handled to our satisfaction in every respect. Also during this time I saw the Association's activities with respect to caring for money for the men, noting that on Sundays or on pay days their receipts from soldiers for safe keeping, amounted on several occasions to over 200,000 francs per day. One secretary found a huge kettle which he scrubbed and cleaned and set up as an improvised bathtub. He carried water one hundred yards, heated it, and served baths for a long line of men, including the colonel."

Under the conflicting conditions service, necessarily, was far from systematic and depended upon the ingenuity and initiative of individuals, supported by the supplies furnished by the organization. Inevitably it must appear that the soldiers continually helped themselves, and that only by the cooperation of officers and army transport could a tithe of the service have been rendered. The story of what was done may convey to those not familiar with the battlefield some more definite conception of the discomforts and hardships which at times made the danger of wounds and death seem trivial. Most of all must appear the fact that, in welfare service to fighting men, the essential element is a man or woman so imbued with the spirit of friendly service that, with or without material aid, his or her presence will bring cheer to the men.

The Essential  
Element of  
Service

## CHAPTER XL

### THE LEAVE AREAS

In July, 1917, General Pershing discussed with various advisers the problem of American soldiers on leave in France. There were many puzzling considerations to be taken into account. The Leave Area idea, proposed by the Y M C A, and developed in numerous conferences and through experiment and improvement, proved the correct solution of the problem. Briefly stated a leave area was a section of country selected for its natural beauty, attractive features, and facilities for amusement and recreation, which was officially designated as a resort for American soldiers on leave. In its final development, the Army paid for lodging and food, and exercised general control; the Y M C A furnished all social and recreational features; the soldier enjoyed himself without cost. Before this status was reached, the Y M C A carried a much larger share of responsibility through the experimental period, until both the soundness of the plan and the appropriate division of responsibility had been demonstrated. In all, nineteen leave areas, including 39 towns, were put in operation.<sup>1</sup> They were located in Alpine resorts and the Riviera, the valley of the Rhine, the seacoast of Brittany, towns in the Pyrenees and the Côte d'Or—all places where beauty of scene and mild or bracing climate had attracted rest- or pleasure-seekers for many years. The extensive amusement facilities already existing were supplemented by all the sports that Americans love. The first area opened, at Aix-les-Bains, was the pattern for all those opened later. Here the Grand Cercle Casino was leased, and its theater, dance hall, restaurant, lounging and recreation rooms were devoted to the pleasure of soldiers. Social features were everywhere emphasized; to this end women predominated among the workers. Athletic sports of all kinds went on daily, including not only baseball, football, and tennis, but mountain climbing, skiing, swimming, and similar out-of-door activities. Lake and river steamers were chartered for daily trips, and hikes to places of historic or scenic interest, with competent lecturers as guides, were features of all areas. In short, from early morning to late at night,

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<sup>1</sup> See Plate XVI facing page 154.

the soldier on leave had a wide choice of occupation, and freedom limited only by the respect due the uniform. There was neither reveille nor taps; if a man wanted breakfast in bed at noon he could have it. Concerts by famous bands, moving pictures, theatrical entertainments, and best of all, American girls to talk or dance with, were at hand at all times; the soldier had only to enjoy himself. Every man was entitled to seven days' leave every four months. When the character of leave areas was once understood the whole army was eager to go. Nearly half a million men spent seven day leaves in the areas, and the total entertained, including shorter leaves, reached nearly 2,000,000.

A clear comprehension of the psychology of soldier furloughs as <sup>The Leave Problem</sup> affected by conditions prevailing in France is prerequisite to the proper evaluation of the work of the leave areas. Change of scene, of occupation and of companionship, release from habitual restraints, activity of ordinarily unused powers, as well as escape from routine, are essential to continued efficiency. The need for furlough of the soldier on active duty is plainly far more urgent than in time of peace. No matter how many diversions may be introduced to relieve the monotony of camp life, there remains in the human constitution the necessity for the periodic vacation bringing complete change of environment.

The situation of the A E F presented peculiar difficulties. The soldiers of France, temporarily released, could go to their own homes—the furlough that every citizen soldier most craves. It has been said that the French commuted to war. For the British, England was just across the Channel, and though inadequate transportation imposed limitations, most of them went home at intervals. England, too, was a good substitute for home to the British colonials; Canadians, Australians and the rest found warm welcomes among a people whose speech, customs, and sports were their own.

Americans were three thousand miles from home shores. They were in France for "the duration." England was in no sense a substitute for home, even if the additional burden on channel transport could have been borne. Ordinary leaves in France were out of the question. Our men did not know the language, and their ignorance of the customs of its people furnished large possibilities of trouble with the civilian population. Turned loose, the majority would have gone straight to Paris, the one French city whose name and fame are magnets to every American. But Paris, overcrowded, struggling

with shortage of housing, fuel, and food, could not provide for their physical needs, while the worst she had to offer promised defeat of the very object of all furloughs. From the military point of view, also, the scattering of soldiers all over France was unthinkable. No one knew when a great enemy offensive would force the calling back to duty of every man, a possibility that became a reality in March, 1918, when the newly started leave area at Aix-les-Bains was depopulated almost in a day. These conditions created a delicate and intricate problem.

The complexity of the problem was clearly perceived by all concerned. At a conference attended by the American Ambassador, as well as representatives of the Army and the Y M C A, August 3, 1917, the suggestion was made to designate one of the world-famed holiday resorts of France as an official vacation center and to arrange a program sufficiently elaborate to fill every waking hour with healthful and popular recreation. Chamonix, nestling in its romantic valley at the foot of Mont Blanc, was particularly mentioned as well adapted to the purpose.

At each stage of the discussion it became more and more evident that the realization of the idea was to be no easy matter. One of the most puzzling problems was that of granting the largest measure of personal liberty to the soldiers without relinquishing the military control which the situation demanded. Would the American soldier relish being told where he must go on his vacation? The answer was undeniably, "No, even if the place named were the most attractive in the world." The essence of vacation is to go where one chooses and do what one likes, and to be free to change one's plans every day with changes of mood. The soldier would evidently have to be conducted to the prescribed area and military control established to see that he did not leave it except to return to his post. How, then, were freedom and control to be reconciled? The answer was, that, once there, the soldier should find himself so contented that he would not want to leave, and would so report to his comrades on his return. Provision for his entertainment must therefore be made with unerring insight and skill. Housing and feeding without exploitation must be assured. In short, upon the idea must be built a plan. In a letter dated November 13, 1917, General Pershing formally requested the Y M C A to submit such a plan for operating a Leave Area for American soldiers.

When the first investigation of possibilities was begun, the plans for the American Expeditionary Forces contemplated only a small

number of troops in France in the first year. To make sure of enough men simultaneously on leave to justify any such project, a suggestion of cooperation with the Canadian Expeditionary Forces was adopted. Accordingly, in the latter part of August, 1917, representatives of the American and Canadian Y M C A's visited a number of resorts and recommended the choice of Chamonix, with Nice as an alternative. Men on leave from the American and Canadian forces combined might total 1,000, which would keep the accommodations at Chamonix filled. Larger numbers could be sheltered in tents. Lease of the ground floor of the Majestic Hotel for use as a club, and rental of a field for athletics, were proposed. The Y M C A approved the report, but postponed action "until more secretaries arrive from America."

Here the matter rested for eight weeks. Late in October, Rev. Selection of Resorts Karl S. Cate, who in the course of welfare work in Camp Devens, Mass., had conceived and carried well toward completion a plan for a sort of country club for soldiers on furlough from that camp, was assigned to proceed with investigations. In conference with the director of the Government Bureau known as the Office Nationale du Tourisme, representatives of the Touring Club of France, and the National Hotel Association, a complete list of resorts was secured, investigating trips planned, and valuable introductions to the right persons supplied. On the way to Chamonix the investigators passed through Aix-les-Bains; and here they found all the features of which they were in search; large hotels, thermal springs, a lake, a casino—the Grand Cercle—containing a theater and several recreation halls, opportunities for hikes to places of interest within reach, and space for athletics. The city officials were quick to see the local advantages in this leave area plan, for the war had disastrously affected the tourist business. A conference of the hotel owners was called immediately to determine what arrangements could be made for the use of hotels that had never before been operated in cold weather.

In the meantime a Franco-American military conference at Military Conditions Paris had laid down certain conditions in regard to the leave system, suggested largely by the experience of the French in dealing with their own furlough problems and by their views of what precautions would be wise on account of the military and civilian situation. The conference was held on November 8th at the headquarters of General Vidalon of the French Army at the War Ministry in Paris. A seven-day leave once in four months for every soldier was agreed upon, the first to begin in February, 1918. This disposed of any idea of an

immediate opening at Aix-les-Bains. Another decision of the conference precluded Chamonix as a Leave Area while the war lasted, because its proximity to the border of neutral Switzerland raised possibilities of international complications. The number of men on leave was not to exceed ten per cent of the American forces. Twenty-four hour leaves to troops in the immediate vicinity of leave areas were opposed because of the difficulties of transportation and the possible discontent of the French troops who were not allowed such a privilege.

An "Outline of Plans for Handling Permissionaires" was prepared in concurrence with this military program; this emphasized in addition the moral tone of the resorts, the general activities to be encouraged, the entertainment program, and the value of American Y women as hostesses and leaders in the amusements.

It was now thought that there would be enough American soldiers on furlough to fill a leave area and the idea of Canadian cooperation was dropped. In December, a letter was sent to General Pershing, proposing the opening of leave centers at Aix-les-Bains, Chambéry, Annécy, and Grenoble. On December 28, 1917, a conference was called by the Provost Marshal General at Paris, at which a draft of General Orders was prepared. This lodged military authority and responsibility for leave areas with the Provost Marshal General, and for transport of men to and from them with the Director of Transportation. The Y M C A was officially recognized as the authorized agency for arranging for accommodations, and for conducting social and recreational activities. The way was left open for other organizations to be admitted to the field, if desirable. As it proved, the Y M C A alone undertook this type of work. The draft formulated by this conference was promulgated as General Orders No. 6, in effect January 8, 1918.<sup>1</sup>

At a conference on January 10th, the army officers in charge of the plan desired immediate action on the opening of Aix-les-Bains and asked if the Association could be ready to handle 3,000 men within 30 days. The answer was, "Yes," although there had been no correspondence with the officials at Aix for two months. Mr. Cate hastened to Aix to make arrangements. Under General Orders No. 6, the Association was to make all contracts for hotel accommodations as well as for buildings for its own activities. In the next seven days

The Y M C A  
Officially  
Authorized to  
Conduct the  
Leave Areas

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IX, p. 571.

100 hotels and pensions in Aix, Chambéry, and Challes-les-Eaux were examined and a model contract drawn which served as the basis of all the subsequent contracts when the military authorities later took over this part of the operations. It set the price of the various classes of rooms, the quality of meals, the fees, hours of service, and a scale of damage charges. There were few points in which either the soldiers or the Association were left unprotected. Negotiations for the Grand Cercle at Aix-les-Bains were begun and beds for 1,800 men secured, when word came from the Army that 3,000 men would arrive in three weeks. A precedent for all subsequently opened areas was set by holding conferences with local officials and leading citizens resulting in effective cooperation for the control of social evils. At this point, Mr. Cate, back in Paris for a military conference, was asked to investigate other places which could be used for leave areas, and Franklin S. Edmonds was placed in charge of the staff already gathering at Aix. Such incidental matters as additional supplies of sugar, flour, and coal for the hotel proprietors, arrangements with the French Army for the reception of the Americans, proved to be a part of the day's work of the leave area staff.

The opening day of Aix-les-Bains, February 15, 1918, and the arrival the following morning of 361 hungry, bedraggled, discontented Americans is one of the interesting stories of the Association annals. The soldiers had come to "Aches and Pains," sure they were to spend a so-called vacation under military rule, with reviews for the pleasure of the French people, and prayer meetings at the Y M C A for relaxation. When they saw the hotels at which they were to stay, and found there was no reveille and no taps, and they could have their choice of every sort of pleasure, the mood changed and they became a good-humored, happy, satisfied crowd of men.

The 31 members of the Savoie staff bent every effort on erasing the initial misapprehension and giving these soldiers a good time. The Grand Cercle was open from 8.30 in the morning to midnight. At the beginning a nominal charge for the theater was made; but this was soon abolished and all entertainments and activities were always free.

Every night there was some sort of entertainment in the theater, and in the ball room also, save on the two nights a week when dances were held. There were two cinema shows each evening and in bad weather morning and afternoon as well. The after-theater hour was filled by informal games; and this became one of the most popular

Opening of the  
First Leave  
Area

features at Aix. This game hour was varied by charades, moving picture burlesques, and all sorts of stunts by the men. One object in these informal amusements was always to get the men to entertain themselves and one another. An army band and a French orchestra played afternoons and evenings. There was free service of chocolate, coffee, cool drinks and sandwiches on Sundays and holidays. A daily trip, "Seeing Old Aix," hikes up Mount Resard, to châteaux thrown open to soldiers, and to other points of interest, and the daily excursion on Lac de Bourget, gave the men a chance to see all the beauties about them. Outside the city an athletic field was laid out, the space for the baseball diamond taking in eleven small truck farms, which had been leased by the Association. Arrangements were made with a large bathing establishment for baths during the winter; and in the summer a large raft, a life saving boat, and a supply of bathing suits made the lake popular. The American Library Association furnished an excellent library. Short lectures on the region and on French history were given before the evening entertainments, and short religious services were held daily. Such was the program which, with the differences in outdoor activities caused by difference of region and season, was the pattern for all the areas that followed.

Corrections in the  
Light of  
Experience

The first permissionaires left Aix-les-Bains February 23, 1918, after a memorably joyous week. But there were few to take their places. Hardly any applications for leaves were received by commanders. As a consequence the patronage of Aix-les-Bains and Chambéry dwindled while no one at all was assigned to Challes-les-Eaux.

Evidently something was radically wrong with the system. The hotel proprietors of the three towns were in consternation. Solely for the accommodation of the A E F they were running out of season at big overhead expense. Yet the A E F did not patronize them and they were left without income. They complained to the Y M C A, demanding some guarantees for unused beds if their hotels were to be kept open. The proprietors had been led to expect a quota of about 3,000 men and had made preparations accordingly. Some hotels had been in constant readiness since the middle of February and had not received a single guest. The special leave trains were discontinued as there was no demand for them. Meanwhile 100 hotels with their large staffs waited for permissionaires who did not come.

Two causes contributed to this catastrophe. One was the ignorance of the soldiers as to the real nature of the plan and as to the prep-

arations that had been made for their pleasure. The Leave Area had not been sufficiently advertised, and the reports of the first permissionaires, enthusiastic as they were, did not circulate fast enough to produce desired results.

To overcome this, it was planned to appoint two officers to visit camps along the American lines of communication, explain the plan and stimulate applications for leave.

Much more serious was the requirement, in General Orders No. 6,<sup>1</sup> A Serious Drawback that every man going on leave should have sufficient money to pay his board and lodging. This amounted to 100 to 135 francs or \$20 to \$27, and with additional pocket money, represented a sum that very few soldiers could save out of four months' pay after allotments for relatives, insurance, liberty bonds, and the like had been deducted. Urgent representations by the Y M C A led the Army to grant each permissionaire 40 francs, or about \$1 a day, for food. This was little help. Finally, it being made clear that the alternatives were that the Army should provide lodging and food for men on leave, or that the Leave Area plan must be abandoned, it was ruled that the restrictions imposed differentiated the prescribed leaves from ordinary furloughs, and the men being on duty status, were entitled to commutation of quarters and rations. This new conception was embodied in General Orders No. 38,<sup>1</sup> issued March 9, 1918, which authorized payment by the Army and revoked such provisions of General Orders No. 6 as conflicted.

One more difficulty remained. The hotel keepers had learned a The Hotel Keepers' Guarantee lesson from their empty hotels and demanded a guarantee that they should be reimbursed for losses resulting from failure to use the accommodations they provided. The Army could pay only for accommodations actually used. The Finance Committee stepped into the breach by authorizing an arrangement under which the Y M C A would pay for unused accommodations up to two-thirds of the total reserved. This guarantee came just in time, for on March 21st the German offensive began, and all leave privileges were suspended in the American Army for an indefinite period. Under its guarantee, the Y M C A paid 352,000 francs to the hotel keepers. There followed three months of idleness in the Leave Areas; the staff was reduced to eight men and eight women, barely enough to keep things ready when leaves should be restored.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IX, p. 571.

Although there had been suggestion of a Leave Area Department as early as August, 1917, the various negotiations and administrative tasks at Aix-les-Bains had been carried on by individuals through the experimental period. With the demonstration that the idea was sound, it became certain that additional areas would be required as soon as conditions permitted the renewal of leave privileges. In April, 1918, the department was organized, like a region, but with headquarters at Paris, and Mr. Edmonds was appointed head. Under assurances from G H Q that the leave areas would not be interfered with, the department set itself to holding on, and to planning for future developments. Meantime Mr. Edmonds was traveling back and forth between Chaumont and Paris, urging that leaves be granted to men in the S O S even though suspended for combat troops, and on July 4th an order was issued, restoring leaves for the men not actually engaged in the fighting lines. This was the last battle for the leave areas. Their need and their success had been recognized by the Army and their development was only a matter of time; the Army was now ready to guarantee the hotel keepers a fixed sum in case their houses were not filled, so that the way was clear for the Association to devote itself entirely to the organization of the areas for recreation.

### EXPANSION

As soon as leaves were restored, applications immediately outnumbered accommodations. The Army requested the Y M C A to organize 25 additional centers with provision for 50,000 men. Mr. Cate returned to the work when this demand of the Army foretold immediate and immense expansion. He had already investigated fourteen places, eight of which were now accepted. The first was the Brittany area, consisting of St. Malo, Paramé, and Dinard, and accommodating 2,500. The second, opened September 1st, was the Auvergne, including La Bourboule, Mont Dore and several other towns of the Central Plateau.

On September 11th a military conference at Tours called for leave areas providing 74,000 beds. There were in the three areas already open 11,500 beds, and in the eleven others now selected a total of 58,200. The areas included the Riviera, Cauterets, and three other towns in the Hautes-Pyrénées, Pau and three towns nearby, Vals-les-Bains and Lamalou-les-Bains. Cannes, Nice, Menton were opened in October and shortly afterward, Monte Carlo and Monaco, which

early in the movement had been offered by the Prince of Monaco to the Association. This Riviera Area became the most noted of all, entertaining more men than any other except the Rhine Valley Area, in its most luxurious hotels and casinos. It afforded unexcelled opportunities for driving over the Corniche, climbing the olive covered hills, sailing the blue waters of the Mediterranean or flying in planes along the coast.<sup>1</sup>

While the seven day leave areas were the first and most serious task of the Leave Department, they did not constitute all of its work. Recreation Centers was the name given to points near large camps and base ports where men could go for week-end leaves or for even a few hours. The beginnings of this plan are found in the efforts of Mme. de Billy, wife of the chief of the Tardieu Mission to Washington, whose desire was that American soldiers on leave should be entertained in better-class French homes. The Committee on French Homes, made up of many prominent French men and women, and especially Mme. Borel, its Paris chairman, were largely influential in the opening of resorts at St. Marguerite near St. Nazaire, and Trez-Hir near Brest. A third, Valençay, near Issoudun, was the wing of a noted château loaned to the Association through the courtesy of the owner. Special provision for travelers en route was made at Nancy and Lyons, railroad junction points where thousands of soldiers had to wait for trains.

It was not till after the Armistice that Paris was treated as a recreation center, but when short leaves there were allowed in order to gratify the wish of every American boy to see this famous city, it became necessary to make the most complete arrangements in order to keep those visitors busy. With the occupation of Germany, five areas were established in the Rhine Valley.

Some fortunate soldiers and officers secured leaves in England and Italy. Special reasons, such as the wish to visit relatives, had to be given if one was to receive military permission to go to England, and passport and travel difficulties made leaves in Italy few. The London executives made arrangements for a leave area on the A E F model at Leamington Spa, but the quick evacuation of the United Kingdom after the Armistice prevented its operation. A very popular officers' club was established at Stratford-on-Avon, by the cooperation of Miss Marie Corelli and others, where many officers stationed

<sup>1</sup> For Leave Areas with statistical information, see Plate XVI facing p. 154.

in England spent week-ends. English hospitality provided other delightful and much enjoyed week-end visits for many officers and men, and short tours and visits in Scotland made those who secured them enthusiastic over the welcome and attention given. The Hospitality League was the agency through which most of these visits were arranged, and its carefully thought out methods enabled men to specify the combination of mountain, seashore or country, and golf, tennis or shooting that would please them best.

#### LIFE IN THE LEAVE AREAS

The summary facing p. 154, prepared by the Leave Areas Department, shows so far as figures can, the magnitude of the service. If to the number of men entertained, the factor of the length of each man's stay is applied, there results the extraordinary record of 3,858,303 men-days for the French leave areas, and 1,290,000 men-days for the Rhine areas, or a total of 5,148,303 men-days for the entire department, exclusive of Paris for which no records were kept.

Not alone the quantity, however, but much more the quality of the provision for the soldiers' comfort and happiness constitutes the real substance of the service. This may best be apprehended by surveying it as it presented itself progressively to the soldiers. They came, it must be remembered, from the billets of northern France, with its mud and rain and its unspeakable devastation, or from the barracks and tents of the S O S camps.

They came with full equipment, rifle, bayonet, gas mask, and all. The mud of the trenches was on their boots. For months they had not slept in a bed; their food, ladled out as they filed past the mess kitchen, had been eaten from mess kits. The primary desire of every man was for a taste of physical comfort.

They descended from the trains into the most renowned pleasure resorts of Europe. In a brief speech, the Army officer in command informed them that, while they were there, they were free from military routine, and subject only to the ordinary rules of decent behavior. They were conducted by Y secretaries to hotels, built and furnished to cater to those able to pay for the most elaborate luxury. The entire accommodations were for their use. Any man might draw a room in the royal suite. Beds with clean sheets awaited them, and, as the director of the department remarked, the first thing done by most of the visitors was to "loaf and invite their souls" to spend 24 hours in bed.

Arising they found their clothes and boots cleaned, and descended to dining rooms where tables were laid with white cloths and silver, and decorated with flowers. The meals stipulated in the Y M C A contract with the hotel keepers were of high standard, both as to variety and quality. By contrast with the conditions they had left, the Leave Area was the acme of luxury, and all this was at the expense of the Government, thanks to the persistence of Y M C A advocates of soldiers' rights who, in face of many serious obstacles and objections, had pushed the matter to an official ruling by the Judge Advocate General.

It was not long before most visitors found their way to the casino or club house where the Y M C A had established its service center. The characteristic European breakfast of rolls, coffee or chocolate, and fruit, only whetted appetites for a real American breakfast, and the widespread rumor that sausages, cakes, eggs, and American coffee could be had at the Y canteen was an irresistible attraction. This led to new discoveries. There were American girls, whose occupation was to make things pleasant and homelike for the soldier. They served him food, told him of the attractions of the place and the entertainments planned for the week, and were interested listeners to his talk about his experiences or about his home and home folks. Lounging rooms with easy chairs that were really easy, American papers and magazines, facilities for amusements in great variety, were plainly in evidence. There should be no difficulty in enjoying himself.

Out of doors was equally attractive. No physical surroundings could have been more satisfactory. These towns were as peaceful and beautiful as if war had never been. They were not only resorts of holiday seekers, but homes of people of means and leisure, and villas, gardens, châteaux, were as attractive as taste and wealth could make them. There were varieties of climate, but all were good. The bracing air of mountain areas, the sunshine of the Riviera, and the sea breezes of Brittany were alike a welcome relief from the fog and cold and rain of northern France, while instead of dirty villages and barren plains, there were snow-capped peaks against blue sky, or lake, river, or cliff-lined coast in the distance, and well kept streets and parks to stroll through. For most of the men it was the first glimpse of "beautiful" France, the beginning of comprehension of that passionate French love of country which they had seen so little to justify or explain.

Natural  
Attractions

The natural attractions of the town or region offered plenty to interest men who preferred to follow their own fancy. There was plenty of companionship, too; men from all parts of the United States and from all branches of the military service with whom to compare notes and extend mental horizons. Nevertheless, so thoroughly had the Y M C A arranged ways and means for maximum enjoyment that most of the men spent the larger part of their time under its guidance.

Hikes, sight-seeing trips, and picnics were extremely popular. About every leave center points of interest and natural beauty abounded. From Vals-les-Bains, in the Ardèche, one might visit Avignon with its palace, the home of the popes in the 14th century, or spend a day climbing about the Pont d'Arc, a natural bridge over the river Lignon, or explore the crater of the Tojac Volcano. In Nîmes were the Temple of Diana, the Arena, and the Roman Baths, built in the 1st and 2d centuries. In Aix were similar ruins and the grottos whence came the naturally heated waters for the thermal baths. From the centers in Brittany the famous Norman monastery of St. Michel could be easily reached. Elsewhere excursion steamers on lake or river or sea were chartered by the Y M C A for the free use of soldiers.

On all these trips, fun was combined with exercise and instruction. With the lunches provided by the hotels and supplemented by hot or cold drinks and other supplies from the Y canteen, the day was planned as a regular American picnic, or "pique-nique" as the French called it. Fifty or more soldiers with two or three Y girls to provide the feminine element made up the parties. Always there was a Y man along, well informed as to the history and legends that attached to the places to be visited, or prepared to explain the natural curiosities to be seen. History learned amid the scenes where it was made is more vivid and fascinating than books can make it. Although most reports state that educational work was not emphasized in the leave areas, there can be no doubt that in these informal talks, with free opportunity to ask questions, men gained acquaintance with the people, customs and events of the past that they could or would have secured in no other way.

For those who did not care for such excursions, or by way of variety, sports of all kinds offered attraction. They included both the amusements peculiar to the place and season and the games popular with all Americans. In the Alpine and other mountain areas there were peaks to climb, with expert guides engaged by the Y M C A.

## TABULAR SUMMARY—LEAVE AREAS DEPARTMENT

Areas	Towns	Date of Opening	Date of Closing	Hotel Capacity	Class "A" Leaves	All Other Leaves	Total Entertained	Y Personnel			Proportion of Soldiers to Workers
								Men	Women	Total	
SAVOIE	Aix Les Bains	Feb. 15, 1918	June 1, 1919	4,347	103,927	4,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	53:1
	Chambéry	Feb. 15, 1918	June 1, 1919	538	6,926	.....	123,318	37	44	81	
	Challes Les Eaux	Feb. 15, 1918	June 1, 1919	885	7,965	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Eaux	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
BRITTANY	St. Malo	Aug. 25, 1918	June 15, 1919	906	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	78:1
	Dinard	Aug. 25, 1918	June 15, 1919	1,360	66,976	3,200	70,176	22	24	46	
	Paramé	Aug. 25, 1918	June 15, 1919	1,122	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	St. Servan	Feb. 1, 1919	June 1, 1919	203	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
AUVERGNE	La Bourboule	Sept. 5, 1918	Jan. 15, 1919	3,908	27,058	.....	27,058	32	28	60	65:1
	Mont Dore	Sept. 5, 1918	Jan. 15, 1919	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
DAUPHINÉ	Grenoble	Sept. 25, 1918	May 6, 1919	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33:1
	Uriage Les Bains	Sept. 25, 1918	May 6, 1919	2,412	36,099	3,000	39,099	37	36	73	
	Allevard	Sept. 25, 1918	May 6, 1919	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
NANCY	Nancy	Sept. 1, 1918	Feb. 20, 1919	1,020	.....	120,000	120,000	14	14	28	.....
ARDÈCHE	Vals Les Bains	Nov. 1, 1918	Apr. 25, 1919	1,256	14,503	.....	14,503	12	10	22	57:1
HÉRAULT	Lamalou Les Bains	Nov. 15, 1918	Apr. 27, 1919	1,350	8,394	.....	8,394	10	13	23	60:1
GARD	Nîmes	Dec. 15, 1918	Apr. 20, 1919	600	3,934	1,000	4,934	11	6	17	36:1
RIVIERA	Nice	Dec. 1, 1918	May 27, 1919	3,359	45,026	29,471	.....	39	49	88	60:1
	Cannes	Dec. 1, 1918	May 1, 1919	889	8,154	8,500	150,549	20	24	44	28:1
	Menton	Dec. 1, 1918	May 10, 1919	2,484	24,567	2,500	.....	13	25	38	61:1
	Monte Carlo	Jan. 1, 1919	May 15, 1919	2,325	20,331	12,000	.....	14	25	39	50:1
	Luchon	Dec. 1, 1918	May 10, 1919	1,552	10,992	.....	.....	16	15	31	50:1
PYRÉNÉES	Cauterets	Dec. 1, 1918	May 20, 1919	2,722	24,722	500	41,205	10	16	26	104:1
	Eaux-Bonnes	Dec. 10, 1918	Apr. 19, 1919	900	4,991	.....	.....	7	11	18	50:1
	Pau	Mar. 15, 1919	June 1, 1919	.....	Casuals	.....	.....	6	4	10	.....
ALPINE	Chamonix	Jan. 1, 1919	May 5, 1919	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	66:1
	St. Gervais	Jan. 1, 1919	May 5, 1919	2,364	18,675	2,000	20,675	14	22	36	
	Le Fayet	Jan. 20, 1919	May 5, 1919	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
ANNÉCY	Annécy	Jan. 10, 1919	May 20, 1919	1,170	8,155	.....	8,155	15	19	34	35:1
RHINE VALLEY AREAS	Coblenz	Jan. 10, 1919	May 7, 1919	1,000	.....	300,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	97:1
	Neuwied	Jan. 10, 1919	May 7, 1919	1,000	.....	35,000	510,000	52	66	118	
	Trèves	Jan. 20, 1919	May 7, 1919	600	.....	30,000	Billetted	.....	.....	.....	
	Andernach	Jan. 25, 1919	May 7, 1919	.....	.....	120,000	Troops	.....	.....	.....	
	Neuenahr	Feb. 10, 1919	May 7, 1919	1,000	.....	25,000	780,000	.....	.....	.....	
BIARRITZ	Biarritz	Feb. 15, 1919	June 15, 1919	1,486	16,307	2,500	18,807	14	19	33	45:1
VALENÇAY	Valençay	Nov. 1, 1918	July 1, 1919	54	.....	2,500	2,500	3	0	3	.....
ST. NAZAIRE	Ste. Marquerite	Aug. 15, 1918	May 1, 1919	50	.....	2,000	2,000	2	3	5	.....
BREST	Trez-Hir	Sept. 1, 1918	May 1, 1919	80	.....	3,000	3,000	2	0	2	.....
LYONS	Lyons	Nov. 1, 1918	July 1, 1919	200	.....	Casuals	.....	6	4	10	.....
PARIS	Paris Div.	Nov. 1, 1918	Feb. 15, 1919	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
19 AREAS	39 Towns	.....	.....	43,142	457,704	706,671	1,944,375	408	477	885	.....

PLATE XVI.



One notable event was the scaling of an unnamed peak in the Pyrenees by a party from Cauterets. Twelve men reached the summit, where French and American flags were raised and the name "Peak Wilson" officially bestowed. Winter sports such as skating, skiing, and sleighing had their turn, and snow-ball fights were not unknown. In the summer there were baseball, tennis, golf, and swimming, and the innumerable non-equipment games that left men breathless from laughter and exertion. The Y M C A provided the athletic field or baseball diamond and the necessary equipment—the men needed no stimulation to do the rest.

In-doors, in the evening or in bad weather, there was equal <sup>Indoor Entertainment</sup> variety. Every center had its theater where players of the Over-There Theater League gave plays, or French vaudeville or concert parties entertained. A separate hall was used for motion pictures and two or three showings were given daily. Very popular were the games especially those known as "rough house" games. A group of men would be blindfolded and scramble to get and hold a place on a small table. Blindfold boxing was an unfailing source of hilarity, and even potato races and similar games were played with zest and laughter.

Impromptu acting also became popular. From charades there developed the living movies, in which melodramatic scenarios were acted as if before a motion picture camera, a single speaker supplying explanatory remarks as a substitute for the "titles" of the screen. Many of the men, as well as the Y girls, could dance, sing, or play an instrument, and all were willing to contribute their specialties for the general amusement. In brief, the social halls held every night a crowd of young Americans eager for fun and able to improvise it without difficulty.

Dancing of course played an important part. Although the men outnumbered the girls by fifty to one, the system of "tag" dancing, by which, when a whistle was blown, every man might cut in, made sure that every man got a partner. In the social halls, rank was forgotten; one of the workers at Aix-les-Bains tells of the visit of the Queen of Roumania and her daughter. The princess accepted an invitation to dance with an American captain. At the end of the first minute he was "tagged" by a doughboy, and the princess finished the dance with a succession of enlisted men. The dancing was a strenuous addition to the duties of the girls. They worked all day in the canteen, or hiked with the picnic parties; there was no possibil-

ity of resting while the orchestra played, for girls were too scarce, and they were caught from one partner to another often without missing a step. Dancing slippers had little chance against hobnail army shoes; the rule was that proposed by the donkey turned out in the poultry yard: "Let every one look out for his own toes." But somehow the girls endured it and kept smiling.

The French Response  
There was hardly a leave center in which the French residents did not furnish an element of enjoyment and permanent value. At first uncertain, they soon discovered that these hundreds of young men in khaki were gentlemen. Visiting the casinos they made acquaintance and invited their new friends to their homes. Social leaders invited and chaperoned young ladies of the local families at the dances and other social gatherings. Great as was the momentary pleasure of such association, the deeper value lay in the mutual discovery of qualities that led to respect and liking. For the Americans who had met none but peasants in France, this was a revelation of the character which has made France a great nation, and the sowing of seeds of mutual liking and respect which may easily grow into an international influence.

When the time came for the men to go back to their posts of service, there was unanimous appreciation and praise for the good times enjoyed and regret that they were so soon ended. The primary purpose of the Leave Areas was attained. They furnished the restorative recreation that braces bodies and spirits, and heightens morale. The state of mind of soldiers, whose leave grant was coupled with orders to go to a particular place, had been accurately foreseen, as was proved by the fact that almost every arriving party was filled with gloomy forebodings of life in barracks, parades, and compulsory athletics. Man after man confessed that his one aim had been to find a way to slip out of the area and enjoy himself in his own fashion. Equally evident was the wisdom with which that state of mind had been met. The hope to make the Leave Area so pleasant that no one would want to go away after he comprehended what was offered, was realized to an extraordinary degree. The program satisfied the permissionaires, and the few who criticized were shamed into silence by the majority who took pains to make known their appreciation. While in two or three places, results were marred by lack of local cooperation, staff difficulties, unavoidable changes of program, or continued bad weather, the characteristic of the work as a whole was unqualified success.

### THE RHINE AREAS

There were certain features of the leave service in the Rhine areas that distinguished them in some degree from those in France. Most important was the fact that seven day leaves were rarely granted in the Army of Occupation, most of the men receiving one to three days' furlough. This, together with the fact that soldiers were not permitted to resort to German hotels and restaurants, made necessary a very considerable provision of facilities for serving meals. The Y M C A was permitted to draw needed supplies from the Quartermaster for this purpose, and served food at cost.

A second result was the development of the one day excursion plan. A fleet of seven steamboats was requisitioned and manned by the Army. These made daily round trips between Bonn and Bingen. A Y M C A secretary was in charge of entertainment, and a lecturer pointed out the castles and points of interest, telling the history and legends attached to each. A panorama and booklet of Rhine legends were given to each passenger. When possible the Army supplied a band, at other times the Y M C A an orchestra, for music and dancing on deck. Materials were furnished by the Army for the midday meal, prepared and served by the Y, and canteen supplies were distributed.

Directly across the river from Coblenz was the castle of Ehrenbreitstein, the strongest fortification in Germany, and Stozefelz Castle, the property of the Kaiser. These had great interest for visiting soldiers, and the Y secured two launches which made several trips daily for their accommodation. On all these excursions, Y M C A girls added greatly to the soldiers' enjoyment, as always. The entertainment and athletic programs in Coblenz and other cities were intensified with a view to the large number of men on one day leaves and short furloughs.<sup>1</sup>

### THE PARIS DIVISION

Paris was recognized as a Leave Area after the Armistice. The work done, however, was a continuation and expansion of that which had gone on from the beginning. Something like 200,000 casualties, men and officers, arrived each month on their way to join their units, on special duty or as permissionnaires. Katherine Mayo's description of the casualties in London applied equally to Paris.<sup>2</sup>

One Day Rhine  
Excursions

Paris as a  
Leave Area

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XLII.

<sup>2</sup> *That Damn Y*, Katherine Mayo, New York, 1919, p. 361.

"Take, for example, a cold wet winter's night. The street is full of khaki—Australians, Americans, Tommies, Canadians slogging along in the rain and slop, dog-tired, strangers and nowhere to go, with their heavy kits on their backs."

"Where are they exactly? They don't know. Where are they bound for? They don't know. Where will they sleep that night? Heaven alone can tell—if Heaven cares. Hungry? Yes, Fed up? Fed—up."

The Art of  
Genial Approach

Service began at the railroad stations where there were information booths and canteens, and secretaries met the trains day and night. They greeted arrivals and guided them to the large trucks that ran as omnibuses between the stations and the Y and Red Cross hotels. At night a secretary accompanied each of these trucks to see that all the men were properly lodged. The men who were chosen for this service were very carefully selected. They were salesmen, newspaper men and others with large experience in the art of genial approach.

This effort was not confined to the railroad stations. Information scouts patrolled the popular streets, ready to give information and to direct men about the city. Many times they cared for intoxicated men and found lodging for those on the streets at night. A small band of women workers were included in this street hospitality service. Their presence in the streets at night was in many instances an effectual means of keeping the boys from evil companions.

Hotel  
Accommodations

The Association, in addition to many smaller places, operated four large hotels, Hotel du Pavillon, Hotel Rochester, Hotel du Palais, and the Hotel Richmond. During the month of March, 1919, these four hotels served approximately 100,000 meals and provided beds for 35,000. The Pavillon, containing 190 rooms accommodating 420 people, was leased at a rental of 260,000 francs per year. At this place and the Richmond, free teas were served every afternoon, and usually there was music by an orchestra. There were two restaurants (serving a daily average of 22,000 meals) and 24 huts, barracks and canteen rooms, besides the clubs, theaters and other amusement centers in the Metropolitan area.

The soldier with a few days to spend in Paris was naturally anxious to see the sights. Twice a day from five of the most important Y centers, walking parties conducted by competent guides made tours of the city; many men had only a few hours between trains in town, and other parties, starting from the railroad stations, were formed for these. Large sight-seeing busses and army trucks also made a

comprehensive tour of the city twice a day. There was, further, an auto and boat service to reach the beautiful and historic suburbs of Versailles, St. Germain, Malmaison, Fontainebleau. The sight-seeing bureau also distributed to all soldiers an attractive booklet entitled "The Story of Paris." There were still other secretaries specially trained for guide service in the Hotel des Invalides, the Louvre, Notre Dame, and the Pantheon.

This service began in October, 1917, with one secretary and one ten-passenger car. Towards the end it employed more than 50 men. During the six months, January to June, 1919, nearly 700,000 American soldiers took advantage of these trips entirely without cost to them. The Association spent more than 300,000 francs in this service, exclusive of the allowances of the secretaries employed.

In Paris, primary emphasis was not placed on the religious work, <sup>Sunday Services</sup> except among the troops permanently located in the area. Every Sunday night a service was held in the Palais de Glace at which the average attendance was about 1,000. The religious director, with a staff of only seven men, managed to hold Sunday services in practically every place within the area where American soldiers were stationed.

The greatest needs of the transients were met by the provision of hotels and restaurants, and the hospitality and sight-seeing departments. Next to these, the most pressing task was to keep the boys properly entertained. Extensive plans were launched for their diversion. The Albert Premier Theater which had a seating capacity of 700, was soon outgrown, so the Palais de Glace was taken over. Its theater accommodated 3,000 seated and another 1,000 standing, and more than 70,000 per month witnessed the varied shows in which many of America's leading professional players appeared, including the A E F boxing matches once a week. It was also a club house, a meeting place for men and women of all the Allied Armies.

Another of the Parisian playhouses conducted by the Entertainment Department was the Champs-Élysées Theater. This was one of the newest, most elegantly appointed theaters on the continent, and its stage was so large that only part of it could be used by even the biggest shows. There were several other theaters, large and small, in this area, but the greatest of all was the Cirque de Paris. Its seating accommodations of 6,000 were increased to 8,000 and, on an average, it entertained 15,000 a day at its two performances. Here too were attractive lounging rooms plentifully supplied with good read-

ing matter, a canteen, and a regulation boxing ring, as well as the main stage and many rest rooms.

It is estimated that in all other Y amusement centers in Paris about 12,000 soldiers per day were entertained in the period between March 31 and June 30, 1919.

Nancy, strictly speaking, was neither a leave area nor a recreation center, but was turned over to the Department because the proposition involved looking after men on short leaves and often men A W O L, and because of Nancy's proximity to the American Second Army, so that hundreds of our men visited there daily. For the accommodation of this floating population the Hotel de l'Europe, with a capacity of 125, was taken over for officers, and a large apartment house near the station was procured for enlisted men. Nancy had suffered such frequent bombardments that these bomb-wrecked buildings were made habitable with much difficulty.

The outstanding feature at Nancy was the taking over by the Y of the Nancy Thermal. This huge bathing establishment, fed by natural hot water, contained two swimming pools, one of which covered over 13,000 square feet, a large pavilion of modern construction, special bathing and lounging rooms, a large building with halls on the lower floor and a cinema theater above, a great power and heating plant, large grounds with tennis courts and roller skating rink, and space for all athletic games. This had been completed just before the war, and had never been used. Arrangements were made with the Army to furnish clean underwear to each soldier utilizing the baths, the Army Salvage Department put a laundry in operation in the building; and while the soldier was having his swim, his outer clothing was put through the delousing plant. Two large tents, where refreshments were served, stood in an open space beside the pool. Between October 16th and February 16th, 120,000 Americans visited the baths.

Perhaps the most noteworthy service was that rendered to 30,000 Allied ex-prisoners, released after the Armistice. The following excerpt is from an official report:

"Since Friday last practically all our force have been engaged in serving the prisoners (English, French, Italian, Roumanian, etc.) liberated by the Germans on this front and brought into Nancy. There had been no provision made for them as they were not expected here, so we opened our canteen and dining-room to them and served chocolate, cookies, and such things as we had, and are still doing so. We have received the thanks of the English Army men, with the statement that if it had not been for the Y M C A many men would not have

lived. We are keeping the baths open all night for them. We have, of course, expended a large amount. Feel that it was the greatest opportunity possible for the Y and authorized all possible use made of our canteens and supplies."

#### LEAVE AREA PERSONNEL

Early in the experiment the leaders had seen the need of training <sup>Training Personnel</sup> their workers. This work was altogether different from that in a hastily improvised roadside hut near the front, or in a great soldiers' club in a camp where the men worked hard all day. Leave areas meant one grand round of diversion. The object of it all was to make nerve-racked men forget the war—forget even that they were thousands of miles from home. The tried workers of the first winter were therefore used to man the points, and the inexperienced were sent for training to the Savoie Area. Nearly every one of the 885 secretaries in the department served an apprenticeship at Aix before being assigned elsewhere; a system to which the success of the whole scheme may be largely attributed. The majority of the workers were women, who carried on the more picturesque and noticeable though not the less difficult part of the task. Often these soldiers had scarcely spoken to a fellow country-woman since leaving home; and in the leave areas it was part of the plan that they should find American women at leisure to chat, to play games, to lead hikes. Nothing else could have done so much to make the men feel at home, and to make them forget the horror and the monotony of their past months. This women's work was organized and guided for nearly the whole of the first year by Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Her successor at Aix, when she took charge of the entire field, was Mrs. James T. Anderson, who took charge later of the largest of the areas, that of the Riviera. It was the wisdom of her oversight of the hundreds of Association women in this region that caused General Pershing to suggest that all women of whatever organization, coming to the Riviera, either on leave or on duty, be placed directly under her charge. A superficial consideration may suggest that these workers had an easy task, as well as more comfortable living conditions than most Y men and women. It was the opinion of the closest observers, however, that there was no more difficult work in the service. To receive continually shifting groups; to make every man personally feel a particular welcome; to meet men who were unhappy and dissatisfied either with military conditions or with the service of the Y M C A or both; and to entertain these men

so as to renew their devotion to American ideals, was a tremendous task demanding continually the exercise of high qualities of personality and friendship and attended by severe nervous strain.

#### A NEW FEATURE OF ARMY LIFE

The Leave Area plan was an absolute novelty in the world's military annals. It was the solution of an age-old problem which had been previously deemed impossible of solution or not worth the trouble. The driving force that carried it through to success was in part a better understanding of the factors of military efficiency, but far more a determination that America's citizen soldiers should not wholly lose touch, in the brutality of war, with the civilization for which the war was fought. It was one of the first of the problems of the A E F to be considered, and the development progressed rapidly enough to keep pace with the Army's needs. Fundamental to its success was the principle of "leave on duty status" which Mr. Edmonds worked out and persuaded the Army to accept, and the intelligent program of entertainment provided by the Y M C A. Without the first, few soldiers could have availed themselves of leave privileges. The hotel charges for seven day leaves alone would have amounted to more than 50,000,000 francs, or \$10,000,000. Without the second, only repressive measures could have controlled the restlessness and discontent, and the whole purpose of leave would have been defeated. Military and social values were the product of personal satisfaction and enjoyment that made the leave period a bright spot in a drab existence.

It is to be hoped that a much fuller record and study of the Leave Area enterprise than is possible in this book may be made available. Not only is it unthinkable that it should be omitted from the plans for any expeditionary force that America may in future send from her shores, but it has significant values for civilian consideration. There can be no question that, as the largest employer of labor, the United States Government found that its immense expenditure on soldiers' vacations paid high dividends in efficiency. Such a discovery should have a far reaching effect upon industry at home. Whether or not this shall follow, the full comprehension of the Leave Area service by the supporters of the Y M C A cannot fail to be convincing. In that service their purpose and desire for the welfare of the soldiers was brilliantly fulfilled.

## CHAPTER XLI

### WITH RETURNING TROOPS

The general situation in France following the Armistice has been previously discussed.<sup>1</sup> It remains at this point merely to emphasize the principal effects of the new conditions upon the welfare program as preliminary to a description of the field operations.

The Y M C A programs of education, athletics, and other activities, prepared in anticipation of the event, were produced; and the organization was redistributed in accordance with the new arrangement. The difficulties involved in such a reorganization can hardly be overestimated.

The close of hostilities, however, made possible the full participation of the Army in welfare activities. The educational program was finally taken over entirely by the authorities, the athletic program was constituted as one huge cooperative effort between welfare workers and army officers assigned to the work, entertainment was made an official activity, and the Y was in the end relieved of the onerous burden of the canteen. The soldiers themselves were, of course, free for a more extensive participation in all activities and for detail work in the huts.<sup>2</sup> The cooperation of the Army in no sense diminished the task of the Y M C A; rather every department of work was expanded to meet the increased demands.

The clearing of eastbound ocean traffic helped the personnel and supply situation materially; though, of course, this help was not immediately available in the midst of the first necessary readjustments.

From the point of view of the A E F-Y M C A the period from November 11, 1918, to September 1, 1919, represented a short but very trying phase of reorganization to prepare for extensive activities in cooperation with the Army, during which intensive service in the billeting areas had to be maintained, followed by the establishment of large new facilities for general work in the debarkation areas and base ports. Meanwhile, the Army of Occupation called

Reorganization  
and Redistribution  
of Activities

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter X.

<sup>2</sup> Consult Chapters XXX, XXXIV and XXXV for detailed accounts of entertainment, educational, and athletic activities after the Armistice.

for a diversion of effort to Luxemburg and Germany. The purpose of this chapter is to present the leading features of the new work in France inaugurated by the Armistice.

### IN THE BILLETING AREAS

Most of the combat troops spent the few weeks during which the arrangements were made for their evacuation in the billeting areas behind the lines. With the wintry weather, and the inactivity and the uncertainty as to the length of the delay, it was a bad time.

There was nothing new in the features of service offered at this time, though the emphasis had changed. There is one thing very clear. Though every part of the Y's work was more or less understaffed and at very few points before the Armistice was any situation regarded as "in hand," yet there appears in the appeals to Paris from the field at this time an unmistakable note of new urgency. It is quite plain that in those dreary days the field organization of the Association was conscious of a need even greater, if that were possible, than in the period immediately preceding. To understand the reason, it is only necessary to put the various elements of the situation together. The miserable weather, the lack of purposive activity, and the desire for home—now that the big job was accomplished—threw up into high relief all personal deprivations of every kind. To say that this created a great problem for the high command and for the officers in the field is quite just, but the statement is liable to obscure the truth that the situation created a great problem for every soldier himself. And while the headquarters staff of the Y was working on new plans and making reassessments as fast as permission could be secured, the general uneasiness was also affecting the welfare workers in the field.

There was an earnest effort made to stiffen every activity of the Association at once, hindered very greatly by the fact that few new workers could be sent anywhere. The women secretaries were, of course, invaluable at a time like this; they brought the one touch most needed in the drab surroundings. An emergency call for 57 women from one regional headquarters indicates at once the extremity of the need and the clear apprehension of the means required to meet it.

The period of inactivity was soon over and the movement westward began.

The first work of the Association at these centers at the front was the putting on of entrainment programs for the troops starting home and looking after the remnants of troops left behind. After the long, cold, dark weeks of waiting, a division would get its orders to move up into the Le Mans area. That these men were to move at all was enough to raise their spirits and cheer their hearts, but none the less there were many little things to be done to free this initial stage of their journey from inconvenience and to make it as comfortable as possible. If the departure was scheduled for the early morning, there was breakfast to be supplied or hot coffee at least. Reading matter had to be furnished, games supplied and all the odds and ends involved in a departure to be looked after so that there would be the greatest amount of comfort and amusement en route. Usually the Y staff that had worked with the division accompanied it, and continued its service for the time they were traveling and at the embarkation center when they arrived.

At the stations through which they passed en route it meant much to them to find the Y ready to furnish hot chocolate and a sandwich and to bring chocolates, cigarettes, and sandwiches to soldiers not allowed to leave the trains. A place to sleep comfortably was not unwelcome to those who had a few hours' respite on the train journey. In the Chaumont section a cot would be frequently used by two or three men in a single night, one man rising to catch a train and another taking his place.

As the Army gradually left the areas and the regular service diminished, there remained for the Association workers the tasks always accompanying the breaking up of a field organization. Salvaging, closing out of leases, settlement of damage suits, inventorying, and shipping supplies and equipment, the problem of returning personnel, all clamored for attention; not until July when the troops were practically all under way was this work finished.

#### THE EMBARKATION CENTER—LE MANS

The most rapid expansion recorded in the whole history of welfare work in the American Expeditionary Forces took place within Le Mans Area, shortly after that city and its outlying towns had been designated as the American embarkation center. This area included the district from 30 to 50 kilometers around the city and had a billeting capacity for over 300,000 men. It was almost equidistant from the ports of Le Havre, Brest, St. Nazaire, and Bordeaux,

and so was the natural center to which to bring the troops to be prepared for embarkation. Here the soldiers came for delousing and re-equipment and final reclassification before being started on the final lap of their long journey.

Le Mans had previously been used as a replacement depot, so there was already on hand some existing equipment for welfare work, but with the enormous influx of troops after Armistice time the welfare organizations were forced to expand very greatly and very rapidly to meet the new situation. Soon after the Armistice there were 200,000 new troops here, the first contingent of those who were on their homeward way. As units went out to the shipping ports, others coming in immediately replaced them. As quickly as possible they too were moved on; their stay was often, as they hoped it would be, a short one. Yet while some divisions spent less than a week here, others remained for nearly four months. Arrivals and departures took place on shortest notice.

This program of a perpetually transient population was aggravated by the movement of casualties back and forth, some homeward and some to other points in France. While a division brought its own group of Y workers with it, which helped to relieve the pressure on the local staff, yet the task was always serious enough, and in June it required more than 600 workers to man the 300 Y stations in this single area and to operate the fifteen rolling canteens.

Some idea of the extent of the work may be gained from the fact that nearly 625,000 soldiers passed through Le Mans before June 30, 1919, and the total operating expenses for the region up to June, not including the expenditure of the Paris Headquarters for personnel and material, were almost a million francs.

The soldiers arrived at all hours of the day or night, in companies, in squads, in pairs and singly as casualties—thousands of them pouring in, all to be cleared preparatory to being sent to the port of embarkation. Arriving usually after a long and wearisome rail journey in a troop train, a welcome at the station or at the hut with a cup of hot coffee meant a great deal. Often the girls in the wet canteen, in addition to their regular work, stayed up all night once a week to make coffee for the troops coming in for embarkation, and spent the following day serving coffee and sandwiches, taking and sending cablegrams, shopping, and performing the hundreds of minor services which seem of such importance at the last minute to the departing soldier.

Hotels were crowded, cafés were charging enormous rates for simple meals, and even Central Hut itself was being used for sleeping quarters as well as a recreation center. In an attempt to meet the food emergency, the Y opened one of the largest and finest cafeterias in France in the heart of the city. The building had been originally designed for a Y activities hall and could be adapted to cafeteria purposes without serious difficulty. It had accommodations for seating 300 at once and could serve 1,000 soldiers in record time. Breakfast was "real American," made to fit the American palate. Here the boys found "hot cakes and syrup" just like home. At the height of its season from 1,100 to 1,800 meals a day were served, not only meeting the needs of those who otherwise would have had to hunt for a meal in a crowded city, but furnishing a welcome relief to men already long-tired of army fare, and eager to return to the comforts of civilian life.

The regular departmental activities were organized and developed to a remarkable degree. <sup>Activities</sup> The number of participants, including repeaters, in athletics during the six months ending in June, totaled over 3,000,000. Eighty thousand pieces of athletic equipment were supplied. In the month of May alone over 1,000,000 persons witnessed baseball games played on 243 diamonds. Fifteen thousand baseballs were used up. At times other games such as indoor baseball, basket ball, volley ball, football, quoits, and wrestling rivaled baseball in popularity. Boxing had a strong hold on the interest of the soldiers. Seventeen hundred sets of boxing gloves were furnished in the month of April alone. Especially noteworthy were the boxing events staged in the Parc Des Jacobins, once a Roman amphitheater, so arranged that thousands could witness the boxing events staged on the bandstand. At one time there were over 18,000 men as spectators of a boxing exhibition in this park.

The athletic work here meant the equipment and development <sup>The Work Entailed</sup> of a group of bored, tired, and discouraged men, twice outnumbering the total enrolment of our six biggest colleges combined. It meant the transformation of muddy, undrained meadows into adequate athletic fields. It meant the supplying and sometimes the manufacture of suitable athletic material. It meant endless work in preparing schedules and supervising training. Figures can never tell the real story of the man whose weary wait for his trip home was made less tiresome and more endurable by interesting events in which he took part or which he could witness.

The Educational Department found abundant ways to help the men stationed in or passing through Le Mans area. The constantly changing personnel of the troops and the absence at the beginning of proper textbooks, school rooms and teachers delayed the establishment of formal work, but finally there was a system at work embracing grade schools, grammar schools, high schools, business and college courses. The *École Pratique* in the city of Le Mans was secured for evening classes and developed until it had a faculty of fifteen with courses in twenty-five different subjects. In January a School of Architecture was opened with a beginners' class of twenty men detached from their respective organizations by special orders from Divisional Headquarters. There was organized a most successful School of Agriculture, and instruction in all phases of farm work was carried on through classes, lectures, and farmers' institutes. Agricultural clubs were organized and excursions planned whereby the men had opportunity to visit and study at first hand the farming methods in the noted French farms of this department.

In addition to this regular work the library service was developed to meet the craving of the men for mental recreation and improvement. The number of loans of books totaled over a million and a half and 10,000 copies of the Paris editions of the *New York Herald*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *London Daily Mail* were distributed daily to the soldiers within two hours after arrival from Paris. Truck-loads of current magazines were brought into the area to be quickly worn out through continuous reading.

Incidental lectures and sight-seeing trips helped to fill in odd moments and make some of the time profitable as well as entertaining.

At no point was the entertainment service a more effective force than at this embarkation center, where it received its greatest development. Concerts, theatrical performances, motion picture shows, were provided in endless succession. Within a period of three months the attendance at the various kinds of shows, theatricals and entertainments increased from approximately 500,000 to 3,500,000 per month and the number of entertainments given from 1,000 to nearly 5,000.

The booking office at Le Mans was widely known as "Entertainment House" and became the largest play factory in the A E F. Under the direction of an expert New York theatre manager, plans were developed and personnel increased so that Entertainment House was prepared to furnish all kinds of amusement for the Army. At the

beginning of the year, there were on the road four Y M C A troupes and half a dozen Army shows, as well as some transient troupes from the home-going divisions. During the month of January these units gave about 600 shows to audiences aggregating 100,000 men. The amazing growth of the department's work was illustrated by the comparison of these figures with those of the month of April, when there were 4,250 performances given to a combined audience of more than 3,500,000. In the city of Le Mans alone more than a dozen theaters, including the magnificent Municipal Theater, were opened to soldiers after April first. Not always, however, did the cast find such conveniences at hand. Shows were given in huts, in tents, in trucks, in French barns and occasionally even in open fields.

The department staff not only provided Le Mans area with its entertainment, but developed three of the most successful shows as well as the largest single production that toured the entire A E F. Many of the productions of this play factory received commendatory citations from the commanding officers at the various points where they staged their performances.

The Cinema Department supplemented this regular work with its valuable and interesting form of entertainment. It added to the regular movie work what was known as a "flying squadron," which consisted of a series of trucks equipped with Delco lighting outfits and projectors by which picture shows could be carried to the most remote areas, shown on screens on the side of a hut, the wall of a house, or perhaps a frame supported on an Army camion. In the month of May 2,047 shows were given to audiences of 954,000 men.

The Religious Department in this area provided for religious services on all suitable occasions, organized Bible classes and distributed Bibles and other religious literature in large quantities. During the month of March there was a total of more than 1,000 services attended by 225,000 soldiers. Ten thousand Bibles were given away. Two hundred and seventy-two thousand pieces of religious literature were distributed. A very keen religious interest was manifested by the soldiers in most cases, and every reasonable endeavor was made to have the services conducted in popular style without offense to men of different sects or to those of non-church-going habits. The religious motive back of all welfare work was emphasized, and many obtained a new vision of religion as life and service. The number of men signing the war roll cards was 1,545, and the number of Bible classes held during the period from January to June

Praise for the  
Play Factory

Religious  
Service

15, 1919, was 304 with an attendance of more than 4,700 men. The Department worked in hearty cooperation with the Army chaplains, who were necessarily recognized as the authorized religious leaders. Y M C A secretaries were frequently called upon by Army chaplains to conduct services and do other religious work in the chaplain's absence. Jewish, Roman Catholic, Christian Scientist, as well as Protestant denominations, were furnished with space in the Y M C A huts for the purpose of conducting their own services. The aim of the Department was to hold at least two religious services each week in every place in the region, where circumstances permitted, and special occasions, such as Christmas Day, Easter Sunday and Mother's Day, were usually observed with a fitting religious program.

Dancing With the arrival of American girls after the Armistice, the enthusiasm for dances grew by leaps and bounds. So popular was this feature of the social life that night after night girls who had worked all day in canteen or station service, were kept busy trying to accommodate the soldiers and to meet the demand for dancing partners. This was no easy task. Practically all the women workers were expected to attend a dance twice a week. Many of them were called upon for every night except Sunday. It even became necessary finally to establish a dancing bureau in order to see that every soldier got an opportunity to dance with an American girl once in a while, and that the girls themselves should not be permitted to exhaust themselves by overdoing. Flying squadrons were established of girls who were taken from one camp to another by motor in order to afford all the soldiers some opportunity to dance with an American girl. The stories of their experience make interesting reading. One girl writes:

"The dances in Le Mans proper were always interesting, but it was the dances in the little towns that provided the variety. When the girls started from their canteens and offices for one of these dances they never knew what kind of a place they were bound for. When the destination was reached the girls were likely to find their hosts waiting in a barn, a French dancehall or a fine old château. The music, too, varied from a forty piece band to a reed-organ or an accordion. No girl expected her shoes to last longer than one week without repair, for dance floors were always an uncertain quantity, perhaps cement or planking so hurriedly put together that hopping over the cracks was in order, and one could fairly feel the leather wearing off the soles, while the hob-nails played havoc with the uppers. No one was ever so popular as an American girl at an enlisted men's dance in France."

At one dance in the Seventh Division when it was the first time the men had danced or had been with American girls for six months, there were 1,500 men and seventeen girls. The officers were obliged to order that every third dance be a stag dance in order to save the girls. On another occasion at an enlisted men's dance, a limited number of men were let in at one door and put out after their dance at another, while a new relay came in. Cutting-in was popular, but it required the greatest care to prevent it having all the marks of a stampede. Many a time the girls reached their homes late at night or early in the morning after a tiresome motor ride only to be up again at seven to begin the regular canteen duties of the day. What these girls meant to the men was well expressed by one soldier boy when he said: "Life in the Army is awfully out of balance, you know, but you girls helped to balance it."<sup>1</sup>

Maintaining  
the Balance

#### AT THE PORTS OF EMBARKATION

When the Army first began to reach France the ports of Brest, <sup>Conditions at Brest</sup> Bordeaux, and Marseilles were already overloaded with the task of handling munitions and war supplies. Work was being rushed at top speed to increase their capacity to handle freight, long before the problem of troops became serious. With the coming of an army from America the construction work increased enormously, in order that as soon as possible these harbors might be used for the discharge of troops, and the pressure on England and the congestion on the Channel be relieved. By the time of the Armistice tremendous changes had been made, and camp accommodations were ready for the large bodies of men who now would be able to return direct from France to the United States. The conditions at Brest had been so improved that in spite of the climatic conditions there—the records give 333 rainy days in one year—the camps in the Brest and Pontanezen districts came to be regarded as among the best in France. In the spring of 1919, nevertheless, all these ports, now ports of embarkation instead of debarkation, were taxed to the limit of their capacity to meet the requirements of the returning troops. As in the days before the Armistice, the largest number of troops continued to pass through Brest, but other ports which had previously been used largely for freight now became ports of embarkation for many of the return-

<sup>1</sup> The History of the Y M C A in Le Mans Area, by the Regional Staff, Portland, Oregon, 1920, furnishes a complete account of the Association Activities in this Embarkation Center from December, 1918, to July, 1919.

ing soldiers. The proportions are indicated in a report of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff for April 23, 1919, which shows that up to that date there had sailed from Brest 432,830 men, from St. Nazaire 197,908, from Bordeaux 155,918, from Marseilles 32,421, from Havre 5,190, and from English ports 36,965.

With the rapid growth of the camp accommodations, went a corresponding growth in the equipment and personnel for Y service. With the arrival of troops homeward bound, new huts were erected, new secretaries initiated into their multifarious duties, orders for supplies doubled, and redoubled, again and again. Even so, it was not until the coming of spring that the service became all it was hoped to make it. By that time the athletic programs, entertainments, cinema shows, sight-seeing trips, and religious and educational work were progressing at full speed, in daily service to the hundreds of thousands of men passing through en route for home and undergoing all the formalities requisite for repatriation.

In many respects the work at these ports was a repetition of the organized work at the embarkation centers. For some of these troops who had not gone through Le Mans these ports were the first stopping place after leaving their billets near the front. Here, too, were delousing camps, where the men were obliged to remain from three to ten days in practical isolation, where a Y hut with Y service was, as one man put it, "certainly an oasis in the desert." Here the men remained long enough to be re-equipped and reclassified, or, if ready for sailing, until the transports were ready and their sailing orders received. The uncertainty of the length of their stay again made regular, continuous work for any considerable period, especially educational classes, impracticable, except for the troops in charge of the camps. But all the other features were developed to the full. Sight-seeing excursions to points of interest in the neighborhood took place daily, rain or shine. Sometimes on foot, sometimes in camions or by boat, soldiers and secretary or "Y girl" would be off for the afternoon, visiting interesting old châteaux, quaint villages, historic spots, witnessing the quaint customs of the people of the district; learning something of history, something of architecture, much of France; and whiling away in a delightful fashion another of the tiresome days before their final departure. The evenings were filled with entertainment features, shows and moving pictures. The report of the Entertainment Secretary of the Pontanezen Division says:

"So, from January to June, the entertainment work grew and flourished, and took on ever broader and broader proportions. What had seemed an almost hopeless task at the beginning, by reason of intelligent planning and faithful effort, gradually took on life, order and system, so that the department was able to furnish ever more adequate and efficient service. It expanded from week to week with almost astounding development and fast became one of the Y M C A's most helpful and truly successful enterprises, in that division. Courage, optimism, unwavering determination and never flagging effort won their deserved reward, triumphing over difficulties, dampness and depression, and bringing to the long detained, home-hungry boys just that mental exhilaration, emotional relaxation, good cheer stimulus and recreation of spirit that they stood in such vital need of during those dull days that stretched between Armistice Day and their long awaited 'Embarkation Day.' "

Special auditoriums were built to hold the audiences that wished to attend. The one at Brest had seats for 3,000 men; the stage here was exceptionally well equipped, and matinees and evening performances were a daily occurrence. The number of huts in the Pontanezen Division, to which entertainment was furnished through the Y M C A, grew from six in February to twenty-three in June, when there were given weekly in these huts an average of 70 musical and dramatic shows, 120 motion picture shows, and 15 band concerts.

In addition to all the various activities already described in previous chapters, the embarkation ports called for certain new forms of service, arising from their character and the special needs of the men at the time of embarkation. The soldiers arrived at the ports, often after a journey of 48 hours or more, weary, cold and hungry. In addition to their regular work, men and women secretaries sometimes spent whole nights making coffee or chocolate, and sandwiches, and serving them to troops coming in for embarkation. Information as to trains, trips, and places of interest in the vicinity was given hundreds of times a day, and every effort made to insure its accuracy and helpfulness. With the influx of troops in such great numbers, hotels and restaurants in the towns were overloaded, and the charges were often high. To relieve the pressure, and to provide good food in wholesome surroundings at lower prices, restaurants and cafeterias were opened, where the men could get real home cooking and home dishes. Ice cream factories were established; from a section near Brest, famous for its strawberries, half a ton was used every day in making strawberry shortcake. Hotels were opened for the

officers, buildings secured for officers' clubs; and the huts themselves, whenever needed, were always at the service of new arrivals who had not found a place to sleep. The free chocolate and cookies on Sundays at the huts were always a great attraction.

These men, arriving from all over France and about to return to America, found themselves possessed of French money, often that of local districts not legal tender in other sections of France. To change their French money into American, to accept these local notes, which were later redeemed through the Y secretary in the district to which they belonged, to cash checks, to arrange the sending of money home, all these services during the last few days of the men in France made the financial department of the embarkation port a very busy place. During the month of January, 1919, the value of the money thus exchanged at Brest was nearly 4,500,000 francs. A working capital of 250,000 francs was committed by the Paris headquarters to the Brest Division to make this work possible, and of this amount not one franc was lost to the Association, although, at times, in order to render a needed service, the financial department took chances which no organization operating for profit would have dared to take.

One of the unique forms of assistance was that of the "shopping bureau." Thousands of men would arrive in camp, uncertain whether they were to leave for the boat in one day or ten. Their stay was seldom longer than a week; leaves were rare or impossible; for the most part the men were necessarily restricted within the limits of the camp itself. Yet they all wanted to get souvenirs of the town or of France, presents for the folks at home, or little things for themselves. Virtually prisoners for the time being, they would have been prevented entirely from taking such things home had it not been for the services of women workers who went to the town on regular shopping tours. The purchase of suitable articles for gifts was often much of a puzzle to the soldier, and the advice and help of a Y girl was especially acceptable when he doubted his own judgment as to value and appropriateness. The women also helped by sewing on new chevrons, service or wound stripes, or shoulder insignia that needed replacement; and inasmuch as every soldier wanted to look his best on his return, there was an endless amount of this sort of work to do. Shopping and sewing filled many an hour of a Y girl, and brought frequent opportunity for a chat with the departing soldier about home. These activities are illustrated in a report from Marseilles:

"We find that the boys have many other needs, as well as the desire for tasty food. None of the casuals are allowed outside of the camp, yet all wish to get souvenirs of Marseilles and to complete their supply of presents for the folks at home; also, they are all sent through the 'mill' and are bereft of chevrons, service and wound stripes, and shoulder insignia, all of which they must have before sailing in order properly to impress their friends and family on arrival. To supply these needs we have established a shopping bureau handled by two of the girls. Each day one is in town buying everything from service stripes to lingerie, while the other is at the counter taking orders and selling her purchases. These girls also keep a supply of post-cards and views of Marseilles, which we sell in enormous quantities at wholesale prices. . . . Each girl of our staff has some canteen service every day, some regular time off, and other time which she spends outside in the hut with the boys. One girl takes care of the flowers, so that there are always several bouquets on the counter and around the hut. Several of the girls play and sing and amuse the boys when off duty. The others spend what time they have, which is all too little, in sewing on chevrons and attending to the thousand and one wants of one big family of boys."

When the troops finally went aboard the transports for the ocean trip that was to finish their overseas service, the Y followed with supplies, equipment, and personnel for work during the home journey. At first, when workers were too few for the work in France, the chief task was the equipment of each returning transport with welfare supplies. Each ship was met on arrival and examined with a view to ascertaining the kind and amount of materials needed, which were then provided and placed on board for distribution. These were principally such articles as cigarettes, games, books and magazines. So much of this material was needed that it required a special warehouse for these supplies alone. At one port the requisitions for a single month included 300,000 packages of cigarettes and 200,000 packages of chocolate. Sometimes phonograph records and musical instruments from the entertainment department, or boxing gloves or other athletic equipment from the physical work department, were added. Every ship was provided with all kinds of religious literature.

When it is considered that embarkation camps were filled with thousands of men who were through with the war and anxious to get home, but who were detained for periods ranging from seven days to six weeks, it will be readily understood that an intense athletic, social, religious and educational program, together with sight-seeing and other activities, played a great part in keeping them contented.

Ocean Activities  
on the  
Home Journey

## GRAVES REGISTRATION SERVICE

While the main body of American soldiers thus found themselves in the currents setting homeward, and the greatest volume of welfare activity related itself to these men in the ways already described, there were some small groups, here and there throughout France, who, like the larger Army of Occupation in Germany, were destined to remain for longer periods than their fellows in order to help bring to a close the outstanding affairs of the A E F. Among these groups none was in greater need of welfare work than those engaged in the tasks of the Graves Registration Service. The very nature of their occupation rendered desirable every possible diversion of their thoughts during recess hours. Not only at the cemeteries, but wherever American soldiers fought, there was for them work of the most melancholy kind. Everything about them—the bodies, the shell-marked fields, shattered woods and ruined villages—suggested death.

These men, whose duties brought them into closer contact with the dead than with the living, were surrounded by many diversions through the activities of the Y M C A. Huts and canteens were opened throughout their camps; dances, entertainments, lectures and religious meetings were arranged, and schools were inaugurated. American girls went out to them to give added cheer. As far as the means available permitted, every leisure hour was utilized by Y workers, so that the men might have no after-thoughts of their day's gruesome work.

Closely associated with the men of the Graves Registration Service were a number of colored units, Pioneer Infantry, Engineers and labor battalions.<sup>1</sup> It was the duty of these men to go over the blighted areas where Americans had fought, salvaging, repairing highways and railroads, filling in trenches and reburying the dead. They labored in a wilderness of destruction. Centered in and around Verdun and the Argonne were 30,000 men on this kind of work. The Y established headquarters in Verdun and with a force of only eight workers, men and women, covered every point where American soldiers were at work. Soldiers were detailed to canteen work, sixty men being thus employed at one time. Entertainments were furnished by bands, orchestras and vaudeville units in the area. Religious services were conducted by white secretaries and by enlisted men who had had experience in religious work.

<sup>1</sup> Consult *The American Negro in the World War*, Emmett J. Scott. Washington, 1919.

A Much Needed Service

With the Colored Units

The work of the troops finally resolved itself into the construction of the national cemeteries at Romagne, Thiaucourt, and Beaumont, so that by May, 1919, practically all the soldiers had left the district except those thus employed.

At Romagne about 6,000 men were at work on the Argonne Cemetery, the largest of the American burial places in France. Bodies in various stages of decomposition had to be brought from distances varying from 30 to 50 kilometers. The whole region was in a state of desolation, and the total lack of conveniences subjected the men to many hardships. It was obvious that there was great need of welfare work in these places, to prevent lowered morale.

The Y sent colored workers, both men and women, who succeeded in furnishing comforts and distractions that relieved the tension and greatly improved the morale of the men. Headquarters for this work were established in Romagne, and a building opened. A second building was opened later and used as a reading and writing room. Both buildings were supplied with pianos, tables and chairs, and were made as cheerful and homelike as possible. A large hangar served as an auditorium, with a capacity of 2,500. A lively program of indoor and outdoor activities was carried out and a plan of religious service best adapted to the men inaugurated. Two women of especially broad experience were placed in charge of the hut. They had the assistance of four women secretaries and a detail of 26 soldiers who prepared sandwiches, doughnuts, chocolate, and lemonade to be freely distributed. Three thousand doughnuts, 2,500 biscuits, 1,500 sandwiches, twenty pounds of cheese, one case of jam, 1,200 lemons, and four bags of sugar were served daily to the men. In addition to these goodies, there was a supply of cigars, cigarettes, chewing gum, and candy. Three thousand newspapers were distributed daily. On leaving the camp each soldier was given some chewing gum, candy, cigarettes, and cigars.

By the end of June there were engaged at Romagne four women and seven men secretaries. The presence of the women had a most wholesome influence. Under date of June 27, 1919, the 1st Battalion, 813th Pioneer Infantry, expressed its appreciation to the Y M C A workers at Camp Romagne in the following terms:

"We have been doing very tedious work, but very sacred, that is, digging up and reburying the American soldiers, who fell in this great conflict to save their country. The Y M C A workers have toiled

A Region  
of Desolation

day in and day out, never tiring, making everything pleasant and homelike for us.

"This is the first time that the 1st Battalion, 813th Pioneer Infantry has ever had a Y M C A attached to them, and when this was found out by the Y M C A workers of Camp Romagne, why it seemed as though they doubled their efforts to make everything bright and cheery for us.

"We have had plenty of motion pictures, traveling vaudeville shows, at least four or five nights a week, plenty of soothing refreshments served to the boys when they came in from a long, hot and dusty trip on a truck, and plenty of sporting equipment for out and indoor sports, and also plenty of reading material.

"The Y M C A workers have kept the morale of this camp to the highest standpoint, and if it had not been for their presence here, the work that the men were doing and having home constantly on their minds, why this camp would have been in an uproar all the time."

#### ANOTHER ADAPTATION

The varied welfare activities conducted on behalf of the American soldiers during the period following the Armistice illustrate again the efforts of the Association to adapt its program and its resources to the needs of the men it was seeking to serve. New problems necessitated the working out of new methods, all designed to meet the particular needs of the men under changed conditions. One factor in the larger success of welfare work during this period was the plan of military supervision which gave to the welfare program the full backing and support of the army organization. The chief of one sub-section of the General Staff was made directly responsible for the co-ordination of all the activities, an arrangement which secured the cooperation of all the welfare societies and insured a high degree of efficiency. Into this unified scheme the Y M C A fitted its established machinery and personnel. Based upon the psychological necessity to relieve the months of the post-Armistice period from the evils of idleness and temptation, no one can contradict the outstanding fact that the results of the whole effort fully justified the time, strength, and money invested.

## CHAPTER XLII

### THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

Of course, the spectacular event of the post-Armistice period was the occupation of German territory. The task of occupying the American zone was assigned to the Third Army, organized for this specific purpose, under the command of General Joseph T. Dickman. In the early morning hours of November 17, 1918, less than a week after the Armistice, this Army began its march. At the head of the column were the 1st, 2d, and 32d divisions, bound for the east bank of the Rhine; these were followed by the 3d, 4th, and 42d divisions, who were to occupy the west bank; next came the 89th and 90th divisions to take up their position in the Moselle Valley; and behind there followed the supporting 28th, 33d, 5th, 7th, and 79th divisions, who were to be stationed in Luxemburg and also to guard the lines of communication.<sup>1</sup> The 1st Division crossed the Rhine on December 13, 1918. The various divisions, aggregating approximately 250,000 men, rapidly took up their positions and were soon scattered over a territory of 3,000 square miles stretching from the French frontier through Luxemburg and Germany up to the Coblenz bridge-head.

After a period of about six months, the American Army of Occupation was withdrawn and the remaining troops, about 15,000 in number, became known as the American Forces in Germany.

The welfare work of the Y M C A appears, during this last period, in four phases: first, service during the march forward; second, work for the units on the lines of communication; third, the elaborate enterprise conducted for the Army of Occupation; and fourth, the compact and highly-developed organization in the American Forces in Germany. The whole period reflects the transition from the hectic conditions of the rapid, forced advance, begun with a minimum of preparation; through the extended activities of the first months of 1919, when large opportunities were matched at last by rapidly increasing facilities; to the last stage, when, for the service of a small body of men, it was possible to organize scientifically with a selected

*The Period  
of Transition*

<sup>1</sup> History of the A E F, Shipley Thomas, New York, 1919, p. 372. The supporting divisions were attached to the Second Army with headquarters at Toul.

personnel, well supplied with the basic essentials of successful welfare work.

#### THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

The Y M C A had no opportunity to make preparations for the march into Germany. Such workers as were with the different units when the fighting ceased were permitted to go forward with their units. They were able to carry with them only such supplies as they found ready to hand. Thus, welfare service on the march was represented almost entirely by efforts of personal ingenuity on the part of workers who were so fortunate as to find themselves in favorable positions. The story is interesting primarily for this reason.

It was a hard time for the soldiers. The roads were bad and the weather cold and wet. All the advancing divisions had been in combat and there had been little rest after the hard fighting. Though inclusion in the Third Army was unquestionably an honor, there was a natural feeling of disappointment that they were not chosen rather to turn their faces toward home. But it was only an armistice; fighting men were needed at the front till the possibilities of peace were assured.

The 1st Division, first in so many things, was the first to cross the bridge at Coblenz. It was served on the march by a small group of secretaries giving cinema shows with a portable machine wherever possible, and distributing supplies secured from the warehouse at Ippecourt. During the week when the division was delayed at Luxembourg a dining room was secured at one of the large hotels, a reading and writing room was opened, and a wet canteen was started. Five Y M C A girls were attached to the division. The troops were proud of the fact that their outfit was accompanied by Miss Gertrude Ely of Philadelphia, who had been decorated with the Croix de Guerre for her work in the trenches, dugouts, and hospitals in the forward positions. Miss Ely was the first American woman to cross the Rhine, marching over the pontoon bridge at Coblenz at the head of the column just behind Brigadier-General Frank Parker and his staff. Another woman secretary won admiration by walking the entire distance with the soldiers, refusing all offers of a place in an automobile. She declared that if the doughboys could march into Germany with packs on their backs, she certainly could march without a pack, and she did. The soles of her shoes were worn through, but the saddler patched up the holes.

Secretaries hiked with the outfits of the 2d Division and during the stay in Luxemburg sent ten trucks to France for canteen supplies which were distributed before the men reached Germany.

A woman worker with the 3d Division wrote:

"The Armistice was signed, and soon after we were en route to Germany on trucks. This was the most discouraging time. The war was over, so we thought, the work done, and everybody wanted to go home, and, worst of all, supplies were low. We carried all we could on the trucks, but rail connections were not yet through and truck loads do not go far with a division. Much of the time was spent of course traveling but when a stop of a day or two was made we girls were packed on to Ford camionettes with a cocoa-making outfit and dumped into a town to find a place to set up shop. We served cocoa all afternoon until called for and taken to headquarters for the night. It seemed as though there never was enough to go around at that time but we did the best we could with what we had."

The 4th Division was badly handicapped by the lack of transportation but strenuous efforts were made to reach the different units.

Service Despite Handicaps

With the advance of the troops of occupation, the divisional headquarters of the 5th Division were successively moved from Étain, to Longuyon and Longwy, France, and to Hollerich, Luxemburg. The next move was to Merle and, lastly, to Esch where the division remained until ready to entrain for embarkation. During the weeks through which these changes were made in the effort to keep abreast with the Army there is a record of a heavy distribution of canteen supplies, a free hot drink service, a banking system, generous supplies of newspapers, magazines, writing paper and envelopes, together with occasional entertainments, athletic events, and religious meetings. Transportation required a car, two trucks and several camionettes.

"Marching into Germany the 32d Division Y succeeded in keeping supplies rolling with the front ranks, thanks to the generous cooperation of the Army," wrote a secretary with that division.

During the long and uncertain ordeal of the Argonne drive supplies were received from the regional warehouse at Ippécourt and this continued to be the source until the division left Consdorf, Luxemburg, a distance of 140 miles. At Consdorf in celebration of Thanksgiving Day, 60,000 pounds of chocolate and other supplies were distributed. At Speicher, Germany, the canteens were supplied from Treves. Part of the Y staff remained at Speicher two days waiting for additional supplies and thus had an opportunity to serve two

other divisions, the 42d and the 89th, which remained for a day in the town. On this hike of the 32d Division 320,000 sheets of letter paper were distributed with envelopes.

The experiences of the 90th Division were typical:

Typical Experiences  
"The day the Armistice was signed we located in Mussay on the Meuse; all supplies were brought by truck from Ippecourt. The next move of the division located us at Marville. Here the lines of communication broke down. At Marville were delivered our last regular papers, which had been brought up to this time from Ippecourt. To relieve the desperate supply situation and to make Thanksgiving Day, now at hand, a fact, G. 1 of the 90th Division gave us a convoy of thirteen trucks to haul supplies from Ippecourt.

"The next long jump landed us at Retang. All that was left of the abundant Thanksgiving supplies at Marville were relayed and stored here. While at Retang we secured two truck loads of supplies from Luxemburg city. Another long jump and we landed with the division at Remisch, Luxemburg; for here we brought supplies from Luxemburg city. In each of these cities we opened a large central canteen. The secretaries assigned to troops remained with them through all the movements. In every way possible they got supplies from the central canteen and served their own units. During these days we used our own limited transportation for traveling canteen purposes. In getting supplies we were absolutely dependent on army transportation. At Retang an Army truck was given to mount a Delco moving picture machine. The outfit complete joined us at Remisch, and here worked successfully, practically every night while marching, in entertaining the boys of the 90th Division.

"Trucks loaded with supplies and secretaries crossed the Moselle into Germany and served the men en route until we came to rest at Wittlich."

Potato Soup  
Holding these few facts in review it can hardly be doubted that thousands of the men who participated in that long and eventful march of the Third Army from the old battle line in France to the banks of the historic Rhine, carry with them memories of the part played by certain men and women secretaries of the Y M C A. The workers were eager to go forward into Germany and were ready to share with the Army in the discomforts of the weary hike. Much depended, not only on their ability to secure and to transport supplies for the canteens, but also on their readiness to perform spontaneous service. From Luxemburg, for example, the march was particularly hard. The weather was cold and raw, and in many cases the men's shoes were worn through and their feet were sore and blistered. One of the secretaries conceived the idea of finding out in advance where

the troops would be billeted for the night and planning for their comfort. She would go ahead with the billeting officer and make arrangements with the German families to have hot potato soup in readiness. There was no shortage of potatoes, and the German housewife has a reputation for potato soup. If there was any hesitation on the part of the cook, a hint that she would be reported to the American Army authorities, was sure to overcome it. It rained nearly every day, and it was usually late at night when the men arrived. What could meet more perfectly the requirements of wet, tired, and hungry men than good hot potato soup!

The American finds more than news and editorial comment in <sup>The News  
of the  
Day</sup> his newspaper. The satisfaction he takes in the consciousness that such a publication is within reach, a symbol perhaps of his contact with world events, has its antithesis in the dissatisfaction he feels and in the complaints he utters if he is deprived of this solace.

They were eager to know what was going on in other parts of the Army and especially hungry for news from the United States. Any long continued ignorance of the general progress of events greatly increased their restlessness and anxiety and to that extent threatened army morale. The work of getting newspapers and magazines into the hands of the soldiers therefore met a very profound and a very practical need. The means adopted to accomplish this end and the difficulties in the way were specifically indicated in letters written to the Book and Periodical Department by their representative. It was agreed that newspapers would be even more welcome than supplies. Under date of November 26, 1918, he wrote:

"I reached Luxemburg Saturday night after jumping eight trucks between Ippécourt and Luxemburg. Trains were running but the movement was slow owing to army supply trains. All ingress to the Metz-Luxemburg region without special passes was stopped. The route north by Nancy was clogged by north-bound freight and it was impossible to forward papers by rail. Trucks were employed."

After several days spent in a town along the route, he wrote:

"The papers started coming here on Saturday. No word had been sent concerning them and they were distributed locally. West's truck arrived and went that night with *Mails* and *Tribunes* of the 26th. The *Heralds* did not come until morning.

"Wednesday the truck got back with the driver 'all in.' Thursday morning I sent it back with the *Heralds* of the 26th and the *Mails* and *Tribunes* of the 27th, also writing paper, magazines, cigarettes, chocolate, etc. There were none at Luxemburg. It got back here late

tonight and will get out tomorrow early with two days' papers. I go with it.

"I am writing this Friday night late. The truck is in bad condition. (220 kilometers a day in a four-ton truck is no joke). But I think we'll get off O.K."

By such means did the Y M C A seek to minister to the mental as well as to the physical needs of the Army in transit. To visualize the event one must picture first the tired troops in the bleak winds of shell-shattered northern France, bivouacked perhaps in some sheer skeleton of a wood, shivering at their camp fires, waiting the order to move. Then the long columns of infantry are seen lengthening out along the dusty roads and winding through ruined villages past crumbling walls and heaps of débris where once had been quiet homes, little schools, and modest churches. They come then to liberated French villages with pathetic ill-fed people gaping from the doorways, as if unable to understand what it all meant. Tender-hearted doughboys share their meager rations with haggard women and emaciated children. Released prisoners, ragged and pale, pass in grotesque but pitiful groups. But the Americans move steadily on day by day, stepping to the music of the regimental bands, until more fortunate neighborhoods are reached, unhurt by the havoc of war. Signs of rejoicing and demonstrations of welcome are given, and children run along by the side of the column giving flowers to the men. Over the hills and down through the winding valleys of old Luxemburg they march with aching feet. Quaint houses, picturesque towns with ancient towers and castles, fit into the landscape as if so placed by nature's hand. Occasional stops are made—then again the incessant tramp, tramp, tramp of the companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions, as they swing forward to the positions in the Rhine country, and ever the cold wind, the chilling rain, the aching muscles, and tired feet, and the honest appetites of youth in action. It was an eventful day in the history of the march when General Pershing entered the city of Luxemburg to be welcomed as a hero and deliverer and to review the troops in company with the Grand Duchess from the palace balcony.

No picture of the march would be adequate that did not feature the motor trucks scurrying to and fro keeping the advancing lines in touch with distant bases of supply, bringing up great loads of chocolate, cigarettes, cakes, candy, newspapers and magazines, writing paper and envelopes; the cinema shows night after night when opportunity offered; canteens located in all sorts of places and equipped as if by

magic for a few days' or a few hours' service; sympathetic, courageous women ready always to make hot chocolate, distribute cigarettes, newspapers, and stationery, to help with correspondence, mend clothes, or sew on buttons.

In general, the conditions prevailing during the migration of the Army over the French border and into Germany were not favorable to the holding of religious services. As opportunity offered the desires of large numbers of the men were complied with and many services of an interesting and profitable character were held. The recurrence of Thanksgiving Day was a reminder of the religious nature of that observance, and some appropriate services were held at various points along the line of march conducted by chaplains and secretaries. Meetings on Sunday were held whenever possible. Especially to those men of strong religious sentiment and accustomed to church attendance at home, religious exercises on the march meant much; while to a very large number such gatherings were at the very least an emphatic reminder of the spiritual elements of American life, and an inspiration to maintain the ideals upon which our country is founded.

The long march was soon over, and more settled conditions brought a measure of contentment—persistently disturbed by the urgent desire to be out of it all and back home again. Contact with foreign lands created in American troops true appreciation of their own.

#### LUXEMBURG

The main line of march of the Third Army lay through the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. For centuries Luxemburg had been a bone of contention between France and Germany. In 1866, Luxemburg was declared a neutralized principality under the Dutch Crown. In 1890, when Wilhelmina became Queen of Holland, Luxemburg became an independent Grand Duchy under its own line of sovereigns. In August, 1914, the Grand Duchy was overrun by German troops and was occupied by them during the war. The evacuation of the country by Germans was one of the conditions of the Armistice. On November 21st, General Pershing entered the city of Luxemburg at the head of a small body of troops, the rest of the line being sent around the city. In his proclamation, General Pershing explained that it had become necessary for the American troops to pass through the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and to establish and maintain lines of communication there for a certain time.

When spectacular events are concentrating attention, it is easy to forget small bodies of men in out of the way places, however necessary may be the functions they perform. Yet because of their very isolation, their need of welfare service is more urgent. The men in Luxembourg were no exception of the rule. They were scattered in small groups along the lines of communication upon whose security and efficient operation the Army of Occupation was dependent.

In spite of the fact that the leaders in Paris were striving with all their power to follow up their outposts in Germany, an extensive Y service was built up among the troops scattered through the little Grand Duchy. The divisional secretaries went forward with the troops but supplies and supporting personnel came up slowly in the general confusion that followed the total rearrangement of plans after the Armistice.<sup>1</sup> The scattered units were hard to reach with limited personnel and equipment. The billeting arrangements, as usual, distributed each division over a considerable territory. In one case a single woman worker was compelled to supervise no less than fourteen service points. Supplies were scarce all through the winter for familiar reasons. The workers complained particularly of the difficulty of securing proper quarters for their work.

Nevertheless, a real service was established in Luxembourg. There is no need to recount the multiplication of familiar activities. Such a center as the divisional headquarters at Esch represented the final achievement. At this point during the winter was developed a complete divisional organization with a headquarters staff including activities directors. The field workers were distributed in seventeen towns from which service was extended to some 40 centers in all. At Esch there was provided a large lounging room, a theater, a club for officers, and a club for non-commissioned officers. A warehouse and garage were also in operation. A number of the working centers in this district were housed in most unsatisfactory quarters but others were well up to the best standards. Soldier details furnished much assistance at various points.

The typical activities beyond canteen service were represented by athletics and entertainment. Football, boxing, and wrestling made up a large part of the program, and volley-ball became a highly popular diversion. There were divisional championship contests with trophies awarded by the Y M C A. In spite of transportation dif-

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Vol. I, Chapter X.

ficulties the usual forms of entertainment were carried on—vaudeville shows, lectures, moving pictures—now, of course, augmented by soldier shows and “stunt nights.” Dances were given to which girls from the homes of Luxemburg were invited. Among the women workers in this area there were many with musical talent and these gave little informal concerts in connection with their trips to the scattered outposts.

By the spring the troops began their much-desired exodus; and arrangements were made to close up welfare work, in accordance with military regulations, by June 1, 1919. As entrainment was postponed, permission was secured to remain for a longer period and service was actually continued till the soldiers left for embarkation in July. Delay in Closing Activities

### GERMANY

The Third Army began to cross the German border December 1, 1918. Several weeks elapsed before the Coblenz bridgehead and the various billeting areas were occupied.

The country and its people presented a sharp contrast to mutilated France. A writer observed:

“We have crossed the border into Germany. It is another land. Instead of desolation and ruin, the countryside is untouched and un-hurt by the hand of war. Nothing could look better kept and more prosperous than these well-groomed vineyards and fertile fields through which we are passing.”

While there were no welcoming demonstrations as in Luxemburg, Dangers of Fraternization there was no opposition on the part of the people. The crowds in the streets of Coblenz were described as “curious though not hostile.” When billeted in their homes, the soldiers usually found the German people agreeable and given to hospitality, but they were still an enemy people. General Pershing wrote in his report:

“The fraternization problem was sharply raised by the transition from the rigors of war conditions in France to the comforts of undisturbed German cities and homes.”

Measures were taken to safeguard the Army against this temptation. Fraternization was forbidden. Throughout the Zone of Occupation, only a few designated hotels and restaurants could be patronized. The Army was thrown back on its own resources for the diversion necessary to keep the men normal in mind and body. The problem of morale thus appeared in a new form.

Another fact to be considered was the large amount of unoccupied time. The business of occupying enemy territory under the terms of an armistice is quite different from the fatiguing process of training for an impending conflict, or participating in bloody combat. A certain amount of drilling was still necessary, and the business of conducting the army organization imposed many difficulties on the men in the more responsible positions. But the American soldier was in Germany primarily just to await developments and to hold himself in readiness for whatever action might finally prove necessary. However disinclined to idleness, the situation left him with much time at his own disposal. In an account of his experiences with the Army of Occupation, one man wrote:

"In traveling to my assignment with the Rainbow Division, I passed through innumerable small villages where a single company might be billeted, or possibly if the town was large enough a regiment would be stationed. There was, of course, a pretence of drilling daily, and it was a frequent sight to see doughboys hard at work in the field, marching back and forth in full equipment, the only real purpose of which seemed to be to give them a little exercise and warm them up. The usual sight, however, was a village street full of doughboys at rest, 'holding up some door post,' or talking over complaints in general, seated on a door step. After several months with the A E F, I came to believe that there could be no lazier life in the world than our doughboy was having in Germany."

Seldom in this story has it been possible for the historian to record a situation where the possibilities of service in any degree matched urgent human demands. In connection with the occupation of German territory, such a situation actually began to take shape. Military exigency in the shape of the rapid advance into enemy country set up its last difficulty and then, relatively speaking, retired gracefully from the field. The months of November and December, 1918, were difficult ones for the welfare leaders; but when they were once free to move into Germany, most of the limitations that had beset them night and day since May, 1917, dissolved before their eyes. The real danger was over, and the military authorities were able to relax regulations and smooth the way for welfare work. Further, it must be remembered that, while the Americans desired to impose no unnecessary burdens upon Germany, the relationship between the civilian population and the military forces was quite different. It was expected, under such circumstances, that the American Army would freely requisition facilities required for all departments of service.

It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that on February 1, 1919,<sup>1</sup> less than six weeks after the 1st Division had crossed the Rhine, the Chief Secretary with the Army of Occupation could report 336 centers of service manned by a personnel numbering 472. The program was well-balanced and highly organized. By January 20, 1919, adequate rail transportation service was established for the Army, and extended to the Y. Before February 1, 108 cars of canteen supplies were delivered. These were distributed to more than 300 canteens. The welfare workers in this period proved that, given the opportunity, they could establish a large and effective service with great rapidity.

The Entertainment Department was evidently the first to get <sup>The Activities  
of the  
First Month</sup> under headway. This was accomplished largely through the persistent effort of an entertainment director, who, after waiting for passes fifteen days at Bar-le-Duc became impatient of the delay, and defied red tape by actually appropriating the automobile of one of the Y M C A officials and going A W O L to Coblenz. A letter to the Entertainment Department in Paris related his experience as follows:

"Although stopped about fifteen times, I managed to bring the Hunting and Francis party through, reaching here (Coblenz) last night. We are working right now on taking over the biggest and best place in town tonight called the Festival Hall, seating over 1,500 men. We are going to get a band and start off in good shape to overcome our great handicap which the Entertainment Department has been in no way responsible for. Speaking to some officers, shortly after we reached here, I told them straight how we were kept out through lack of passes, so if the Army sets up any more howls to you, tell them straight that we waited fifteen days at Bar-le-Duc for permission to come. Even if I am shot at sunrise, I am happy as I can be for going A W O L in Sheets' car. I would still be in Bar-le-Duc, and here we are going to show tonight."

The report for January, 1919, gives a total of 303 performances by professional parties to audiences aggregating 100,000 men. At the same time there were 91 soldier talent shows, a majority of which were trained and costumed by the Y M C A. More than 1,250 costumes were in stock, purchased from the largest theaters of the occupied territory, at an expenditure of approximately 65,000 francs. These costumes were lent without charge to the units approved by Y M C A coaches and army entertainment officers. A complete establishment was set up for making special costumes, and for altering the existing

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that for various reasons no general advance of welfare workers was permitted until January, 1919.

stock to meet the definite needs of the organized units. Other items such as wigs, paints, hats, and masks, were also carried in stock.

The Music Department was organized to supply music and musical instruction, and train directors for mass singing. During the first month 282 musical instruments were supplied. An order was placed with a leading firm at Mainz to make 100 instruments a week for eight weeks. A library of 50 songs was projected, and a printing firm engaged to turn out 5,000 copies of each. The music and the instruments were issued to the army units without charge.

The Cinema Department also began to function very early in the period and at the end of the month reported the possession of thirteen portable machines and 35 stationary machines. There were ten Y M C A directors in the department and 36 soldier operators; 1,810 reels were shown during the month at 724 shows, attended by 512,500 men.

The Athletic Department distributed large quantities of athletic equipment, and with the cooperation of the army athletic officers, conducted elimination contests leading to the selection of representatives in the A E F Finals, and the Inter-Allied Games at Pershing Stadium.

Through the Newspaper and Magazine Service Department, 1,550,000 papers were distributed during the month and 112,357 magazines. The papers arrived from Paris at three P.M. on the day succeeding the date of issue, and were distributed among the divisions by the use of Ford cars.

Even thus early also, the hotel and restaurant enterprise assumed considerable proportions. Thirteen hotels were being operated, ten at Coblenz, one at Andernach, one at Cochem, and one at Treves. More than 185,000 meals and 8,850 beds were supplied.

The following leave areas were opened: Andernach, Coblenz, Neuenahr, Neuwied, Treves. An all-day program at each center included meals, canteens, entertainments, daily excursions, and Rhine boat trips, library and money exchange privileges. The exchange business throughout the Area of Occupation averaged 500,000 francs a day, while secretaries sent home for men in the Third Army a total of 5,000,000 francs during January. The Coblenz Leave Area Exchange at the Fest Halle handled a total of 200,000 francs daily in post office money orders, express orders, drafts, and French, American, and German moneys.

In the Religious Work Department there were twenty-five workers, each division having a religious work director. There were nine

special speakers in the field. Over 375 meetings had been held, and supplies distributed as follows:

Hymnals .....	250,000	Communion sets .....	5
Testaments .....	11,825	Rosaries .....	1,000
Miscellaneous .....	20,000	Scapulars .....	1,000
Folding organs .....	14	Crucifixes .....	1,000

The Educational Department was in charge of Dr. Guy Potter Benton, President of the University of Vermont. An educational program was conducted in accordance with G H Q General Orders No. 9 (1919), in cooperation with the army educational officers. There were 18 directors, 13 lecturers, 960 teachers in army schools, and 18,360 men enrolled in classes.

This rapid expansion of service continued until by April 1, there were 508 points being served, 425 of which were full time centers. Outlying points were reached with the rolling canteen and the portable moving picture machine.

The period from January 1 to July 1, 1919, presents not so much A Period of Achievement a record of problems faced as of the achievement of a rich and varied service in which the Army and the Y M C A cooperated to make full use of all facilities. The details of this service are of interest because they demonstrate the range of possibility of welfare work under favorable conditions. The need was in one sense as great as ever. The fighting men were not very busy and there were very sound reasons for the maintenance of a clear line of separation between them and the civil population. Some of the rules may appear as rather rigid, but the high command of the American Army has been fully justified by experience. Such rules of course implied a restriction of ordinary means of diversion. There are many stay-at-homes who would give much for the privilege of a six-months' sojourn in Europe, but the vacation feature of the experience ceased to appeal to the Army of Occupation. A referendum on immediate repatriation would have been carried in the affirmative at any moment by an almost unanimous vote. In the present case there were present the facilities to the need; short of changing the basic conditions, anything desired was within the powers of the Army and its welfare forces.

Every department of work expanded rapidly.

The great Fest Halle at Coblenz was requisitioned by the Army and turned over to the Y M C A as a center of activities in December, 1918. On the first floor of this building were located the post office

and information desk, check-room, news stand, pool and billiard tables, bowling alleys, and a large restaurant. On the second floor were the main lobby, the library, game room, writing room, and a wide porch. The main auditorium, seating 2,000, has a fine pipe organ with a choir loft seating 150 people. These excellent quarters became a first-rate American club. In all, nineteen hotels and restaurants were operated, serving on an average 18,000 meals a day in the busiest season. Victory Hut in Coblenz held the cafeteria record of 7,000 in one day. Outside Coblenz huts were built or suitable buildings requisitioned with the idea of duplicating all the essential features of the Fest Halle program at as many points as possible.

The cinema work in the area was extended until 55 of the larger centers were equipped with standard machines, and 63 small machines were mounted on trucks equipped with electric plants and storage batteries. The use of the trucks made it possible to give approximately 100 shows a night to the detached units. At the Lese Verein at Coblenz, motion pictures were operated day and night. Over 1,566,000 men attended these shows from January 1, 1919, to July 1, 1919. During this period the total attendance at motion picture shows in the Third Army was more than 5,000,000.

In athletics, the program was developed until practically every man in the Army was reached. Liberty Hut, on the grounds of the ex-Kaiser's palace, was built expressly for athletic purposes. It accommodated 4,000 spectators for boxing events, and provided gymnasium facilities of every description. On Carnival Island in the Rhine River, near Coblenz, an athletic field was built with a quarter-mile track and 220-yard straightaway.

The entertainment work grew until there were 68 professional units, with a total of 273 artists. The development of soldier talent was one of the distinctive achievements of the post-Armistice period. Professional coaches were recruited by the Y M C A for this purpose. In this way, 138 officers and 2,966 enlisted men were trained, and gave a total of 4,935 performances. Musical instruments to the number of 4,029 were distributed. Sheet music was printed and distributed by the hundreds of thousands. The educational work was taken over by the Army April 15, 1919. Prior to that time a comprehensive scheme of education had been developed, including regular classes and lectures on a wide variety of subjects.

While religious motivation is claimed for the work of all departments, the Religious Work Department found excellent opportunity

in Germany for its special function, and the Sunday afternoon meeting at the Fest Halle in Coblenz, was the outstanding event of the week. The auditorium accommodated 2,000 and was packed to its capacity. More than 40 itinerant speakers, and as many as 25 singers, were regularly employed visiting the scattered units. More than 100,000 pieces of literature were distributed. Bible classes were well attended and popular.

Leave area and sight-seeing features were present on a large scale. Seven Rhine excursion steamers were requisitioned by the Army with a total carrying capacity of 3,500. The Y M C A supplied the lecturer and a group of women workers for each steamer. The general plan was to give the lecturer the right of way on the outgoing trip, reserving the return journey for merrymaking. Sight-seeing trips to Ehrenbreitstein on the Rhine and other historic and picturesque places were made instructive and diverting.

While it was unavoidable that some units should fare better than others, it cannot be alleged that the work was confined to the larger and more accessible fields. The early circuit riders crossing mountains, fording rivers, and threading forests in order to reach their small congregations in the back woods settlements were no more persistent in their efforts to deliver the Gospel message than were some of the Y secretaries in their efforts to reach the smallest and most isolated groups of soldiers with canteen supplies and messages of good cheer. The story of the outpost service in Germany is of the kind usually enshrined in literature. Between the Allied and German lines, there was a neutral territory where neither friend nor foe was supposed to be. One of the most trying pieces of work that the Army had to perform was the guarding of the edge of land that looked over upon this unoccupied space. For several months affairs were much on edge. If the Armistice should suddenly terminate, these outposts would be the first to be plunged again into actual battle, and that perhaps without a moment's warning. Groups of about 50 men were sent out to the frontier. From these outposts again, smaller groups of four or five men each were sent out to form what were known as Cossack Posts, and to keep sharp and lonely vigil on the edge of the neutral territory. Except for the occasional visit of an inspecting officer and of the men who brought their rations, these guards were left absolutely alone. They deserved the best the Y had to give, but how to reach them was the problem. No vehicles of any sort were allowed on the roads leading to the posts, except for <sup>The Outlying Units</sup>

the purpose of taking munitions to the men. This situation appealed to the sympathies of the nearest Y directors. Two young women were chosen and assigned to the special task of helping the guards at these lonely stations. The men could be reached only by long journeys on horseback. Thus mounted, and with great saddle-packs swinging on either side, filled with writing paper, games, chocolate, and cigarettes, the women traveled day after day over roads forbidden to any but themselves, in order that they might carry creature comforts and good cheer to the men so far from civilization. Shouts of welcome greeted the women on every visit, and it was the testimony of the soldiers themselves, that the personal presence of the visitors brought them their chief joy. A machine gun battalion was usually posted behind the front line guards. This battalion was visited first in the day's round, and from their positions, the start would be made for visits to as many points as time would permit. In order to be of greater service, the young women enlisted the help of an adjutant, and arranged for a little play to be given at the various outposts. The sketch furnished by the YMCA Entertainment Bureau was entitled "After the War." It was an amusing piece that had gained renown in various parts of the AEF. This necessitated the erection of small stages made of little trees cut for the purpose, or salvaged tables nailed together and supplied with candles in tin cans as foot-lights. No more delighted audiences ever assembled in France, although sometimes the audience would consist of but four or five soldiers. The outposts were supplied with books from time to time, and religious services were arranged for Sundays.

"The men were far from being disheartened. They felt the effect of the strange and different work they were doing. They knew how to take care of themselves, but there was grave danger that they would fall into those habits and unhappy ways that come from entire separation from the world. It was this we tried to prevent and succeeded in doing. They deserved all we could give them. We were delighted with the apparent pleasure we gave."

The late spring of 1919 found preparations under way for the repatriation of the Third Army with the welfare work at its height. This welfare work was the last demonstration on a large scale in the AEF and it may fairly be recorded as an example of effective service reaching a point of efficiency above that possible in any other area overseas. It would not have been possible but for the experience that preceded it and for the fine cooperation of the Army, both officers and

men. In particular, it demonstrated some of the best features of civilian participation in the military enterprise; for, in spite of the early difficulties due to the rapid advance, the flexibility of the Y M C A organization in the end proved of great service in supplementing the more rigid official procedure and in bringing directly to the fighting man the chief elements of home life at a time when that home life was ever in the forefront of his thoughts. It is quite true that this occupation of enemy territory is not a typical military task, nevertheless it involved many tens of thousands of American citizens in uniform; and this last six months of overseas experience would have been very different if civilian welfare service had not been an active element in their lives.

### THE AMERICAN FORCES IN GERMANY

As the Third Army started toward home, the Y M C A began salvage operations, closed the main welfare centers, and prepared to withdraw from Germany. The commander of the new forces, however, Major-General Henry T. Allen, made a definite place for the Association in his plans for the welfare of his men. On September 1, 1919, the A F G-Y M C A, with James A. Sprenger as Chief Secretary, took over from the Third Army, the last of its points, and prepared to carry out a liberal service program for as long a period as was desired.

It is true that this last phase represents service for a comparatively small number of men; but it has a place of significance in this history because it was, in one sense, the fine flower of the welfare enterprise. The new organization was more thoroughly militarized than its predecessor had been; indeed, it was practically incorporated in the A F G and even the detail of its plans was carefully worked out with the Staff. Since the active work in France was over, the Chief Secretary in Germany reported directly to New York; so there were no longer conflicting demands for service to be adjusted. The Y had a small personnel, selected from a large group of experienced workers; during the years 1920 and 1921, there was no change among the heads of departments. The men to be served were in a settled location. Facilities and general supplies were adequate. Most important of all, it was possible to make definite plans for a known situation.

The new program called for a reopening of the Fest Halle, which had been closed in the early summer, as a center of activities in Coblenz, with club-rooms in the outlying posts. Religious, educational, athletic, and entertainment activities were planned on a large

scale in cooperation with the army officers assigned to these special departments. Hours of opening and closing recreation centers, determination of the extent and character of free distribution of supplies, and all kindred matters were settled by the military authorities. It was clearly understood that the Y M C A work was conducted for American soldiers and that such privileges as were accorded to American and Allied civilians were not in any way to interfere with the primary purpose.

The Structure  
of the Work

When the A F G-Y M C A opened its work sixteen huts and the Victory Hut cafeteria in Coblenz were in operation. The outlying centers were serving the small units guarding stores in the transition period. All but three of these points were closed within a few weeks. The Fest Halle in Coblenz was turned over to the Y M C A again on October 1st. After extensive repairs had been made and a large stage installed in the auditorium, the building was reopened on October 25th. The Fest Halle under the new conditions replaced the Liberty Hut and the Victory Hut Cafeteria. New centers were opened as occasion demanded. In all a total of 36 huts were in operation in 1920 and 1921, the largest number at any one time being 23 in May, 1921. Over the Occupied Area, which covered some 700 square miles, there were a number of small units. These were served through club-rooms equipped and supplied by the Y but run by soldier details. Eighteen of these club-rooms were established. Moving pictures were shown regularly at most of these points, two had a stage for more extensive entertainments, and two maintained canteens. In addition, limited service was offered at about 20 other points. A fully equipped hut was maintained at the American Base Port Headquarters at Antwerp and a branch hut at the American Docks. During the summer of 1921, at the request of the commanding officer of the American Graves Registration Service, a hut was operated at Romagne.

The outposts in the Bridgehead were served as formerly by the rolling canteen, which distributed all supplies free. This canteen regularly visited about fifteen points and up to the end of the year 1921 had served 28,890 men in 137 operating days.

When the troops of the Silesian Brigade entered the occupied area for training, seven huts were opened for their benefit.

The Bahnhof Hotel in Coblenz was operated by the Association until August, 1921.

A determined attempt was made in connection with all restaurants, cafeterias, and canteens to supply food cooked and served in the

American style. The Y endeavored to secure supplies that would fit in with this policy. In two cases it was necessary to manufacture. The Y therefore was authorized to open a bakery and an ice-cream plant. In two years the bakery turned out 1,000,000 pounds of bread and 500,000 pounds of rolls, not to mention 1,500,000 doughnuts, 800 cinnamon rolls, and 350,000 pies, cakes, tarts, turnovers, and other forms of pastry. The ice-cream plant, in the same period, produced 1,128,000 liters of ice-cream. These supplies were sold at cost to members of the A F G and their families.

The original arrangement with the A F G called for a staff of 20 <sup>Personnel and Activities</sup> men and 35 women, or one secretary to about 250 men. New situations arose calling for additional service from time to time and these figures were exceeded. Many additions were made of men expert in special lines of work. These workers were, of course, supplemented by a large force of German employes, the Fest Halle alone requiring over 100.

The extraordinary value of women's service in this area must be <sup>Women's Service</sup> emphasized. In all about 150 served, the highest number at any one time being 72. The women secretaries were entirely responsible for hut management except in the case of two large centers. They participated actively in all activities—social, religious, entertainment, and educational. Two women traveled with the rolling canteen. Their contribution in music was particularly useful. In 1920, a woman was appointed to the position of Port Secretary at Antwerp—with excellent results. In this field the Y women really surpassed their enviable previous record.

It is not proposed to enter into a detailed description of the multifarious activities of this period. They presented many unique features of peculiar interest but were, of course, for the most part developments of previous experience refined in the new favorable conditions. Educational work included a night school, and a day school operated until the Army Commission was ready to take over the service on a permanent basis, a school for children of Americans in Coblenz, and the operation of the library. Athletics included contests in baseball, basket-ball, boxing, football, soccer, golf, mass games, polo, swimming, tennis, and track athletics, in which the figures for participation exceeded 1,700,000. The Y provided athletic fields, club-houses, a swimming pool, trophies, and all kinds of equipment, working always in harmony with the athletic officers. The movie machines presented 13,891 programs for 2,934,888 spectators, clicking

off about 20,000 miles of film in the process. The entertainments offered included vaudeville shows, musical concerts, amateur shows, stunt nights, operas, the Harvard glee club, and the various performances of the popular American Y M C A Stock Co. In all 6,982 different events were given for 1,882,643 spectators. The Rhine excursions were continued. The work of the Religious Department was entirely non-sectarian. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish services were held in the huts, and literature of all types supplied to the men. The whole program was carried out in the closest cooperation with the army chaplain. Public meetings were supplemented by study and discussion groups of all kinds. In the hospitals, the Y at the request of the Red Cross conducted many special activities.

It must not be forgotten that this splendid program was carried out as a part of the regular life of the forces, a splendid example of military and civilian working hand in hand in the interests of the best service to officers and men.

This summary account of the last phase of the work in Germany brings to an end the story of the Y M C A with American forces in the World War. There remains to be told the story of work done for prisoners-of-war and for Allied soldiers—no small part of the total activity of the Y M C A during the war, yet perhaps not possessing the strong appeal to American interest of the work done for our own men. For the first time it has been possible in this book to present to the public a comprehensive picture of the complicated and extensive enterprises which came to be included under the general term of welfare work for soldiers.

No soldier or sailor was reached by every phase of activity, and very few of the workers, except those in places of central responsibility, saw more than bits of it here and there. All reports and comments by individuals were necessarily based on fragmentary observation, and even the liberal space in newspapers and magazines was insufficient to give more than illustrative glimpses. Seen now as a whole, of which many a single division was greater in magnitude than the prevailing conception of the entire work, the service can be measured in its true proportions. Not only was it an unprecedented performance, but never before the World War had such an enterprise even been conceived. The comparatively simple ideas of welfare work which can be discerned in earlier efforts for soldiers developed into a program which searched out every significant need of men in all possible situations, and devised ways to meet all needs, at least in some

degree. The variety and diffusion of service, as well as its magnitude, inevitably influenced the allotment of resources to any particular group of men or type of service. In the study of the great mass of reports of work done, and not less of the discussions and correspondence which accompanied it, the fundamental objectives and principles which governed administration have come into clear light. A brief survey of these will serve to coordinate the apparently diverse elements into the organic whole of which they were constituents.

## CHAPTER XLIII

### MEANINGS AND VALUES OF SERVICE

Nothing is more fallacious than to confound means with ends, forms with spirit. Without the crowding details, the figures baffling comprehension, the rushing events, with which the preceding chapters have been concerned, there could be no understanding of the service rendered American soldiers in the World War. But the sum of these details is not the sum of service. Doughnuts and chocolate, shows and sermons were but temporary and partial expressions of something that did not cease when the crumbs were flicked away—something that was vital in American life before the war and endures as a permanent force. What it was we may not be able to put into words; but it would not be far from true to say that the fulness with which a man can apprehend it is the measure of his mental capacity and spiritual vision. Only by penetrating through the outward forms and the quantitative measurements to the fundamental reality of which they were the expression, and appraising the faithfulness of the service to that which inspired it, can a genuine comprehension of the entire enterprise be attained.

Most of the American people—95 per cent at least—fought the war vicariously. They never struck a blow nor suffered a physical wound. Yet they were heart and soul in the war; it was their fight—an obligation that could not be delegated to comparatively few representatives. If “our finest hope is finest memory,” then one of the solid bases of faith in the future is the recollection of that personal unrest, in those days of trial, which permitted innumerable men and women no peace with their own self-respect until they had found some way to give themselves to the cause—a way sometimes, indeed, pathetic, sometimes grotesque, but always dignified by the earnestness of the self-compelled soul. Giving few if any premonitory signs, there sprang into activity at the moment’s demand, a spiritual driving force that gathered the whole nation into its sweep. It utilized money, materials, organizations; its existence was in men and women. Danger and difficulty increased its momentum. It communicated itself directly to the men who bore arms, outrunning the waves of the radio spark to fan the ardor in their souls. America, straining

toward her sons, pouring power into them, lifted them to endurance and to deeds that surpassed their conscious powers. There are facts here, indisputable though mysterious, which psychologists will be long in explaining. When all the material resources have been catalogued—that incalculable weight of money, material, and organized industry—this spiritual force, resident in citizens, ranks unquestionably greater than all the rest. Indeed all the rest were but the media through which this effected its impact upon the enemy.

The change that followed the war, in whatever way it is to be explained, cannot obliterate the reality of this experience. The human spirit is subject to tides that must ebb as well as flow. Possibly development to come will enable it to persist normally at the flood attained under extraordinary stimulus. In any case that flood was attained in an idealistic devotion which, in the largest sense, embraced enemies as well as allies, and which, for the time at least, accepted the noble declarations of the national leader as the definition of the people's purpose, for which no sacrifice was to be refused and in which all were resolute to share. Men of faith will hold this fact superior in significance to the recession which seemed to deny its reality, and will be confident that the power persists to reach again and to surpass the high level registered in 1917 and 1918.

Any sound comprehension of welfare service depends, in the first instance, upon recognition of its source in this widely diffused and insistent idealism. The people saw in these soldiers unselfish crusaders for a cause whose rewards could be only those of the spirit. A man who in those days had dared to suggest that our soldiers were risking their lives for the purpose of enriching or aggrandizing the United States or for personal advantage of any sort, would have needed police protection. It was not enough to promise unlimited tributes to those who should return. Even while they fought, they must have every alleviation of hardship and danger, every support of body, mind, and spirit, that could possibly be given. In giving "until it hurt" the people at home expressed their profound concern for the men in arms and found a sense of vicarious participation in their experiences. They seized upon the welfare organizations as singularly appropriate mediums of fellowship and charged them with the duty not only of transmitting their material gifts but the effective expression of their participation in the actual conflict.

The Y M C A, when America entered the war, was a society, pri-  
The Status of  
the Y M C A

membership and supporting group, and with an organization shaped to its own purpose, but with special adaptation, in its Army and Navy Department, to work with military forces. Almost immediately it was made the agent of the American people, officially through Government authorization and unofficially through the funds contributed for its work. The impulsion of its own interest in young men, which had carried it into service to soldiers and prisoners of the belligerent nations in 1914—a service made possible by contributions of millions of dollars from its own members without any appeal to the public—was now augmented by an urge from outside its own circles which knew no limits in desire for expression in terms of comfort, contentment, and gratification of American soldiers. Upon it descended a double responsibility, of which one part was clear to everyone and one part realized by only a few. It had not only to transmit the gifts of the people; it had also to define, to transform, to embody. It received money; it delivered service. Behind it was a popular purpose, intensely insistent, yet almost void of form and definition—a demand that somehow, something should be done for the men. What that something should be and how it should be done was conceived in the most fragmentary manner by the public at large, and by the Government defined in the most general and abstract way. The Association's task was, in one fundamental aspect, to interpret the inclusive purpose of Government and people and to devise the forms and content of a service which should accomplish the desired results upon the men.

The Fighting Men

Very few American citizens knew, while the war continued, how widely the forces of the nation were diffused nor how variously they were employed. The commonest conception was of a line of men moving through the great training camps, across the submarine infested Atlantic, to the trenches in France. The sufficient symbol for all soldiers was the fighter with poised bayonet, face to face with a German. That, every soldier was or soon would be. How far from the truth that conception was, the reader has already realized. There would have been no benefit, but serious danger, in making known the details of the location, movements, and condition of the thousands of scattered units; it was desirable that the public should have its attention concentrated upon the dramatic aspects of the situation and that only those who had real responsibility for the national defense should know the actual facts. Yet without the details the American people, wholly unfamiliar with the strategic elements of war, could not construct a

true picture. Similarly they very slowly and gradually came to realize something of the complicated variety of operations in which soldiers must be employed to make up that whole which constitutes an effective military force.

If, however, the people were uninformed, it was the particular business of the Y M C A to know these things and to guide its action by that knowledge. Its responsibility was as extensive as the forces, and the fact that a man was assigned to a labor battalion instead of a combat unit, or sent to guard the Mexican border instead of attacking a German trench, in no way affected either the public or the Association's interest in his welfare. After the war, the relation of fighting experience to the long training, the process and delays of transport, the grueling labor of supply service, and the waiting for action, can be more closely measured. These constituted the entire military experience of three-fourths of the mobilized Americans, and occupied by far the largest part of the time even of combat troops. Their characteristic sense of superiority to other branches of military service is natural enough in the excitement of war, but is born of romance rather than common sense. They have only to remember what proportion of their time was spent in other ways than fighting, to realize how important to them was the welfare service outside the battle areas.

However adequate or inadequate the conceptions of the public or the soldiers, there could be no question that the people's concern was for all soldiers in the totality of their military experience; not for a part, or in special situations only. As the interpreter of this concern, it was incumbent upon the directors of welfare work to keep the entire forces in constant survey. So it came about that the War Work Council of the Y M C A was, as it were, a watcher in a lofty tower whence its gaze ranged far and near wherever American soldiers or sailors were on duty. Or, to change the figure it was a sensitive nerve center to which came pulsating messages of need from every cell in the vast tissue of the armed forces of the nation, and from which radiated everywhere the power that took form in service. The task was no less than to anticipate all situations that might arise anywhere, and to prepare a service that should be feasible under the conditions and satisfying to the men. It was an impossible ideal but the Y M C A strove to realize it. The Association itself, by its service in the home camps, taught the men to expect much; there was no other standard than its own service ideals. Surveying the entire experience it is

The Y M C A  
War Work  
Council

beyond question that the Y M C A set the standards and developed the methods adopted by all other welfare organizations, and at the end transferred to the War and Navy Departments a program such as had never been hinted at in any pre-war regulation or recommendation.

In establishing and applying these standards and methods, the Association made maximum use of all facilities granted by governmental and military authorities. Possibly opportunity might have resulted in ampler privileges. The responsible heads of the Y M C A believed such opportunity not justified in the circumstances. It was not their function to decide the importance of their own work relative to other elements in the national undertaking, nor to review or criticize the decisions of those who dealt with the whole problem of which their work was a subordinate part. Their duty was to state their plans adequately, to request the facilities needed, and to make fullest use of what was granted.

The Fount of Welfare Service

It is impossible to discover any organization as well prepared as the Y M C A for the more subtle and perplexing part of the task—the devising of forms of service. Here it was the master of tested methods developed in service to young men in general and to American soldiers and sailors in particular. It had also a rich stock of ideas and ideals growing out of experience and now to be tested in practice. Its leaders knew by repeated proof the kinds of service acceptable to the men. The core or heart of its program was social; religious, educational, athletic, entertainment, and practical personal activities issued from and returned into this social nucleus, like the lines of force of a magnet. The most definable effect of these cumulative influences was a conservation of the sense of personality in the men which was essential to their conscious merging of themselves into the great common effort. Without interference with the military objective, indeed auxiliary to it, welfare work developed a corrective relief or counter-force to such of the military processes as tended to mould men mechanically into uniformity, submerging alike personality, initiative, and responsibility. Each man found the means of satisfying a personal need or desire, whether it took the form of a craving for sweets or of ambition for self-improvement—a need for diversion and temporary self-forgetting, or a profounder need for self-realization and recovery of grasp upon spiritual realities. In such satisfaction he somehow escaped temporarily from the status of a cog in a machine and regained his self-hood. This was partly no doubt an inevitable consequence of acts performed with a more immediate purpose, but on the part at

least of those who shaped service policies, it was the outcome of a conscious intent realized with growing clearness as the war went on.

In this fact the thoughtful reader will find one of the elements of crucial significance. It may be argued with a high degree of conviction that such an objective is intangible and fantastic; that in the circumstances of war the relief of physical hardships, the lessening of deprivations, the gratification of momentary desires, constitute a sufficiently exalted aim; and that a reasonable fulfilment of such purposes would merit and receive the approval of the public and the men served. Such an argument, however, proceeds upon the assumption that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the two types of purpose involving an inevitable choice of one and neglect of the other.

But there is a deeper diagnosis of the needs of citizens who become soldiers. A great mass of observations of the men made during the war is most strikingly confirmed from two post-war sources: the action of the Government in creating or developing its "morale" branch, and the literary expression of those soldier-authors who have most freely availed themselves of the relaxation of the censorship. There is ample evidence, the more convincing because it is in so many cases an unconscious revelation, for the belief that the frame of mind which expresses itself in the phrase, "Never again," is due not to the fact that men were cold, hungry, worked hard, deprived of customary material gratifications, wounded or even killed; but to the fact that their lives and actions seemed to be dictated to them without apparent consideration of their personal likes or dislikes, abilities or disabilities, intellectual, moral or social habits, ambitions or aspirations, or relationships to other persons. In the manner of their employment and management, in the administration of discipline, in their feeding, clothing, housing, transportation, and all the rest, they could not see that they were distinguished, in principle, from the horses and mules that the Army used. They also were war material, sentient but as persons non-existent; they lost not only their liberty but their individuality; they became units as satisfactorily identified by a number as by a name, and many of them underwent experiences that bred a sense of spiritual outrage. Very many others, thoroughly understanding the necessity of self-subordination to a common cause, found the actual experience a severe trial, and valued more than anything else the opportunities they could find or create for recovering their sense of self-hood. Still others succumbed to influences they did not know how to escape.

Crucial Elements  
The Psychology  
of Civilian  
Soldiers

There is no intent here, either by direction or indirection, to formulate or to imply a judgment on the degree to which submergence of personality is an inevitable accompaniment of war; nor whether in the American or any other army, the consideration given to individual personality was more or less than conditions warranted. Whatever the correct standard may be, and however the actual facts conformed to or departed from that standard, it is clear that the coordination of millions of individuals in a great cooperative enterprise under emergency conditions, necessarily involves a high degree of subordination of personality, for which submergence is not too strong a word. But there is a vital distinction between the methods by which this subordination is attained. If it is the conscious voluntary act of men who understand thoroughly what they are doing—who are not cancelling themselves, but giving themselves in their full powers—it is the supreme social act of which humanity is capable, the flowing together of innumerable rivulets into an invincible stream of power. If on the other hand, it is the surrender of men to mechanical force, the production of solidarity by reduction of individuals to the lowest common denominator of humanity, it is the most dangerous process to which a democracy can subject its citizens. Repression by authority or force of highly developed instinct breeds internal disturbance injurious not only to the individual and to society, but to the very purpose for which it is exerted. It is the characteristic of war that events will not wait for the complete education of all soldiers into the reasons and necessity for voluntary self-adjustment. The mechanical process must be employed in part. Its employment must be entrusted not only to the majority of officers who accept it as an unfortunate necessity and who seek to replace it by intelligent self-devotion, but also to those who know no other way to deal with men and who temperamentally enjoy the exercise of authority. In these facts and their implications centers the entire problem presented to and by the citizen soldier; here is the root of the most significant sufferings and dangers to which military life exposes the citizen. The ideal of democracy pivots on the freedom of the individual to develop and express his personality, with resulting benefit both to himself and to society. This is the atmosphere in which Americans live. Whatever undermines individuality and saps its vigor, tends to degradation and discontent. Social ends are promoted normally by the mutual adjustments of personality; in emergencies by its temporary unification; never by suppression. From the individual and social viewpoints, the all inclusive

service that is most significant is that which enables or assists a man to preserve his full manhood through adjustment, and especially through periods of eclipse, of those essentials of manhood—freedom, initiative, and responsibility. The whole post-war morale policy of the War Department emphasizes that, in the new army, "the accent is not upon the soldier, but upon the citizen."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the fact that many soldiers and many welfare workers saw the ministry to deep-seated needs as in sharp contrast with satisfaction of momentary desires, the intimate relation between the two was comprehended by the leaders from the first and by many workers as their experience increased. That relation is in effect the relation between symptoms and cause. The incessant demands of the men for things having no importance whatever except that they were outside army routine—for food other than rations, for particular brands of cigarettes, for shows which they could applaud or hiss, for places of resort where they were not under the sergeant's eye, for exercise different from that led by the drill-master—these were fundamentally, though usually unconsciously, assertions of individuality, efforts at self-preservation. The significant fact was that the framers of the service program realized this relation and planned their program to supply fundamental needs through temporary gratification. Like food, it was intended both to satisfy appetite and to maintain vigor of body, mind, and spirit. For this it was not required that every known form of satisfying human desire should be supplied; it was sufficient that the program should contain elements capable of meeting every type of human need—elements convertible into, if not expressly designed for, needed nourishment and exercise of the whole man. This is the animating spirit of the "four-fold" program which the Association promoted. It aimed at the conservation and development of personality, character, in men as individuals, and as members of a society which had been civic, was for a time military, and would be civic again—a society built upon and unthinkable without the richest possible development of individual manhood.

The whole history of the Y M C A had been a demonstration of this spirit and purpose. The official authorization of the President, designed

"... to further the work of an organization that has demonstrated its ability to render a service desired by both officers and men."

<sup>1</sup> Consult Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1919. Washington, D. C., p. 68.

and specifically calling attention to the four-fold program,<sup>1</sup> gave the stamp of the Government's understanding and approval. The response of the people to appeals in which this aim was clearly set forth left no doubt that it was the true interpretation of their purpose.

The long experience of the Y M C A in serving young men had fully demonstrated certain principles. One was that the only effective service was that which contemplated the whole man. Beginning with a specifically religious purpose, the educational, athletic, and social features had early been found not merely desirable, because attracting and interesting men, but necessary if the religious objective was to be attained. Even the provision of dormitories and restaurants was found essential to complete effectiveness. Any person familiar with a modern city Association will recognize that in operating hotels and restaurants in France the Y M C A was not entering an unknown field. The elements of complete service and their coordination were both thoroughly understood.

A second principle that was firmly established was the fact that the preservation and development of manhood are achievements always of the individual concerned. No one can do it for another. Except in unusual situations it is not promoted by gifts to individuals. In emergencies, where the ordinary ability of men to purchase what they prefer is cancelled by temporary conditions, the gift of creature comforts may be the most eloquent expression of interest. Otherwise, such gifts should be restricted to occasions and circumstances in which the significance as an expression of friendship outweighs the intrinsic value. In this matter, the guiding experience of the Y M C A was in accord with undisputed sociological science. But this was only a special application of a broad principle. Men may be taught, stimulated, assisted—opportunities and facilities may be provided—but the activity must come from the beneficiary himself. It is no more possible to maintain or develop manhood from without than to do another's praying for him or to take physical exercise for him.

A third clearly recognized principle, also developed in experience, was the fact that the forces which affect character, for good or harm, vary only in form. They are essentially the same in camp as in city; it is only in appearance that military and civilian life are different. The forms taken by the negative forces that undermine or obstruct character development vary widely; the susceptibility and resistance

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XIII.

of men change in different stages of military as of civilian experience; and the forms of the positive forces must vary correspondingly. But the nature and mode of action of each group is constant, and in its four-fold program the Y M C A had developed a working method which was as effectively applicable to soldiers as to civilians. On these and related principles a program aimed to accomplish the purpose already formulated was prepared. Like the objective, these principles are subject to judgment.

To direct its war work in the large, the Y M C A availed itself of <sup>The Civilian Standing of the Y M C A War Work Council</sup> the best assistance to be found in America. The membership list of the War Work Council includes few, if any, names that cannot be recognized as representing advanced leadership in all professions, in business and finance, in social and philanthropic work, in organization and management. Similar men and women constituted its permanent advisers and, in many cases, volunteered or accepted invitations to share in executive work, in France and England. With such counsellors it was improbable that any promising line of service would be overlooked, or would lack spirited advocates in the conferences where the elements of service were coordinated into a balanced program. In fact, it is not known that there was any form of activity promoted by any other organization which was not promoted in larger measure by the Y M C A; nor since the war has there been suggested any form of activity likely to be useful on a large scale that was overlooked or rejected by the Y M C A.

It is equally evident that the program was not confined to the forms familiar in civilian Y M C A work. There were war situations which had no parallel in civilian life, and others called for a development of service forms in which what was old became completely hidden by what was new. The Entertainment Department was conducted on a professional scale, where in the normal Association work it had been represented only by amateur dramatic clubs. Educational and physical work appeared in forms before unknown or barely incipient. It seems clear that the Y M C A was open-minded, even to the extent of subordinating some of the tenets of its own group to the wishes of the soldiers and the Government.

As is always the case when a purpose is to be cast into forms of action, two groups of forces acted and counteracted, one positive, the other negative. On the one hand were the daily multiplying ideas, schemes, proposals, from within and without the organization, for varying or enriching the service. On the other hand was the neces-

sity of coordinating and balancing the different types of service into a well rounded program, and of subordinating the whole to the military situation. Innumerable suggested plans, good in themselves, were rejected because their ultimate result would have been practical duplication, or because they enriched one field of service at the expense of impoverishing other fields. Still other plans, admirable under other circumstances, were not feasible under war conditions.

In developing special activities the Y M C A called to its aid men of the largest and most intimate familiarity with the a priori possibilities in specific fields. They were men intensely aware of the capacity of education, entertainment, athletics, or religion to benefit men. The programs they formulated, the standards they set for themselves and the organization, tended to be such as idealists frame for the employment of resources whose wealth has never found opportunity for full exercise. The educational program would have given continuous employment to more workers than the Y M C A had in France; after the Armistice it actually did employ as teachers, officers and soldiers outnumbering the entire Y M C A staff. So meager a provision of entertainment as one show a week by five performers to audiences averaging 500, would have required 3,000 entertainers averaging a performance every day—an impossible standard under existing transportation and other physical conditions in France. Much the same might be said of the athletic and religious programs. The simple fact was that the means were not at hand for carrying out any of the programs in full. Inevitably therefore there was a scaling down of all department programs, through the allotment of workers, funds and transport, which left the actual performance in each field disappointing to its promoters as well as to soldiers particularly interested. The coordination of these activities was further complicated by the invasion of the post exchange, a form of service of elementary importance yet distinguished in important ways from the anticipated program. This not only absorbed a very large proportion of secretaries' time before the Armistice but drew into the organization a more varied personnel. It will hardly be denied that, even with a free hand, the problem of balancing and coordinating these elements was intricate and perplexing.

In addition to the necessity for such internal adjustments of the different elements of the program to each other, was the necessity for the adjustment of the whole and the parts to the varying military situation. This was partly a matter for the Association, but more for

the Army command and local officers. It was effected partly by explicit orders, partly by the logic of particular situations. There was no universal nor even general standard. At every point and time it was a matter of adaptation, which might be compared to the incoming tide upon an irregular coast. At one point the waves advance steadily along a stretch of beach; at another they penetrate far inland up the channel of creek or inlet; at still another they rise almost imperceptibly against the face of a cliff. So the life of the Army presented fluctuating opportunities and obstructions. At one time men were so busy that it was useless to offer educational classes; at another, days and weeks of idleness invited a school program occupying several hours every day. Again a whole unit might be regularly led in mass play or an ambitious baseball league schedule be carried through. Elsewhere, at the same moment, the provision of a football for the men to kick about in the intervals between shell fire was the maximum possible athletic service. The function of the welfare organization was to be ready at all times and places to press in with service adapted and adequate to whatever opportunities might appear.

In such circumstances, unevenness of performance was inevitable. Varying Scales of Service At one extreme, service contracted to the distribution of such quantities of things to eat, drink, and smoke as could be transported to the scene, the care and transmission of valuables, and friendly personal acts to as many men as the staff could reach. At the other extreme it expanded into a full program of all elements of service promoted vigorously and simultaneously. Variations between the extremes depended partly upon circumstances, partly upon the virtues and defects of individual workers, partly upon the operating efficiency of the organization. By the irony of circumstance, it was precisely at the point when men endured the greatest strain and the environment was most barren that the limitations closed in most drastically and obstacles increased most incalculably. At these points the Y M C A lay under the responsibility of making its most strenuous and sustained effort. The preceding pages prove at least that the Association mobilized for front line service more men than it could secure permission to send forward and that the larger accomplishment in the rear sections and in the home camps was not at the expense of the greater need.

In tracing the genetic line from its source in the popular purpose Ideals and Actualities to its result in service delivered, there has been no evasion of the progressive contraction from ideals to actualities. In every great effort

to embody an ideal purpose in materials and definite forms, such contraction may be observed. If comparison is made between the ideals of negro emancipation half a century ago and the status of negroes today, or between the ideal of government of, by, and for the people, and existing political conditions, or between the ideals of popular education and its actual practice, the discrepancies are obvious. Perhaps the most illuminating comparison is between the almost universal conviction of the folly and wickedness of war and the results of efforts for the assurance of peace. These discrepancies are neither to be ignored, apologized for, nor explained away. The better future is possible only by the study of their causes and the concentration of will and wisdom upon their conquest. In the welfare work performed in the World War there was attained the high mark of accomplishment of a purpose of which the conscious beginnings appeared barely half a century ago, and which expanded almost overnight to proportions as unprecedented as the war itself.

The recorded facts may be reviewed from two standpoints. They constitute the material for judgment of a completed historic performance, and the data for future dealing with a problem that will disappear only when war itself shall cease. They may be studied as the report of a trusteeship of definite funds supplied for service to a definite body of individuals, or as an intensive development of an influence for individual and social welfare which both preceded and continues after the war. From either standpoint, the correctness or errors of insight into the essential nature of the task, the suitability of the methods and agents adopted, and the conditions under which the work was done must be kept in mind.

The most inclusive statement of the objective from the standpoint that contemplates the soldiers and sailors as individuals to be served for their own sake, is that which defines it as bringing to the men the best elements of the homes and home communities which they had left behind. How much the camps lacked of this is well known. But in view of the actual performance, the characterization is both too broad and too narrow. The best of home cannot be transferred without the women and children who make the home. New friends may be valued, but none, however kindly, can fill the place of a man's own. The immense provision of materials for letter writing and the steady influence exerted to promote home letters made possible a maintenance of direct communication never reached in previous wars. The introduction of American women into the camps supplemented

this to a very high degree. They could not be substitutes but they were reminders of mothers, wives, and sisters. Their usefulness lay less in what they did, though that was great, than in what they were. Their presence kept alive the refining influence of womanhood. The resulting enthusiastic agreement as to the value of women workers should not obscure the fact that the inclusion of women was, at the time, an experiment, as to which opinion was far from unanimous.

Similarly the peculiar comforts arising from the privacy of the <sup>The</sup><sub>Hut Club</sub> individual home cannot be enjoyed where men are housed and fed *en masse* and in indiscriminate association. The best substitute for these elements yet discovered by society is the club. In the "huts" the essence of the club idea was embodied. As compared to barracks and mess halls, the huts provided a higher degree of physical comfort, individual freedom, and choice of occupation, amusement, and associates. Entirely apart from direct activity of workers, the furnishing of club facilities in themselves involved an immense expenditure and contributed the most significant single service to the contentment of the men—a service not less important because it came to be regarded as a matter of course.

The social resources of the average American community were <sup>The Expansion of Social Resources</sup> outstripped by the provision made in large camps everywhere, both abroad and at home. Thousands of men saw plays, heard music, and read books such as they never could have hoped to find in their home towns. They saw and heard speakers of a caliber only to be met in great centers of population and gained outlooks into the world of thinking minds that far transcended the bounds of village philosophy. For a fair parallel of the preaching in the camps one must turn to the great American universities, where the most eminent clergymen of the country in succession bring their spiritual messages to young men. The same is true of the lecture service. Nowhere but in college halls have so many and so eminent authorities on subjects of human interest been heard. Formal educational work was limited most by the lack of time of the men to avail themselves of it, but in scope and variety it exceeded the facilities to be found in many good sized towns. As for theatrical entertainment, many a unit of 500 men saw plays and players rarely if ever to be seen in cities of 100,000 population. If the money spent by citizens for such things as these be any indication of their human value, then the free provision of them to millions of men must constitute an enormous service rendered in the interests of maintaining and advancing the standards of civilization.

It is believed that, as the results of welfare performance are more closely studied, the conviction will grow that ultimate values, rather than immediate, constitute a true criterion. Two united objectives inspired every effort—a victorious fighting force and a nation enriched in citizenship by its homecoming sons. American character and energy were to be afforded the best support and stimulus the nation could give. Americans were facing an immediate duty of which every instinct of humanity, brotherhood, liberty and self respect commanded acceptance. Not all understood clearly, but all felt the spirit of the hour and acquiesced without protest in a military regime which no compulsion could have imposed. Intermingled with the shaping forces of discipline and training, by which these men were to be welded into an invincible army, was the welfare service intent on enabling each man to offer, in himself, a larger gift. The total result stands evident. None but a presumptuous fool would attempt to apportion credit—to measure and compare the value of the many factors which united in producing that result. How large a share was that of any organization is irrelevant; how vital it was is all important.

Victory won, those Americans scattered to their millions of homes. Are they better citizens? The future will tell.

**PART IV**

**WAR PRISONERS' AID**



## CHAPTER XLIV

### BEHIND THE BARBED WIRE

The prisoner of war is a strangely pathetic figure—a youth, conscious of no crime, yet deprived, in the full vigor of his manhood, of nearly all the ordinary outlets of human activity; a soldier, without the stimulus of active service or the sustaining consciousness of achievement; an exile, living in an atmosphere of constant hostility, owing his very life to the sufferance of his captors; a man without rights. Since he is no longer an effective unit in the business of war, his own military organization counts him as non-existent. Though living, he is dead, and dead with little glory. To his captors he is simply an additional embarrassment, another mouth to be fed, another body to be clothed. To his guards, he is the cause of the most monotonous and hated of all duties; and to the civilian population, he is the enemy in their power and without means of retaliation.

#### THE LIFE OF THE PRISONER OF WAR

The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 reduced to a systematic statement the practice of civilized nations in the treatment of prisoners of war. Though this summary of experience was theoretically accepted as binding the signatory Powers, it is well to remember that all such provisions were greatly modified in practice in the World War. Military necessity cannot always take full account of humane agreements and the best of intentions may be frustrated frequently by the forces of passion aroused in a life-and-death conflict.

The articles relating to prisoners of war cover a variety of topics. The personal property of captives is to be respected. They may be interned within given limits but they are not to be actually confined in prison except as an indispensable measure of safety. The government holding the prisoners must maintain them on the same basis as the regular troops of the government. Prisoners are subject to the laws in force in the Army of the state which has captured them; insubordination may be punished according to such laws. They may be put to work, except in the case of officers; and their wages are to be applied to the amelioration of their condition, the balance to be turned over to them on liberation. Officers are to receive pay equal in amount

paid to the corresponding rank in the Army of the state holding the prisoners, the amount of such payment to be refunded by the government of the prisoners. There is a provision for the admittance of relief societies to all places of internment. An information bureau must be provided by each belligerent country for the purpose of keeping an accurate account of each prisoner. All letters and parcels are to be transmitted to prisoners free of postal and custom duties. The sum and substance of such regulations is that prisoners are to be humanely treated and cared for by the state holding them on a basis equivalent to the army standard of that state.<sup>1</sup>

There appeared to be no disposition on the part of any of the principal belligerents directly to ignore the Hague agreement. But the literal fulfilment of the terms regarding prisoners of war would have caused trouble. Since the food supply was scarce everywhere, to have fed the prisoners on the same basis as the Army in certain cases might have put the prisoners far above the civilian scale of living. The civilian population was always afraid that this was being done and the Press in some countries kept alive the idea that captive alien enemies were actually living on the fat of the land. The officials did not dare to disregard the clamor; they were compelled, no matter what their intentions, to avoid every appearance of "pampering" their prisoners. Thus the prisoners' standard of living tended steadily toward the lowest civilian level. The prisoners, too, were the constant victims of reprisals and counter-reprisals. All sorts of stories of ill-treatment were circulated on both sides. Naturally, prisoners of war appeared as the readiest objects of retaliation. Such prisoners were not responsible for the alleged ill-treatment of the other prisoners, but they suffered because they were the only lever that could be used to move the situation in the enemy's camps. Of course, counter-reprisal follows reprisal as naturally as night follows day.

The prison fare fell off steadily as food became scarce in Europe. It is not necessary to take the much-advertised German prison camp menus of 1915 at their face value; but there is little question that the food units were there.<sup>2</sup> There were good intentions everywhere, no

<sup>1</sup> Consult Encyclopædia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, Vol. 28, p. 314. It appears from the record of old controversies that the British have always maintained that the chief responsibility for providing for prisoners should rest with the state whose men have been captured. The continental idea obtains in the Hague regulations. In the World War the British were still somewhat under the influence of their old conviction.

<sup>2</sup> Consult *In the Prison Camps of Germany*, Conrad Hoffman, New York, 1920, pp. 71, 72.

doubt. But times became hard; and the prison rations, particularly in the territory of the Central Powers, began to fail in essential ingredients and also became less and less appetizing. They fell below the requirement for full nourishment, so that prisoners had to depend upon supplementary supplies for a full meal. German, French, and British prisoners were the recipients of enormous quantities of food from their own people. The British people, partly on account of their fundamental conviction regarding prisoners of war, kept up a steady flow of food packages. In May, 1916, Camp Münster, Germany, received 264,000 of these parcels for the 30,000 men imprisoned there.<sup>1</sup> But men of other nationalities were not so fortunate. The Russians in Germany, who represented by far the largest national group in imprisonment, received entirely inadequate supplementary supplies. Their government did little for them, and the difficulty of transportation combined with the ignorance of the folks at home denied them possible help from relatives. Other nations such as the Serbs and Roumanians, having a population reduced to the verge of poverty and no effective national relief agencies, could do nothing for their own men in distant prisons.

Hunger crept slowly but surely through the camps. It was a <sup>Scarcity of Food</sup> deep hunger, something more than a mere craving for so many caloric units. Scarcity of food and the conditions of prison life threw the question of eating up into a central and unnatural position. In modern civilized society meals are social functions; for all except the very poor a pleasant feature of the day's activities. But when hungry men have nothing to do but wait for meals which are not satisfying nor such as can be eaten with relish, there is set up a most unwholesome complex. This condition is greatly intensified when the weather is cold and men's clothing is insufficient and their housing conditions are inadequate. Over the whole war area local situations varied much, but through vast areas the constant impression of those who moved about the prison camps was that men were starving.

Housing, sanitation, and clothing were other fundamental elements in living conditions. Here also the local situations varied greatly even when unaffected by reprisal measures. In every country the disposition of the camp commandant and the resources at his disposal were modifying elements. One Y M C A secretary very decidedly testified that in certain camps in England the prisoners were

<sup>1</sup> Consult *In the Prison Camps of Germany*, Conrad Hoffman, New York, 1920, p. 69.

better cared for than are the students in Association summer conferences in America. On other situations the same man forbore to remark because of the delicate character of his own position.

#### BARBED-WIRE DISEASE

The physical sufferings of the prisoners of war must not be stressed to the exclusion of deeper difficulties. While in many cases the actual physical condition was desperate and in all cases the difficulties of men were accentuated by under-feeding, the real problem was psychological rather than physical. If all the regulations of the Hague Conventions regarding maintenance had been faithfully carried out everywhere, the welfare needs of a prison camp would still have been urgent. The continued imprisonment of able-bodied and innocent men does violence to the very deepest sanctities of life. The prisoner of war was shut in by a double wall—the physical barrier of the barbed wire, and the moral barrier of an atmosphere of hostility.

It is not difficult to distinguish the successive stages in the experience of the fighting man captured in battle. His first feeling on reaching a prison camp was usually a sense of relaxation. The acute tension of battle was over. He slept and rested his fill. As soon as mind and body were rested, the natural curiosity of the normal male asserted itself. This was a new experience; he became interested in his guards, his fellow-prisoners, what he would eat. There were stories to tell and episodes to compare. Such a mood was wholesome but the possibilities of the situation were soon exhausted. Then it was that his soul ran into the barbed wire. He grew terribly sensitive and usually threw up his own defenses to retire therein alone in misery.<sup>1</sup>

Among prisoners of all nations there developed a distinct psychological condition, pathological in its nature to a varying degree. Herded together as they were in forced confinement without normal occupation; believing themselves hated and ill-used; tortured by their uselessness in the hour of their country's need and by anxiety regarding their own people at home; alternating between hope and despair till their numbed hearts could feel no more; fighting without adequate encouragement against approaching lethargy, with the blight of futility on all that they did—it is little wonder that so many of them sank into a neurasthenia so well-marked in type and symptoms that it has been called "barbed-wire disease."

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<sup>1</sup> Many observers state that for most of the men the last stage is already reached on arrival in the prison camp enclosure.

The barbed wire was ever present to the prisoner. From morning till night, and from day to day, throughout interminable weary months and years it was there. Through it he gained tantalizing glimpses of the great free world beyond; by it he was forever hurled back into his own drab and hated camp. The mere presence of the guards was a persistent irritation.

"We live in a kingdom of thorns," writes one prisoner, "and the points that prick us on all sides are to us like a nightmare. Do you imagine that these thorny obstacles that penetrate on all sides are soothing to our spirits? Make the experiment and imagine the picture of a man pointing a formidable revolver at you, in such a way that, no matter from whatever angle you look at the picture, you stare down the black muzzle."

In the intense emotional complexes centering around the idea of the barbed wire that so effectually repressed desire we find the reason for the constant recurrence of this theme in their conversation, journals, letters, and in their choice of woodwork designs.

The barbed wire shut them out from the world of activity and satisfaction. It also shut them in with the herd of their fellow-prisoners. There was no privacy in a prison camp, and no solitude.

"How well I understand," cries a French prisoner, "the saying of Saint Bernard: 'O beata solitudo, sola beatitudo'—we sleep, we dress, we eat, we play, we walk, we search for fleas in our hair—we dream, we fume, we grow tender, we caress the dear relics in our knapsacks—all this in public." Again and again one finds words such as these: 'Not a tiny place in the hut nor an inch of room where for a solitary moment one may be alone' . . . People are swarming everywhere. One cannot sleep at night because the neighbors snore. This is the camp-life of those of whom the world says 'They have a really good time and they are the lucky ones.'"

A secretary writes of Alexandria Palace, London: "Under the great glass roof of the huge hall about three thousand men find their home. A visitor is always immediately struck by the pathetic attempts of these men to obtain some small degree of privacy in their dormitories. Around each two beds, blankets are draped—a real sacrifice since they had none too many—so as to form a small cubicle, with the result that the whole place looks like a Bedouin encampment."

The inevitable result of this indiscriminate and unmitigated herding was an intense irritability, a growing hatred of their fellow prisoners and a confirmed habit of suspicion. The captive fresh from his experiences at the front, rejoicing in his safety, at first threw himself

Drugged  
Monotony

Emotional  
Complexes

with ardor into all the camp activities; but the final effect of prison life was a tendency to withdraw himself in a surly ill-humor.

"The best of friends quarreled with each other and without cause . . . None of us were in a fit condition to argue good-temperedly . . . we spent most of the day wandering aimlessly about from cell to cell in quest of the congenial companion we so seldom found."

Such are the phrases with which the prisoner-of-war literature is filled. The hatred extends to the guard and even to the prisoners' relations and the home government. They believe themselves exploited, ill-treated, and betrayed by each other and by the whole world.

All this was intensified as the War dragged on its weary length. Sustained effort became more and more difficult. These men did not know how long their confinement would last. Their hopes rose and fell with the varying fortunes of the armies. Rumors, too wild and baseless to be believed by normal men, found easy acceptance. They swept through the camp. In some mysterious way the same wild stories would be found in widely separated sections, in spite of the fact that there was no communication between them. The prisoners, buoyed up by foolish hopes of early victory or impending exchange, would live for a brief while in the exaltation of unnatural and feverish expectancy only to fall to greater depths of hopelessness. "The prisoner knows only one word—and that: 'When?' The one cry always goes up from our tombs: 'When shall we get away?'" The real tragedy was that all their efforts were infected with futility because they knew not the period of their sentence and could not plan with confidence. "Was it worth while to begin classes when any day might bring release?" So they questioned in the days of hope; and, the next day, firmly persuaded that their captivity would endure for years, they would begin with forced energy, only to be tormented by the same doubts when the next epidemic of rumors swept the camp. Ruhleben has been called "The City of Futility."

To the experience of many fate added another horror—ill-health. For those who were really sick, there were hospitals; but for shattered nerves and the ordinary disabilities of life that create misery without disability, there could be no relief. Conditions of crowding, under-nourishment, and exposure imposed the most exquisite torture on the unfit. Depression tended always to add to the numbers of this unfortunate group. Epidemic diseases were not unknown in the camps and

one can hardly imagine circumstances less favorable for a contest with infection.

Where counteracting influences were not operative, the "barbed-wire disease" eventually produced a state of utter listlessness. Visiting workers found men passing most of the day in opium-like lethargy on their beds. A passing relief was sought in gambling—the only dissipation possible—and the day's rations were most frequently the stake. Many even of the most buoyant lost hope in the end. The whole outside world dissolved into unreality. Like shades in a land of shades they lived out day after day. Only dull resentment, heartache, and a feeling of oppression were real.

Is it any wonder that death and insanity took a frightful toll in these camps?

Fortunately for a large number of prisoners, their captors found use for their services outside the camps. The policy of sending prisoners out in small working detachments to farms and factories and other forms of service meant usually a heaven-sent release. It is true that sometimes there were increased physical privations connected with such work—though frequently, on the other hand, it meant more and better food—but it was relief from the wire, and employment for the hand and brain that was not just work for the sake of work.<sup>1</sup> It was not possible, however, to use all prisoners in this manner; at the period of fullest development of the working-camp policy there were still tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, of men in the large camps whose health and sanity depended upon their own resources.

Captured soldiers did not constitute the whole body of prisoners of war. Their fate was shared by the large number of interned civilians in every warring country. Nothing emphasized more clearly that the World War was a war of nations, indeed, than the demand for the internment of enemy aliens. The drag-nets were called upon to sweep ever deeper and deeper until every man regarding whom there was the shadow of a suspicion was shut up. There were thus swept up together in the civilian internment camps men of every shade of opinion from the real alien through all the neutral shades to those who were actually thoroughly in sympathy with the country that interned them. Soldiers, in some cases even, left fathers in prison camps.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This must be decidedly qualified with regard to certain forms of factory work, especially in Germany, where the suffering was very great.

<sup>2</sup> For a sympathetic picture of some of the incongruities of the situation, see the story, "The Bright Side," in *Tatterdemalion*, John Galsworthy, New York, 1920.

There were some striking differences in the two conditions, however. The soldier understood his fate. He had been captured in arms and was therefore quite properly a prisoner of war. Most interned civilians, on the other hand, considered themselves the victims of great injustice. This was particularly true of those whose sympathies were whole-heartedly with the land where they were imprisoned, but all felt to a certain degree that such rigorous measures were unfair and unnecessary. Those who had families were compelled to leave them marked with shame in the midst of communities that grew more and more hostile as the war went on. Resentment against the families even of loyal men often resulted in actions that were practically equivalent to persecution. The realization of all this naturally increased the burden on the prisoner's soul. If in addition, he had no financial resources, his anxiety for his loved ones increased ten-fold. In certain cases, the civilians were not even permitted to see their families; and even where such rigid rules were not in force, visits were of very brief duration.

There was another difference growing out of previous conditions. While many, possibly most, of the soldiers after a spell of prison would have been glad to get back into the line again, the prison camp was a safer place than the battlefield. Even the most heroic may be glad to be safe; not all human beings are "gluttons for punishment." The civilian, however, was taken from his home and his daily occupation and shut up where he had to endure hardships for which he had had no preparation. He was not seasoned like the fighting man; he was a soft civilian. Every hour of his life was set over against an existence of reasonable comfort. There was no consolation in the imprisonment.

The civilians were a mixed group. All ages and all types were shut up together. Individual adjustments were excessively difficult in the heterogeneous mass and men fought hard to protect themselves. On the other side there is something to be said, however. The diverse elements in the civilian group opened up richer resources for activities within the camps. The presence of older heads was a steady influence. In many civilian camps there were some prisoners of considerable wealth and many of more than moderate means. These were, as a rule, more than willing to bear a large share of the cost of improvements. When the difficult period of "shaking-down" was over, the diversity of gifts unquestionably made for increased possibilities of contentment.

The diversity of political opinion was a really serious matter; herein the civilians faced difficulties not generally met by the fighting men. In the famous internment camp at Ruhleben, near Berlin, for example, there were shut up with the loyal British a number of men whose sympathies were all with Germany in spite of their confinement. Sooner or later everyone had to take one side or the other, and thus there were two groups in the camp. No doubt, in all such circumstances, a working arrangement was reached; but the confines of a prison enclosure do not provide the best atmosphere for stilling deep animosities. Both groups were bound to suffer.

The interned civilian had a hard time. All his miseries were deepened by the rankling sense of injustice. It was an emotional conviction that was probably beyond the volitional control of most of these men. It was increased by the treatment usually accorded their families and possibly by the actions of some of their guards. It was war—that is all there is to say about it.

The dark side of the picture has been presented but we do not wish to give the exaggerated impression that all the prisoners succumbed to their fate. One could not have been surprised if they had done so, but the real wonder is that so many struggled so valiantly to preserve their manhood and to keep their interests alive. All who have known the prisoners will agree with Captain Gilliland's words:

Heroes of the  
Prison Camps

"I wonder if the people at home have ever realized that the prisoners in Germany number among their ranks some of the greatest heroes of this war. On the battlefields, the heroes, or at least some of them, are recognized and rewarded accordingly, but the exile is never known, though he fights against more hopeless odds . . . Fine deeds are done in the heat of action when the excitement of the moment gives the spur to many a noble act; but it takes a braver and more steadfast spirit to pass smiling and cheerful through the endless, stunted and hopeless days of a prisoner's life, to cheer up those of our comrades who have for the moment fallen into the slough of despondency."

In every camp there were these unknown heroes who resisted the overmantling depression to the very death and put forth every effort to save themselves and their comrades. It was an inglorious and for the most part a thankless task. Courage and resourcefulness of the highest order were required and constant watchfulness alone could save what courage and resourcefulness set up. There were men who refused repatriation in order to continue their efforts to alleviate the lot of their fellow-prisoners. Such men were the cornerstones of these

organizations that grew up within the camps, expressing in concrete terms the deliberate attempts of men to help themselves in a desperate situation. These resolute men gathered together in twos or threes, discovering each other out of the mass, and gradually drew into the center of power a united group ready for sacrifice in the common cause. Religiously minded men impelled by the inspiration of their inner conviction made superhuman efforts to spread the Christian spirit of hope and friendliness among their discouraged comrades. It was not a bad place in which to test the reality of religious faith.

These heroes will hardly achieve fame. Still it is not probable that any of the American prisoners in Tuchel or Rastatt will forget the name of Sergeant Edward Halyburton, and there are others that are imprinted forever on the hearts of thousands of grateful comrades. Could one desire more?

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRISON CAMPS

In order to understand the situation of the prisoners of war, some account must be taken of the problems of prisoner-of-war administration.

The mere physical care of prisoners of war was a heavy burden. Germany, for example, at the close of the war held about 2,800,000 prisoners—a group of men as large as the population of the city of Chicago. No other country held any such number, but in each case these were enough to cause serious embarrassment in the midst of pressing preoccupations.<sup>1</sup> The officials were greatly hampered in the discharge of their onerous duty by the uncertain disposition of public opinion; the slightest hint of “pampering” was enough to stir up an irresistible storm of popular protest. There existed an exaggerated fear of prisoners that is a little hard to understand; its nature and justification need not be examined here, it is sufficient to note the fact. Such fear accounts in part for the over-elaborate caution embodied in rules and regulations. The discipline of the camps proved in some cases a very difficult task. Some prisoner groups were docile as a rule but capable of baffling insubordination under what they considered adequate justification. British prisoners frequently proved a handful for their captors; Anglo-Saxon individualism would not sit quietly under what was considered as a needless display of arrogance or unnecessary restriction. Every self-respecting prisoner felt that

<sup>1</sup> Of course, it must be remembered that the service of the prisoners was of the greatest value to Germany in relieving labor shortage.

he had rights that must be respected according to his own idea of what constituted respect. The management of these bodies of idle and generally irritable men was no sinecure. All these elements in the situation must be kept in mind in any estimate of the situation.

It is not possible to institute national comparisons or to make any general assertions regarding the treatment of prisoners of war. All that can be recorded is impressions. The sum total of such impressions seems to indicate that the higher officials in all countries, with very few exceptions, were desirous of according the prisoners humane treatment. This spirit permeated most of the official organization. But there were commandants of domineering and brutal nature whose records appear in dark colors; and there were guards, particularly among the working parties, whose cowardly and beastly characters led them to practice upon helpless prisoners the most inhuman cruelty. The proportion of ill-treated prisoners among a total of 6,000,000 men may have been comparatively small, but the actual amount of unnecessary human suffering directly due to carelessness or brutality was undoubtedly in the aggregate very extensive. It is a sad chapter in the history of human relationship.<sup>1</sup>

The civilian attitude was by no means always hostile. From the first there were groups in every country who were truly eager to mitigate the hard lot of the prisoner in their midst. The motives of such worthy persons may have been complex, but there was in each case a certain basis of pure humanity. Several groups in Great Britain sought opportunities for service in the early months of the war. The just historian must record that these efforts proceeded, in the first instance, largely from the Christian forces in the various countries. The injunction, "Love your enemies," was taken literally by sincere men and women. It is well to remember that, before any extensive international efforts were undertaken, a few civilians in every land were proving very clearly that war had not entirely obliterated the spirit of compassion.

#### THE NEEDS OF THE PRISONERS

If a list of the needs of prisoners be drawn up—food to supplement rations, recreation, entertainment, education, athletic equipment, literature, social centers, facilities for religious exercises—it appears strangely similar to a catalogue such as might be prepared for the

Treatment of  
War Prisoners

<sup>1</sup>The student is referred to investigations made by the American Embassies in Berlin and Paris for further information on this subject.

training camps. Indeed, the suggestion has been made that the prisoner's needs are just the fighting man's needs intensified. Such a view is not very useful because it was the deep difference, not the superficial resemblance, that was significant. The chief difficulties arose just at the points of divergence.

In the question of food, the prisoners lacked not only the "frills" of diet but the very essentials. The warring countries lacked an adequate supply of fats, of sugar, and of other prime elements; therefore, the prisoners of war suffered not only from the monotony of diet but from its actual inadequacy. There was as much need for the tasty additions such as candy, fruit, nuts, and crackers; but it is a reasonable supply of the foundations of nourishment that gives point to the extras. The first need of the prisoner was for food. Without supplementary rations health and strength could not be maintained.<sup>1</sup> In a dark moment one Y M C A secretary wrote to headquarters wondering whether it was right to send so many talking machines and razors to men who needed food.

The other needs were quite as real, however. At this point we encounter another contrast between the conditions of the prisoner and the fighting man. The prison camps were full of idle men. There was no dearth of workers. Prisoners of war were as a rule eager to help themselves. Their lack was equipment. With the best will in the world, work cannot be carried on without material. The welfare problem was to stimulate activity and to provide the material equipment necessary. A dramatic performance that meant occupation for a number of prisoners and at least temporary relief for all might be held up for want of small articles such as a few yards of cheese-cloth or a few pots of paint. The supply of a few hymn sheets and Bibles made it possible for the religiously minded to have services; a single football was a precious possession, yielding an immeasurable dividend in health and contentment. The whole width of infinity separated the possession of even a little to work with from having nothing at all. Many camps were thoroughly organized before any help appeared from outside. In others there was needed the stimulus of an outsider, not infected with the prison-virus, to get an organization on its feet and to keep it going through periods of discouragement. In all cases a man with ideas gathered from a wider experience could

Monotonous  
Diet

The Welfare  
Problem

<sup>1</sup> Consult *In the Prison Camps of Germany*, Conrad Hoffman, New York 1920, p. 73.

make suggestions as to new activities or modifications of the old. The fresh point of view was invaluable. When it is remembered what these idle men lacked, the spiritual value of material equipment may be better comprehended. Books, stationery, musical instruments, educational text-books, artists' supplies, tools, athletic equipment, laboratory apparatus, talking machines, games, Bibles and hymn sheets—these cannot be created in a prison camp; but what is idle life month after month without them? The small working camps were not troubled with the difficulty of finding employment, but the hours of leisure were blank; to them games, books, and talking machines were a godsend, indeed.

When any estimate is made of the efforts of relief and of welfare work for prisoners, full account must be taken of the conditions and the character of the needs. A large staff of workers would not have been permitted anywhere, nor was it at all necessary; though there were a thousand useful personal services that a worker might perform, the essential demand was for help in self-help. Given the facilities, most camps could take care of themselves. This statement does require qualification, however. There were groups of prisoners who were ignorant and among whom were few leaders. Food and simple amusements could be furnished them but beyond such elementary help welfare work was powerless. With the strict limitations regarding numbers of workers little could be done to help the great mass of such prisoners. Still that little was a vast improvement on nothing at all.

Here and there in the prison camps a triumphant conception took possession of leaders among the imprisoned men. With reasonable help from the outside, it appeared that prison life might be made bearable. Then as the first determined efforts of men bore their inevitable fruit, it did not seem a remote possibility that some pleasure and at least a degree of contentment might be wrested from the hands of hard fate. The achievement of this second stage of mental progress opened up a new vista—some men saw that the period of internment could be made a time of growth and personal improvement. The opportunity of the prison camp—that was the thing. It was not all a dream. With the establishment of lecture courses, educational classes, dramatic clubs, athletics, and regular religious services, there appeared in certain of the camps a well-organized social life; and not a few men came out of the experience better than they were when they entered it. Such an achievement must be regarded as an outstanding triumph of the human spirit.

*Limitations of  
Welfare Service*

*Intellectual  
Growth and  
Personal  
Improvement*

## CHAPTER XLV

### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR PRISONERS' AID OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

The terms of the Hague Convention regarding the admittance of agencies of relief are not very definite. Article XV provides that:

"Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are regularly constituted in accordance with the law of the country with the object of serving as intermediary for charity, shall receive from the belligerents, for themselves and for their duly-accredited agents, every facility within the bounds of military requirements and administrative regulations, for the effective accomplishment of their humane task. Delegates of these societies may be admitted to the places of internment for the distribution of relief, if furnished with a personal permit by the military authorities and on giving an engagement in writing to comply with all their regulations for order by police."

Relief  
Societies

No relief societies are specified and there is actually nothing imperative in the clause. The injunction is largely nullified by the qualifications. "Military requirements and administrative regulations" developed an excessive rigidity in the World War, varying in degree but stiff enough everywhere. It was possible, however, to send money, food, and clothing to the prisoners. The Red Cross societies of the various countries were able to forward large quantities of material to their imprisoned nationals; and the American Red Cross aided very extensively both before and after America's entrance into the war in 1917. Other organizations such as Dr. Markel's committee and the Friends' Emergency Committee in England, also distributed supplies. The Crown Princess of Sweden and her associates conducted a varied service of inestimable value in part directly and in part through the Y M C A. For a time individuals were free to mail food packages to individual prisoners but this developed such difficulties that most of the governments took over the general responsibility for the collection and despatch of food, which was then distributed on an equitable basis in the camps. A complete account of service for prisoners of war would include all these activities.

This record is the story of the welfare work of the Y M C A. The setting of the problem that lay before this organization can be

exhibited most clearly by following the actual steps taken in establishing this unique service.

### CLOSED DOORS

Among the various projects of service which were surveyed in the autumn of 1914 by John R. Mott as the representative of the American branch of an institution devoted to the interests of young men, the possibility of work with prisoners of war appealed particularly, both because of the evident need and because it appeared that an American agency might venture into this difficult field when others would be shut out. Conferences with leaders of the Y M C A in Europe seemed to indicate that there was a chance that America might succeed. The World's Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations was feeling its way into several fields of war work and hoping to have its own neutrality recognized in all service. But American neutrality at that time appeared more substantial than anything that existed on the continent of Europe, and the resources of this country were recognized as available ordinarily for purposes of humanitarian effort. Dr. Mott assured the European leaders that they could count on American cooperation. On his return he made a complete report to the International Committee in New York, and on the basis of this plain statement of need and opportunity, the Committee immediately authorized the participation of the American organization in this service.

In January, 1915, the American Y M C A sent to Europe two men, C. V. Hibbard and Dr. A. C. Harte, charged particularly with the task of developing the possibilities of service for prisoners of war. The negotiations necessary continued for months in the tense atmosphere of those early days of the war. Public opinion was in unstable equilibrium, and anyone endeavoring to maintain a neutral attitude was suspected alike in London, in Paris, and in Berlin. There was not much ready sympathy for the imprisoned alien. It is necessary, also, to bear in mind that at this time neither the relief nor the welfare agencies had at their command the large resources that were later placed in their hands by the American people. All the money for this prisoner of war work had to be raised privately—and very quietly; for there were many active prejudices in America.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances connected with the first attempts to raise funds for this work are interesting. Dr. Mott, on his return from Europe in 1914, set out to secure ten subscriptions of \$5,000 each toward launching the service. As a matter of fact, he appealed to eleven people; and not one declined.

First Steps in  
a Difficult Mission

The two American secretaries proceeded first to England. Certain relief agencies and the British Friends were beginning a partial service for prisoners and the British Y M C A had one representative engaged in camp visitation. A general understanding was reached that America would be permitted to inaugurate prisoner of war service, supplying the workers and funds, provided the endorsement of the American Embassy was secured. The American Ambassador later secured authorization from the State Department for such endorsement; and the American embassies in Europe, throughout the course of the work, rendered the most cordial assistance. The work was finally organized under the auspices of the English National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations.

With so much accomplished Mr. Hibbard and Dr. Harte proceeded to Paris and Berlin to present the scheme of service to the French and German Governments. Dr. Harte immediately established contacts with the German National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, the German Student Movement, and other religious agencies interested in prisoners. After some weeks, he was joined by Christian Phildius of the World's Committee. Every possible avenue of approach to the authorities was worked persistently. At first, the Germans were willing to permit only the sending in of books and supplies; but this arrangement did not suit the American representative of the Y. The negotiations went on slowly through the month of February, but early in March a conditional permission was granted for real service. It was determined that the formal local responsibility for the work should rest with a committee representing the German National Council; later, the German Student Movement was also represented. Meanwhile, Mr. Hibbard was dealing with the supple genius of French diplomacy. The French Y M C A was at this time in no position to offer active aid; in France, the negotiations were carried on in the name of the World's Committee by the American representative. A vague agreement was secured late in February in spite of the tensity of opinion in France. It was, of course, conditional on Germany's action. It required many months to get a substantial arrangement. These two preliminary agreements were secured only in the face of intricate diplomatic difficulties. Even then, the agents of the Association regarded them only as marking the first steps of the negotiations.

The next move was to bring Russia into the circle of reciprocity. Dr. Harte proceeded to Petrograd in May. There he found himself in

a maze of difficulties. The cumbersome sluggishness of the Imperial bureaucracy was not the only obstacle. The YMCA in Russia before the War was almost entirely German, therefore to be avoided. The World's Committee because of its connection with these German societies was of no assistance. There were many reasons why the particular Russian enterprise furthered by the American YMCA—the Mayak, in Petrograd—should be kept out of any kind of connection with the war prisoner work. Further, several of the leading Russians who were friends of the American movement were suspected of pro-German sympathies. Still the unpromising situation was made to yield results. With the help of Russian friends and the effective assistance of H. R. H., the Crown Princess of Sweden, and the Allied ministers in Stockholm, Dr. Harte worked his way through the various government groups and finally succeeded in enlisting the support of the Empress. Permission to enter the camps was at last secured.

Darius S. Davis reached France in May, 1915. He and Mr. Hibbard proceeded to Italy in June, and Mr. Davis returned to that country again in October. There they succeeded in gaining admission to visit first the civilian internment camps and later the military prisons. In Austria-Hungary, Mr. Phildius had already secured a limited permission to work in two camps. On his return from Russia in the summer of 1915, Dr. Harte was invited to visit the camps in Austria-Hungary. He was able to demonstrate the successful arrangements made in other countries, particularly in Russia; the immediate result was the opening of a full opportunity for service.

Throughout the summer of 1915 this curious diplomatic game went on; there were many small points to be cleared up, there was much repairing of shaky confidence to be carried out. In the end "The War Prisoners' Aid of Young Men's Christian Associations" was established in all the principal belligerent countries.

With this brief sketch of the preliminary negotiations before him, the reader is in a position to appreciate the character of the enterprise. The general theory of the American organizers was to work through local YMCA agencies as far as possible, but nearly all the funds and most of the workers were supplied from America and the fundamental responsibility rested on the American agents. In England, the national organization of the YMCA was directly related to the work. In Russia, there was an independent committee. In France and Italy, organizations were built up somewhat loosely at-

Italy and  
Austria-Hungary

tached to the World's Committee. In Austria-Hungary the service was under the auspices of the Austro-Hungarian Red Cross. In Germany, the first committee represented the German Y M C A and the German Student Christian Movement, but the Prussian War Ministry undeviatingly held the American agents responsible for the conduct of the work and dealt directly with them. The Russian General Staff was very strong in its insistence that both in Germany and Russia a committee of standing should assume responsibility for the work; and, in deference to this desire, the German service was finally placed under a representative committee with Prince Max von Baden at its head. Prince Constantin Constantinovitch was chairman of the Russian Committee.

Official  
Association  
Direction

Mr. Hibbard returned to America in the summer of 1915 to assume general responsibility for the whole service of the American Association in Europe. Dr. Harte remained in Europe as a general agent of the International Committee with special responsibility for the work in the Central Powers and Russia. He opened an office in Copenhagen, Denmark, and later, another in Berne, Switzerland.

#### THE PRINCIPLES OF CAMP SERVICE

The particular object of the Y M C A in entering the prison camps was to attempt to meet the educational, recreational, moral, and religious needs of the prisoners. The aim was to restore the captive to the world as little affected as possible by his imprisonment. The Association was glad wherever it could to leave to other agencies the task of supplying the immediate material needs of the prisoners in order that it might devote its energies directly to its own special work. It never attempted to supply food, clothes, or money except in those cases where no supplies of this kind were being furnished.

In this work the Y M C A was but following the bent of its own genius. The prisoner was a young man in urgent and serious need, and as such appealed directly to an institution whose efforts are devoted to the well-being of men of all nations. The Y M C A is fundamentally not superficially international; in its work everywhere, it has recognized the equal rights and equal powers of all those with whom it deals. Its principles were put to the test in the work for war prisoners. The American Y M C A represented a neutral country in 1915, but very few men were really neutral in those stirring years. Still, an even-handed service was measured out irrespective of nationality and in the name of one common humanity. In the various coun-

tries there was, of course, national prejudice in the minds of local YMCA men; their connection with the institution had not freed them from human limitations. For many, in the beginning it went decidedly against the grain to do anything for the enemy alien, but they did it. The Christian ideal triumphed. The entrance of America into the war did not change the spirit of the work. It is something to have kept alive even in a small degree the Christian spirit in a time of hatred as witness to the common humanity of men, deeper even though less intense than the hostilities that divided us.

The aim of the YMCA was to provide in each camp the necessary equipment for the conduct of the essential activities of civilized life and by the visits of secretaries to create or to stimulate local organizations to take full control of welfare activities within the confines of the enclosure. Specially designed huts were erected in some camps and the funds provided for the remodeling of existing buildings loaned by the authorities in others. The list of supplies furnished is endless: it included everything—footballs and baseballs, cinemas and musical instruments, books and artist's supplies, stationery, church furniture, and hospital supplies, razors and false teeth, laboratory apparatus and shoe-brushes—the whole gamut of the ordinary equipment of individual and social life. Recreation chests were designed for the smaller working camps. In addition to the visits of secretaries, the local organizations were assisted by literature on methods of the work. The World's Committee issued a prisoners' periodical in six different languages for circulation in the camp.

The religious work was entirely unsectarian. Where no other Religious Work way was possible the secretaries themselves gave religious and moral talks, at which, usually, all the men were present. But wherever it could be done, the Y tried to provide and encourage services to all denominations by clergymen of their own faith. The huts were always at the disposal of Protestants, Roman Catholics, Greeks, and Jews for their religious observances, absolutely without distinction. We quote from a letter, written to the *London Times* by the Rt. Rev. Herbert Bury, Anglican Bishop for North and Central Europe.

"Will you allow me to offer my small tribute to the generosity of the American YMCA? In October, 1915, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the War Office appointed me to superintend the social and religious work in the prisoners' camps in Great Britain and Ireland, and, in all that work, important and responsible as it has been, I have had the unfailing support, financial and otherwise, of the

American Y M C A. . . . They have also financed nonconformist ministers and others who have applied to them for their expenses in the neighborhood of different camps, met the expenses of Roman Catholic clergy in poor neighborhoods, visiting their co-religionists, and have even found them the accessories of worship. It would be difficult to speak in too appreciative terms—as no funds have been available for such work from the War Office—of the modest, generous and entirely unadvertising work of the American Y M C A."

The report of the Central Committee of the Alexandra Palace Internment camp, under the heading "Religion," mentions specifically the thanks of the Catholic community for the use of the Hall, adding,

"The fact that the large hall with its stage lent itself particularly well to the performance of the sacred rites of the Catholic faith, contributed to a large extent to the steadfast attendance at all the Mass rites," and of the Jewish community, saying "Our large Jewish community is no less appreciative than its sister communities of the great benefits it derived from the accommodation offered by the hut." The writer of the report adds: "There were no irksome restrictions placed upon the men, the same largess presided over the facilities offered for religious and devotional services. . . . Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious gatherings were carried on side by side, harmoniously, under the same roof."

In England, from January to June, 1917, £1,000 were devoted to paying traveling expenses of Catholic priests and, in appreciation of this service, Archbishop Bourne wrote:

"May I offer you my very deep thanks for the generous aid which has rendered possible an amount of spiritual work which otherwise would have been much more difficult to accomplish."

What was true of England was also true of the work in the other countries, particularly in Russia. In Austria, for example, the Y was the distributing agency for both Bibles and ikons. Churches were built according to the desire of the camp, as for instance, in Wieselburg where two churches were built, one for the Russian Orthodox community and one for the Roman Catholics. There were also prayer rooms for the Jews. It is an interesting fact to notice that the robes and accessories for the first Greek Orthodox service among the prisoners in Austria were supplied by the Y.

One universal feature of the Y program was the celebration of Christmas. Almost all the 6,000,000 war prisoners were natives of countries where religious hope and aspiration center in this festival.

It is intimately connected not only with the ecclesiastical program but with inner sanctities of home life. As each year drew toward its end, the prisoners' thoughts inevitably turned toward those from whom they were separated. To them the angels' song came as a hope and prayer with a peculiarly poignant appeal. Peace, Goodwill—how these words sank into the souls of men taken in combat and held by enemies.

In all countries a tremendous effort was put forth by the Y M C A to have gifts for the prisoners. Where it was impossible to secure goods, small sums of money were distributed. Christmas trees were set up and sometimes it was possible to provide something like a Christmas dinner. Concerts and Christmas entertainments were featured; Christmas dramas were put on in many camps. Everything was done to emphasize the spirit of the day, the spirit of Him whose birth was celebrated—Who came to loose the bonds of prisoners. In the Christmas services the highest note was struck and each year hundreds of thousands of prisoners assembled to join in hymns of adoration and take part in the celebrations of the Christian churches.

It could not be ever a Merry Christmas. For most of the men, it was unquestionably a time of sadness that merged into acute pain. But even the sadness and the pain were healing, for the celebration of Christmas symbolizes the inauguration of an era when men shall put away their bitterness and bury their weapons of cruelty and "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

Owing to its favorable position the Y M C A organization was able to perform a variety of supplementary services. Information of prisoners' conditions was secured for relatives. Misapprehensions regarding the treatment of prisoners were removed. The distribution of relief was assisted or supplemented as the particular occasion required. The secretaries had frequent opportunity to act as mediators between the prisoners and their guards. Y M C A influence was largely responsible for securing the placing of all American prisoners in one camp in a good location and for the abolishment of the "block-system" in that camp. Much was done to facilitate the sale of articles made by prisoners. Individual secretaries were also able to render much personal service to disheartened, sick, and anxious men. Directly or indirectly the Y touched the whole round of camp life.

There was one indirect service for prisoners that must not be overlooked. To a very large extent the well-being of prisoners depended upon the disposition of the camp guards. Guarding prisoners is generally regarded as an odious duty, in spite of the fact that

it is a really important and arduous service. If prisoners are to be as little trouble as possible, their handling must be skilful. It was, however, not possible always to assign the fittest men to such work; and it frequently occurred that the number of guards in a post was inadequate, thus laying the burden of long hours on every man. Then, too, they represent a part of the national forces easily overlooked: in many cases, they were compelled to suffer quite unnecessary hardships. Both for the sake of the guards themselves and for the sake of the prisoners, the Y M C A endeavored to offer these wardens of captives the advantages of welfare service. It would be an anomaly, indeed, to have alien prisoners enjoying the benefits of social service while their guards were deprived of the means of ordinary recreation and spiritual refreshment.

The restrictions under which the War Prisoners' Aid was compelled to work were rigid in the extreme. Their character was clearly expressed in the warning injunction to workers in the camps to remember that everything that was not specifically permitted must be regarded as specifically forbidden. Admittance to the camps at all was regarded as a great concession on the part of the authorities and a jealous eye was kept on the activities in enemy countries in order to make sure that exact reciprocity was being observed. The national war prisoners' departments showed no disposition to override the local officers and so these latter had to be won over in each case. The military authorities at first were slow to recognize the necessity for the service; they felt they had trouble enough on their hands. Later, they welcomed the work as an aid to the maintenance of discipline in the camp. Every new proposal had to make its way through the interminable corridors of the official structure. The delays were exasperating, but any attempt to hurry the delicate negotiations was almost sure to result in fresh restrictions. The number of workers permitted was fixed by the authorities; the absoluteness of such a limitation is obvious. In Germany, for example, thirteen secretaries from outside countries was the maximum: there were more than two and three-quarter millions of prisoners. In the camp, the secretary walked a tight-rope every moment of the time. There is every reason to believe that in some cases traps were laid for them deliberately in order to test their intentions. The official attitude was a reflection of public opinion. The prisoners could not be allowed too good a time, hence welfare efforts were to be kept within bounds. In Italy, where the population had foresworn amusements during the war, the pris-

oners' recreation was kept down rigidly. In Germany, the Y M C A was never permitted to visit the working camps in the war zone. In France, the civilian internment camps of the Department of the Interior were closed to the Association workers. The Y M C A had to do what it was permitted to do, exactly so much and no more.

Having negotiated the official barrier, the welfare worker was not yet in clear water. Among the prisoners the official permission that he had worked so hard to obtain very frequently made him the object of very decided suspicion.<sup>1</sup> The secretary who had felt as if he were regarded by all officials as a criminal of low origin and mean disposition was now suspected as a favorite of those same officials and a secret propaganda agent. There lay before him quite a puzzle—to convince the prisoners of his sincerity without stirring up new doubts in the minds of the authorities. When time was so valuable, it was exasperating to be compelled to waste it in patiently overcoming baseless suspicion on the right hand and on the left; but there was no other way.

From beginning to end, the necessities of reciprocity occasioned much delay. Whatever may have been the motives of relief agents or welfare workers, the governments granted the privileges not for the sake of enemy prisoners but for their own men in enemy hands. Reciprocity was the only possible principle of operation. Still the strict application of the principle necessitated much additional delicate negotiation, innumerable postponements, and many artificial limitations on the number of secretaries employed and upon the character of the work in any particular country. When the total situation is considered, it is remarkable that so much headway was made in gaining the confidence of the various governments and in securing such liberal permits in so many countries. Though an unofficial organization, the Y M C A was entrusted with great responsibility and often specifically authorized for important tasks.

The entrance of America into the war had an immediate and serious effect upon the War Prisoners' Aid. Though for the moment it appeared as if it might be allowed to maintain its small groups of workers undisturbed, the hope faded rapidly. Germany withdrew the permits of American secretaries and demanded that neutrals be substituted not only in Germany but also in the place of American

The Effect of  
American  
Participation

<sup>1</sup> Like so many other statements regarding such an extensive service, this requires qualification; sometimes the Y representatives were welcomed with open arms.

secretaries working with German prisoners in Allied countries. In the end, exceptions were made of the two secretaries in general charge in each of the Central Powers, and the international relationship of the American Y was approved for future service on the existing basis.

It proved an exceedingly difficult task to secure suitable and acceptable workers from among the European neutrals, and there was much delay before the new arrangements were in working order. American support of the work was continued, however, after America became a belligerent; and this country received its reward in the service to American prisoners which the Y M C A was able to render till the end of the campaign.

#### ESTIMATE OF SUCCESS

In attempting to estimate the success of the work, taking into consideration, on the one hand, the vast number of prisoners, their wide distribution, their manifold needs, the difficulties inherent in all such work in time of war, and on the other hand, the actual accomplishment, it is difficult to decide whether one should be more impressed by what was done or by what was left undone. It cannot be claimed that the Y M C A alone or in cooperation with all the agencies at work met the need adequately. As for the work of the Y, it was done with varying degrees of success in different countries. Very little was accomplished in Turkey and Egypt, at any rate until after the Armistice. The following chapters will attempt to give some idea of the work and of the varying degrees of success. At least something was accomplished in practically all of the countries engaged in the war. At the height of its development the list included not only England, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, and European and Siberian Russia, but also Bulgaria, Serbia, and Roumania. Finally this effort on behalf of the prisoners reached from prison camps of the United States and Canada across Europe and Siberia, south even to Tashkent in Turkestan and Ahmadnagar in India and on to Germans in Japan.

The official staff of the War Prisoners' Aid was strictly limited by regulation. At the peak, there were 65 American secretaries supplemented by a force of office and warehouse workers. These, of course, represented the organizing and supervising agents; the work in the camps was placed as far as possible in the hands of the prisoners and organizations of prisoners. The camps were full of men eager for work; the Y tried to supply organization, personal sympathy,

and necessary equipment. While the actual force of secretaries and the money available was certainly inadequate for the huge task,<sup>1</sup> yet when all the difficulties, physical and moral, are taken into consideration, one can rightly marvel that so much was accomplished even when measured by statistics of camps visited, huts erected, and supplies furnished.

As to the value of the service rendered it is more easily estimated on its physical side than on the spiritual. There is abundant testimony that the huts and the activities they rendered possible made a real difference in the life of the camps. In one camp where there were huts in three of the four compounds, the commandant appealed for a fourth hut, stating that the difference between the one compound where the Y was not represented and the others was unbelievable, and that the men in this compound were "neurotic and half-mad." The hut was often the one warm and comfortable place in the camp, the only place where the barbed-wire and its restrictions could be forgotten, where relief could be obtained from the terrible monotony of the barracks, where was light and beauty and comradeship.

"The hut was the greatest of all boons bestowed on us during the whole of our captivity; almost everything beautiful and useful for the mind centered in it.

"In the camps' weary round of daily life the YMCA hut was for very many a veritable oasis where they found much needed restful surroundings, an atmosphere of calm and quiet and food for their anxious minds."

Whole books made up of such passages could be quoted from prisoners' letters and reports. Even the very building of the hut made a difference. It was at least something to do; and in the organizing of work, planning committees, looking after property, the prisoners found saving employment.

Even where the service was much less elaborate it must not be underestimated. A piano, a phonograph, a set of chess men, a cup of cocoa—how can their value be measured? When men have nothing at all, a very little revolutionizes life.

"A single mouth-organ," reports a visiting secretary, "reformed the whole life of a camp. At the last camp where I presented one (a very gloomy set of men to start with) I left behind me the guard and prisoners dancing together to the sound of the mouth organ, supplemented with pot and pans."

Estimation  
of Service

The Value  
of the Hut

<sup>1</sup> See Audited Financial Statement, Appendix III, Exhibit D, p. 538.

The greatest success—apart from religious activities—was realized in the field of education and handicrafts. The list of subjects taught, and seriously studied, is amazing, ranging as it does from the most elementary tuition for the totally illiterate to the most abstruse branches of science and philosophy. The most lasting work was done in languages, commercial subjects, and other branches that were related to the after life of the prisoner. These were least assailed by the blighting doubt of value, the suspicion of “futility.” The same result was attained in those handicrafts that were distinctly “useful.” Prisoners tired of making endlessly inlaid cigaret boxes, but not of making boots or furniture.

Besides these special benefits that can be measured in terms of material supplies, there were also the general successes—the “diplomatic triumphs.” It meant much that an agent of the Y M C A was permitted to travel from country to country, inspecting camp prisons, representing to each government a wider point of view with regard to prisoners, removing misapprehensions, and urging upon all governments a policy of reciprocal welfare work rather than of reprisal and counter-reprisal. It meant a great deal, too, that there was an organization distinctly interested in the prisoners themselves in terms of a wider humanitarianism. It remains a record of an impressive attempt to relieve real suffering. Its final success is to be measured in spiritual terms. Its greatest achievement was in the spirit that was manifested in real service for the “enemy alien.” Huts, books, food parcels, were only outward evidences of this. In going over the story one is struck most of all by its genuine “disinterestedness”—which means, of course, that it was actuated, not by love of glory, or military purpose, or personal gain, or nationalistic sentiment, nor, even in war time, for the furthering of miliary morale, but by the highest of all interests, the love of men.

### THE STORY OF THE PRISONERS

It is the present purpose merely to exhibit the leading features of the prisoners of war service in the principal belligerent nations of Europe. To a great extent the general methods of local work were the same in all countries, but here and there they were modified by national situations and national policy. Special stress is laid upon these modifying elements because they are of vital importance not only to an understanding of the welfare effort but also to the comprehension of the real experiences of war prisoners. The work previous

to the cessation of hostilities is treated geographically; but, in order to avoid repetition, leading problems are discussed only once and then in connection with those situations where they appeared in their most acute form. The service in internment camps in neutral countries and in America and in the camps of India is not treated in detail. These efforts were extensive and successful but did not contribute unique features of special significance to the whole undertaking. It is sufficient to note that Y service was offered in these various centers outside the zone of conflict.

The War Prisoners' Aid made one very serious effort to set up a <sup>A Well-laid Plan Frustrated</sup> separate supply system designed to bring goods from America for the canteens in the prison camps. Another agency cooperated in the preliminary stages of the negotiations and it appeared at first as if this promising and much-needed service would be established. But in the end the Allies refused to permit the plan to be carried out and the scheme was dropped.

The final stage in the story—after the cessation of hostilities—represents a great movement which began in the spring of 1918 and lasted till 1921. Since at this point the prisoners for the most part ceased to be isolated groups and were caught in the march of external events, for the sake of clearness this stage has been treated as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All statistical figures presented in Part IV of this book must be regarded as more or less accurate estimates, since precise figures are not obtainable. In every case the estimates are taken from the records of men actually on the ground.

## CHAPTER XLVI

### PRISONERS IN GREAT BRITAIN

The prisoners of war were in a rather favorable situation in Great Britain. Their numbers were comparatively few, probably about 145,000. Housing facilities for such a number presented no great difficulty. There was a scarcity of food and materials, but the supply never fell to the low level of Germany or of Russia. The normal transportation facilities are excellent. Several agencies were actively interested in the well-being of prisoners; and the British officials, on the whole, appear to have been desirous of assisting the service. The problem was compassable.

The military prisoners were assembled at first in large camps of the same type as was used for soldiers in training. The men were housed in wooden huts in groups of from 30 to 60. In general the appointments were the same as for the soldiers, and all sanitary and other equipment was standard. In fact, several of the camps used were abandoned recruit training centers. Seventeen of these camps were established.<sup>1</sup> There were a number of hospitals in addition. When, in 1916, the policy of putting prisoners to work was adopted, these large centers became the "parent" camps around which were grouped the smaller working units. In January, 1917, there were 18 working camps, including in all about 3,000 prisoners. The plan was rapidly extended: in the autumn of 1917, 90 such camps were in operation, and by March, 1918, over 25,000 men were at work in over 200 groups. A year later there were 600 such units.

Working camps varied in size from the large construction camps of 1,000 to 3,000 men down to the agricultural units of four or five men. Some of the small groups were, of course, completely isolated. In other cases, they worked almost without any supervision and were on the friendliest terms with the people. A visiting Y M C A worker was astonished to find in one place that on Sundays the prisoners collected the young children of a village, took care of them until evening, and then escorted them home to their parents.

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<sup>1</sup> The total number of military prisoners in Great Britain at the time of the Armistice was approximately 108,000.

Civilians were at first interned with the military prisoners. The pressure of public opinion compelled the imprisonment of so many German-born residents that special provision seemed advisable; and a large civilian camp was established at Knockaloe in the Isle of Man. Here the majority of the 30,000 non-military prisoners were held. However, early in 1916, the British War Office adopted the humane policy of removing to the metropolitan area those of the married prisoners whose families were within easy reach of London. About 5,000 men were housed in the Alexandra Palace, a huge, glass-roofed exhibition building. It was thus possible for the families of prisoners to visit them regularly.

The general conditions in the British prison camps were unquestionably as satisfactory as could be expected. The disposition of the commandants and guards is reported by very careful observers as being over the whole area uniformly humane, considerate, and liberal. There was no doubt a good deal of friction, for neither the prisoners nor their guards were perfect men; but such a situation must be seen against the background of the conditions of the times—feelings of considerate humanity made their way through difficulties that were nothing short of appalling.

#### ORGANIZATION AND COOPERATION

Sir Arthur Yapp, General Secretary of the English National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, made very definite proposals to the American YMCA with regard to prisoners of war work as early as October, 1914. A preliminary agreement was effected when Mr. Hibbard and Dr. Harte were in England in January, 1915. The first American worker arrived in May. In July, R. L. Ewing landed with the so-called "Flying Squadron" of eleven American war workers, and was placed in charge of the war prisoners effort under a special committee<sup>1</sup> working as a department of the English National Council. The English YMCA at first expected to bear a part of the expense of this service, but the state of public opinion in Great Britain was such that it was feared that any attempt to raise funds for this purpose would not only jeopardize the prisoners of

*The "Flying Squadron"*

<sup>1</sup> This committee included Sir T. F. Victor Buxton, M. A., J. P.; the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of London; Sir Henry Procter; Rev. F. B. Meyer, D. D.; Vivian Young; Rev. John W. Oman, D. D.; W. R. Hughes, of the Friends' Committee; Sir Arthur Yapp; Arthur S. Sutton; Ronald D. Rees; Rev. Wm. Paton; the Rt. Rev. Bishop Herbert Bury, D. D.; and H. H. Henriod. This list is as of Jan. 1, 1917.

war work but also imperil the service in the British Army. In the end, America carried the total expense. The English National Council financed all work for the guards. When the prisoners of war work was extended to Scotland, the same relationship was established with the Scottish National Council.

The English Y M C A had had a certain access to the camps since the beginning of the war and definite work at a few points was opened up in the late spring of 1915. It was August of the same year, however, before the Association was officially recognized by the War Office, thus securing a definite standing. It was of course understood that all special activities must be approved by the Commander-in-Chief of each District. The Rt. Rev. Herbert Bury, Bishop of North and Central Europe, was intrusted by the War Office with special responsibility for the spiritual welfare of prisoners. Bishop Bury assisted the Y M C A in its negotiations with the Government and took a place on the Association Committee, thus securing the closest cooperation in this important phase of work.

Among the three active agencies in the field, responsibility was divided as follows: the Friends' War Emergency Committee cared for families of interned men and promoted arts, handicrafts, and industrial work; the Prisoners of War Relief Agency headed by Dr. K. E. Markel agreed to furnish clothes, tools, musical instruments, and general supplies, to remit money for general or individual distribution, to provide ambulance facilities, and to arrange for the sale of goods made by prisoners; the Y M C A was charged with the erection and maintenance of huts or other social centers in the camps, the furnishing of permanent equipment, and the organization of activities within the camps. The Association also undertook to supply religious literature.

Upon the entrance of America into the war in 1917, the American Y M C A established in England a very extensive service for troops. Mr. Ewing was placed in charge of this organization. The prisoners of war work then became a regular department of the American enterprise. A cooperating committee headed by William Charles of London acted in an advisory capacity.<sup>1</sup>

#### CIVILIAN PRISONERS

The Y M C A sought admission to the civilian camp at Knockaloe in the Isle of Man as soon as it was established. The government of

<sup>1</sup> The personnel of this Committee remained, with the addition of Mr. Charles, practically the same as before.

this island has special rights within its own domain; and though the British War Office offered every facility for work at Knockaloe, the local authorities refused endorsement. Doubtless a permit could have been secured eventually; but since the Friends' War Emergency Committee had entrance to the camp and were willing to assume entire responsibility for welfare work there, the question was not pressed. The aid given by the Association was limited to the supplying of lithographic presses, literature, stereopticon slides, and other minor equipment; the Friends directed an effective service to the end of the war. Y M C A service to interned civilians was practically limited to the group in the Alexandra Palace, London.

In this huge exhibition building was gathered a crowd representing all groups of society, from the humble German waiter in a Soho restaurant to the merchant prince; all professions from the Navy to the cubist artist; all degrees of education, from the absolutely illiterate to the holder of a university doctor's degree; every degree of national sympathy from the man who had a son in the British Army to the most earnest German patriot. It was a society in miniature held together by no spiritual bonds, not even those of nativity, but by the implacable barbed wire. It was a society shot through with discontent and a sense of injustice. Even those who had been interned to protect them from mob violence succumbed to the all-pervading sentiment and came to regard themselves as victims of a cruel and unnecessary deprivation of liberty.

Alexandra Palace from the physical point of view was satisfactory enough; but the huge glass-roofed building was a cheerless abode, mentally depressing to a high degree.

The story of the building of the hut on the Alexandra Palace grounds reads like romance. At first the prisoners refused to help. They were sullen and suspicious, thinking that this was yet another attempt to propagandize them in the Allied interest. Even when the disinterestedness of the Y was demonstrated, the work proceeded slowly because of the constant bickering of men whose nerves were raw. But gradually enthusiasm was kindled and the doing of constructive work in the common interest utterly changed the spirit of the camp. The plans were drawn up by a former vaudeville artist who showed no small genius in architecture and whose ingenious devices for the overcoming of difficulties were the admiration of all who saw the completed building. The whole building was a wonderful series of makeshifts and compromises. But the men worked with a

Alexandra  
Palace

The Building  
of the Hut

will and at last the hall was opened. This building has been described by its builders as "the brain and heart of the camp." Such indeed it soon became. It differed from all the other huts in that it was built on a steel frame with walls of hollow tile. It was carefully designed to meet the various needs of the composite population and to embrace every phase of their life. All the artistic talent of the camp was employed in beautifying it and all the Y could do was freely done to make its equipment comfortable and complete. It contained a billiard room and library, a good gymnasium, a number of class rooms, a theater capable of accommodating six or seven hundred, a splendidly equipped handicraft room, fitted with full equipment for metal-working, shoe-making, wood-work, and a variety of other trades. During the winter it was the only warm and cheerful place in the whole camp, and on rainy days, during the hours when the men were unable to use the dormitories, it was the only sheltered spot where they could congregate. At such times, commodious as it was, every inch of space was filled. Here the orchestra performed, here were held Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish religious services, rendered the more impressive by the music of an excellent organ. The school had its home here. The well-appointed class rooms and carefully chosen reference library made possible a great expansion of educational work. Classes were held in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Hebrew, Arabic, Esperanto, Ancient Greek, Latin, shorthand, book-keeping, hotel accounting and management, economics, painting, sculpture; and lectures were delivered to appreciative audiences on an amazing range of subjects. In the handicrafts section book-binding, shoe-making, tailoring, theoretical and practical engraving and metal-work, truck-making, and general design were taught. The shoe-repairing class alone would have made the effort worth while. It can be imagined what a relief it must have been to these captives whose wives and children were often in circumstances of destitution, to have this opportunity of assisting their families. It made them feel that they were not entirely helpless and they found the only real joy of their prison life in making shoes for their wives or repairing the boots of their children; indeed many of the little ones must have gone insufficiently shod had it not been for these facilities. Then too, many of the prisoners learned new trades to fit them for new conditions after their release, and the poorer prisoners earned a little money by making clothes and other necessaries for their richer fellows, an economic interchange which humanized their relationships.

The management of the hut was in the hands of a central committee with a number of sub-committees to supervise the various branches of activity. Material furnished to individuals was paid for at cost. The current expenses, such as payments for cleaning and minor repairs, were met from the receipts from the billiard table, and out of the money thus collected a contribution of £40 was given to the American Y M C A.

What this hut meant to the community at Alexandra Palace may be seen from the following quotation from the report of the chairman of Central Committee:

"If this survey of the activities which the hut enabled us to carry on is of necessity incomplete, it will nevertheless convey some idea of the benefits conferred upon this camp by the Y M C A to whose great good work, large-minded policy, well directed generosity, excellence of practical help, planning and general disposition, no better testimonial could be given than is furnished by the unfeigned gratitude of every inmate of the camp, and by the sincerity of the regret with which all of them will learn that the hospitable doors of the Y M C A will be closed. . . . Everything in and about the hut inspired to render the religious services more helpful, to give them a more devotional character than was possible within the camp itself. The religious life of the camp was maintained by these means, as was, on the other hand, the intellectual life strengthened and refreshed. . . Whoever has been enabled to witness the joy of wives and children at finding themselves united with their husbands and fathers under conditions approaching those of the home, will share our feeling of gratitude to the Y M C A for the comfort and solace, the brightness and beneficent relaxation, that they, by and through the good work done in this camp, brought into our very hearts."

### THE MILITARY PRISON CAMPS

Alexandra Palace was in a favorable situation as regards welfare work. It was within easy reach of the central office, there was no difficult problem of transportation; and during the whole period of internment the population remained relatively permanent. The ideal of service there set up could not be realized in the military camps scattered over the whole country.

The Association program called for the establishment of a social center in every large camp and the supplying of equipment to the smaller points. The social center, in charge of a local committee, was the rallying point for all activities. Y secretaries were to visit the camps regularly to assist in organization, to encourage the workers, to make the necessary arrangements for the forwarding of equipment,

The Committee  
of Management

The  
Association  
Program

and to render such personal services as time and opportunity permitted. The headquarters office in London, in addition to its duties of general supervision and service of supply, kept in touch with the various cooperating agencies and held itself ready to perform the supplementary services for which there was such a persistent demand.

In some camps the commandant set aside a part of an existing building or even an entire building for welfare purposes; and the Y M C A supplied the decorations, pictures, partitions, or whatever else was necessary to transform the bare rooms into a cozy and home-like hall fitted for education and recreation.<sup>1</sup> This was the most economical solution of the problem of providing a social center but by no means the most satisfactory. Permanency could not be assured, for at any time a new influx of prisoners might make it necessary to use such quarters for prison purposes. Further, such halls were too much like the rest of the camp and were never "owned" by the prisoners as their special place. Such an arrangement was better than nothing but certainly could never be entirely satisfactory.

In the other camps, where such facilities were not obtainable, the Association built its own huts. At the beginning of the work, the policy was adopted of building only in camps where the men were willing to donate the necessary labor in erection. There was little difficulty in obtaining such labor. The prisoners were only too glad to work. Thus the building of the hut became a real part of the service even before it was ever opened for use. Attention was thus focussed on community problems and the camp was united in a constructive enterprise. Huts so built became in a peculiar sense the men's own; interest was stimulated, and much latent talent brought to light. Usually the prisoners were told how much money could be spent and they cooperated joyfully in seeing that the best possible value was obtained for the money. At Shrewsbury, for instance, where only rough lumber was supplied, every board was smoothed down with small handplanes in order that the result might be as beautiful as possible.

Six huts were built during the first year of the work and by the end of 1916, six others were either completed or nearing completion. In all, thirteen huts were provided at costs ranging from £150 to

<sup>1</sup> It is indicative of the growth of official recognition both of prisoners' needs and of the usefulness of the welfare service that when, in 1916, the largest camp, Oswestry, was planned, the commandant arranged for five social huts, and asked the aid of the Y M C A in equipping them and in furnishing the services of a visiting secretary.

£1,700. In addition eight converted barracks and two small rooms were fitted up.

The huts at Stobs, in Scotland, at Feltham, and in Jersey in the <sup>The Provincial</sup> <sup>Centers</sup> Channel Islands were nearly as fine as that at Alexandra Palace. The Jersey hut was handsomely decorated and well-adapted to the purposes of community life. At Feltham, Slavs, Poles, Danes, and prisoners from other border states were living under a *régime de faveur*. Men of ten different nationalities joined in the building. In this place, where there were so many small national groups separated by suspicion, the Association was the only unifying element; and it was in recognition of this that a Dane placed over the door an oak tablet inscribed in golden letters with the words of the Apostle Paul:

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts 17:26.

There was some type of Y building in each of the principal camps, which in every case was fully utilized.

The chief item in the operating cost was heat and light. Coal was scarce toward the end of the war, and the prison camp supply was cut with all the rest; but the YMCA succeeded in securing fuel for its own huts, and through the damp and cheerless English winter the hut was the only warm place in the whole camp. The appreciation of the prisoners has been expressed in endless testimonies, but one prisoner summed it all up: "The hut was the centralization point for all our other-than-animal doings."

The several agencies in the field cooperated in supplying the large camps and the smaller posts with equipment for recreation and education, for handicraft and religious exercises, and with all the minor necessities of life.

The YMCA, in the furtherance of the policy of building up the internal social structure of the camps, very naturally sought to establish a contact with the more serious-minded group in every instance. As a rule the first point of contact was with those who were professedly Christian. The deeply religious men actually bore the privations of the life better than others. The War Prisoners' Aid was a rallying point for such and enabled them to exert a real influence. The encouragement of sharing the enterprise of a world-wide organization of Christian young men gave them heart and courage, and made clear that religion was interpreted by some men in the world as something more than pietism and sentimentality. The skeptical

learned something of a faith that expressed itself in disinterested service. The material equipment was offered as expression of the Christian spirit and the non-religious man could see the import of such a demonstration. On the other hand, contact with the program had a broadening influence on the very earnest but sometimes narrow German evangelical, who came to see that even material instruments may be used for the service of God.

This must not be interpreted to mean that the direction of the huts was ever in the hands solely of professed Christians. The policy was Christian and liberal. Every man—Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jew, or non-religious—was welcomed as an aid as long as he had community interests at heart. There was throughout an endeavor to avoid all hampering restrictions, and to allow the fullest liberty so long as it did not degenerate into license. It must be said to the credit of the men who directed the organizations in the camps that there is no recorded instance of any abuse of privilege. There was no gambling within the huts, no obscenity, and the entertainments were usually on a high level.

#### PRISON CAMP ACTIVITIES

It is not hard to suggest a group of activities that will fill up a few idle hours. The prison camp problem was, however, something very different from this. Provision had to be made both for a man's work and for his play, for his whole life, with a clear understanding of the fact that that life was going its artificial round within the barbed wire for an indefinite period. Checkers and a football are allies of health and sanity in the case of men in confinement, but it does not require much imagination to perceive that a checkerboard after six months might come to be a loathsome sight and that the football might in the end stir up only an ardent desire to kick it over the barrier once and for all. Plans for all activities had to take into account two active enemies—the sense of monotony and the sense of futility. The victory did not in every case rest with the well-wishers of the prisoners.

The lack of articles for recreation and daily convenience probably supplied the first impulse toward handicraft in the camps. At Shrewsbury, for example, before the Association appeared, the men begged from the commandant an old cart-wheel. With the aid of various odds and ends they constructed a rough lathe, and produced chessmen. In another camp, eager music students constructed a practice clavier.

Their success encouraged them to proceed with the more ambitious scheme of constructing a spinet. Given time such determined men might have recapitulated the evolution of the piano and produced a baby grand; the Association eventually paid the larger part of the rent on about 60 pianos for the various camps.

The welfare agencies were prompt in recognizing the need for tools, and handicrafts were encouraged everywhere. Not only were ordinary tools supplied, but artists' materials, lithographic presses, and other equipment which was of the greatest social value in the encampments. There was thus opened up, also, the possibility of artistic creation in addition to the production of daily necessities. At Knockaloe, one particularly excellent feature was introduced. The Friends supplied standard designs and the materials for "knock-down" furniture and paid the prisoners for their work. This furniture was then sent out to France to be used in connection with the Friends' reconstruction work. All sorts of handicraft were encouraged by exhibitions, and every attempt was made to find a market for prisoners' products. The possibilities of sale were limited but a considerable result was accomplished.

Recreational activities were, of course, promoted on a large <sup>Recreation</sup> scale. Quiet games and outdoor sports were encouraged everywhere. Athletic contests were organized to give point to the activities; and there are many former prisoners who hold diplomas of merit, designed by their fellow-prisoners and printed in the camp on lithographic presses, which record their prowess in the field. Gymnastic equipment was supplied to all points even to the smaller camps. Naturally the faithful phonograph served on all occasions, supported at times by the stereopticon and the moving pictures. Theatrical entertainments and concerts focussed the interest of the camps in a remarkable way, and every means was used to facilitate such activities. All that was required in this field was equipment and encouragement.

The most remarkable feature of the whole story was the intense <sup>Education</sup> enthusiasm for education. This enthusiasm is easily understood; because, of all the prisoners' activities, this was the only one not damned from the outset by the sense of transitoriness and futility. In the civilian camp of Lofthouse Park, and afterwards at the Alexandra Palace, there was an approximation to a complete university curriculum. There were even laboratories for natural science studies. In the military camps, where there were fewer competent teachers and not so many naturally interested in intellectual pursuits, the edu-

cational scheme was not quite so ambitious, though at Stobs and Jersey there were schools of almost as wide a scope as in the civilian camps. But in all the camps the range of subjects was remarkable and the interest aroused almost beyond belief. Handforth, although it was a small camp and the Y was able to equip only one small room for school purposes, held 61 classes, taught by 35 men, with a total enrollment of 1,950 students, almost equally divided between elementary grammar school subjects, modern languages, technical subjects, and the cultural fields. During the year lectures were given in the camps on every topic of human interest. Here again, the Association aided by supplying text books and placing stereopticons in fourteen camps and in arranging the exchange of lantern slides. Without this help many of the lectures could not have been given.

The serious character of this educational activity—especially in the first half of the war—cannot be over-emphasized. It meant that much waste time was redeemed. Something was done which should bear fruit in after life. A large percentage of the men gained some new vision. In addition to the general work done there was one special phase that was particularly fruitful, the service of the Y in bringing the more advanced and earnest students into contact with English university professors who undertook voluntarily the work of guiding their studies. Largely under the inspiration of Dr. John Oman of Cambridge, the University Extension Scheme was inaugurated at the close of 1916. The Y acted as agent in seeking out students, finding sympathetic teachers, in the interchange of correspondence, and in the purchase of text-books where needed; in all 150 students were enabled to continue their researches with the help of 75 professors.

Religion Religious work was conducted through a variety of agencies. For a time local German pastors were permitted to visit the camps, but this permission was later withdrawn. Under the direction of Bishop Bury a group of volunteer ministers rendered valuable service. Two of the Bishop's own staff were numbered among the visiting secretaries, and they held services and ministered to the sick in the hospitals. The traveling expenses of 35 Catholic priests were paid by the Association to make possible more regular ministration to Catholics. A chief Rabbi was appointed to further the spiritual interest of the Jewish group; the Association stood ready to defray the expenses of visiting rabbis, but the number of Jews in the camps was so small that no special assistance was required. The Association as such

undertook no direct responsibility for church services, though it co-operated in every possible manner and of course offered the facilities of the huts for services of all kinds. It confined its specific religious efforts to its own peculiar field, the organization of Bible study groups and the circulation of religious literature.

### CHANGING CONDITIONS

This summary account of huts and of activities all too readily gives the impression that the War Prisoners' Aid in England was engaged in meeting a static situation and in unraveling its difficulties one by one. The problem faced by the workers was not only complex but varying; from the very beginning its character changed month by month. It was not possible to put so much away every quarter and mark it: "Finished."

The first period of the work was distinguished by the efforts <sup>Initial Difficulties</sup> of the staff to resolve the doubts of commandants and the suspicions of the prisoners, and to set up the camp organizations on a firm basis. The difficulties in this stage varied greatly according to the camp involved, but they were very serious. The staff consisted of only about half a dozen American secretaries aided by English volunteers. The conditions were entirely new to them, the country was strange, their resources were not unlimited. They came, however, to be trusted by both the authorities and the prisoners and to represent in the local committees a fairly efficient organization.

It is not difficult to understand the first enthusiasm of the prisoners for the activities promoted by the War Prisoners' Aid and by the Friends. Once their suspicion had been allayed, they welcomed anything that would help them out of their earlier stagnation. The spread of the "barbed-wire disease," however, may be slow but it is none the less sure. The life was unnatural, confinement is not good for the normal man; and when their first energy was spent, they had to face the strong temptation to succumb to the pressure of circumstance. The increasing personal sensitiveness resulted in irritability and self-isolation and frequently passed over into that apathy whose slogan was, "What's the use?" In the second lap, men fought hand to hand with the wild beasts of discouragement and despair.

External conditions now entered to modify the situation. The establishment of the working camps in 1916 opened up a new phase of the prisoners' experience. The personnel of all the camps changed from week to week and an increasing number of men were sent out

on the working detachments. The first months of the new policy left the parent camps disorganized and made continuous effort of any kind very difficult, even though the actual number of men drawn off was not large. The early enthusiasm for education dwindled rapidly; it was maintained at certain points only by the most patient labor. There is little doubt that putting the prisoners to work was on the whole a very good thing for them. The hours of work reestablished a wholesome routine, which is the normal condition for most men. But the scattered groups could not be cared for as they were in the main camps. They were housed in schools, storehouses, old factories, breweries, distilleries, poorhouses, and asylums. When their day's work was done they returned to their dreary quarters and to each other's enforced company, and there were empty hours to pass over before the time of sleep. They were free of the barbed wire, a great blessing; but they were still prisoners and they were cut off from the recreation and education of the parent camps. New means of service were needed and the special recreation chests were devised containing a phonograph and records, a few books, and games. The secretaries were provided with Ford vans carrying supplies and a portable moving picture machine. An exchange of records and books was arranged. The number of camps grew so rapidly that each visitor was responsible for from 40 to 90 working points. His visits were brief, but in every case he endeavored to deliver goods and to render such personal service as lay in his power both to the prisoners and to their guards. The ideal aimed at was one visit a month to each detachment but even this moderate aim could never be attained. The force and the resources were too small.

Then, in the summer of 1917, came the German demand for the removal of all Americans from direct contact with the prisoners. The Americans were removed and the work was halted everywhere. The replacement took time, the local experience of the American workers was lost, and much of the hard-won gain was swept away. The value of supervision now became plainly evident; for, as the encouraging visits of the workers failed, activities dwindled in every direction. Only in places like Alexandra Palace where the population was constant, the organization highly developed, and a certain amount of regular assistance still available, did the prisoners keep up their regular industrial, educational, and recreational features. The waning of the effectiveness of the educational program was particularly deplorable, because in it lay the chief possibility of making

the camp experience productive of real benefit. Here and there, determined men kept their courage and continued the classes; but the scattering of the working parties, the deepening gloom, and the withdrawal of the visitors played havoc with the school idea. The new neutral secretaries came in one at a time, and some of the lost ground was recovered; but it was never possible to regain the position of the spring of 1917.

The disorganized condition continued up to the Armistice when there opened a new phase of experience to be recounted in its proper place.

## CHAPTER XLVII

### THE WORKING PRISONERS OF FRANCE

From the beginning the French pursued a very definite policy with regard to prisoners of war. Acting in accordance with the long established practice approved by the Hague Convention, this thrifty people put to work all military prisoners except such as were by general agreement exempt, and certain groups to whom it was desired to show special favor. The details of the prisoners of war organization are of little concern for the present purpose. The essential point is that each general commanding one of the eighteen regions of the country was authorized to make labor contracts with government departments or with private employers. The War Department received 1.37 francs per day for the maintenance of each man; and the prisoners were paid in addition from 20 to 40 centimes for the day's work. Frequently, when the service was good, the private employers were more generous. For the most part, then, the prisoners of war in France were organized as a great working force.

#### THE CAMPS AND THEIR INHABITANTS

There were in France at the end of the war probably over 400,000 prisoners. There were organized about 90 permanent camps. The working parties served in mines and stone quarries and forests, on railroads and docks, on farms and in gardens. A certain number were retained in the central depots, but the majority were out with the large parties engaged on one of the big jobs or were scattered over the countryside in small groups. Officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, and prisoners selected for a *régime de faveur* were held at central camps.

The living conditions of workers were usually fairly satisfactory. They were housed in barracks, factories, arsenals, and in some cases in camps specially erected for the purpose. The official instructions to commandants specifically forbade the housing of prisoners in dark or damp rooms and generally urged great care in securing wholesome conditions. With very few exceptions these mandates were observed. The food provided for working prisoners was usually plentiful and good even if the diet sometimes proved monotonous; usually those

on the farms fared very well. Working parties were exempt from the operation of food reprisals.

The regular routine, the freedom from the encircling barbed wire, the better health resulting from the physical exercise, all had a salutary effect upon the mental state of the prisoner. His ideal was to be drafted with a few comrades to some farm, where the food was good and the sentry's bayonet less in evidence than elsewhere. It is quite evident that a man who from the beginning of his imprisonment worked steadily in field or garden must have been spared much of the depression of the prisoner of war experience.

The administration of the prisoners was almost uniformly humane and wise. The exceptional cases were the result of individual temperament. Occasionally harsh punishments were imposed; but it is fair to say that in many cases the discipline was too lenient to suit many of the German non-commissioned camp captains. The Y M C A records contain many requests from commandants indicating a rather extraordinary degree of personal interest in the true welfare of the alien enemy. In considering the attitude of camp administrators, official reprisals must be ignored; these acts of retaliation do not spring from personal animosity but from the imagined necessities of a complex situation.

The scattering of prisoners in working parties among the civilians of France tended to produce two results quite different in character. The civil population, since it saw so much of the prisoners, realized the prisoner problem concretely. People were bound to give thought to it under the circumstances. There was the enemy alien—the man who was killing the sons of France, who had perpetrated the German atrocities. It was necessary for the military officials to study public opinion with much greater care than would have been the case had these men been shut away from view in concentration camps. Particularly those who saw the prisoners without coming into direct contact with them were liable to create trouble.

On the other hand, the people for whom the prisoners worked almost always rose to a real sympathy with the unfortunate condition of men in the state of imprisonment. One little story sums it all up.<sup>1</sup> A French woman, watching German prisoners at work, is reported to have made some very vigorous remarks concerning the "German beast." She added: "They all ought to be shot; anyone ought to be ashamed to employ them." As the prisoners worked away at their

Camp Administration

Civilian Attitude

<sup>1</sup> Recounted by D. A. Davis in a letter, November 15, 1916.

threshing, she made the further observation that "they work just like our boys." One strong young prisoner, carrying heavy sacks of grain, attracted her attention. At last she cried: "The poor fellow! What heavy bags he lifts! See how hot and tired he is! I am going to get him some water!"

Food packages, money, and clothing came through from Germany and other countries in the customary manner and the French permitted the establishment of cooperative canteens in the prison camps. Medical arrangements were thoroughly adequate.

As far as the German prisoners were concerned, France had only a straightforward problem; but there were several other elements that served to complicate the situation.

There were the Austro-Hungarian prisoners. These men had come through a harrowing experience. Most of them had been captured by the Serbs and had shared the disastrous retreat through Albania. At first, there were 65,000 of them; but disease, starvation, and accident had reduced their number to about 20,000 by the time they had arrived in Italy. Many in a state of utter exhaustion had been killed by falling over precipices. The remnant was transferred to France after a time in the hope that they might be rehabilitated there. This body of men was a hopeless mixture of races: there were Germans and Magyars, loyal to the cause of the Central Powers, and in opposition to them Poles, Serbs, Slovaks, Roumanians, Croatians, Dalmatians, Czechs, and numbers of other small national groups unwillingly forced into the war.

The French instituted a *régime de faveur* for these Austro-Hungarians opposed to Germany and for Danes from Slesvig, men from Alsace-Lorraine, and the Bulgarians. They were placed in special camps or in separate barracks in camps where others were held. Though these favored groups were well off as far as the material conditions of their life were concerned, they passed through a very hard experience. They were abandoned by their own governments and so received neither food nor clothing from home. As long as they were in camps with Germans or Magyars, they suffered from secret persecution. The Czechs were never put in separate camps; perhaps this partly accounts for their earnest desire to be permitted to bear arms with the French. The favored prisoners were mainly peasants with few intellectual and spiritual resources and little leadership. Though they received the best of care and were free from all measures of reprisal, they were a lonely, miserable lot. Their conditions stirred the

sympathies of their guards to the depths; one of the officers, appealing to the Y M C A, said: "What I ask for them is that someone should take an interest in them. The smallest attention will make them happy."

Further to add to the complications, about 20,000 of the men <sup>Russians</sup> of the Russian Expeditionary Forces in France refused to fight after the peace between Germany and Russia had been concluded. These men—to their own surprise, no doubt—were very promptly interned. Their numbers were later augmented by over 45,000 Russians released from the prisons in the Rhineland. They were particularly unfortunate. Their action brought universal contempt down upon their heads. The civilian population scorned them and their guards had no patience with "such cowards." It could not have been otherwise; this was another aspect of the tragedy of Russia. The Russians could not understand the reasons for the harsh attitude taken toward them; they suffered pitifully through a colossal mischance.<sup>1</sup>

To complete the list of prisoners in France, there must be added the Turks, held with most of the Bulgarians in Corsica, and the two bodies of prisoners guarded by the British and American Armies in France. It was a very complex situation and taxed the wisdom and judgment of the French authorities to the full.

There were two types of civilian camps in France. The first <sup>The Civilian Camps</sup> type provided for the internment of old men, women, and children who happened to be in the country at the outbreak of the war. These camps were under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior. In the second type were imprisoned men of military age, the greater number of whom had been taken from ships on which they were endeavoring to return to Germany from America. These were supervised by the War Department. It is hardly necessary to comment in detail on these situations; they partook of the same general character as did all civilian camps. The inclusion of the old and very young of both sexes had, of course, a distinct effect on camp life, making it at once more difficult and yet in a certain sense happier. The internment of civilians was an unfortunate necessity.

#### THE PROBLEMS OF WELFARE ORGANIZATION

The French Government was at the outset somewhat reluctant to extend privileges to the War Prisoners' Aid. The tentative promises made to C. V. Hibbard in the early spring of 1915 remained in the air

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter LII.

for many months. In the opinion of the officials, prisoners in France were well situated and really required no further services. There was some disposition to avoid the reciprocity issue and to suggest that if Germany did permit Association work for French prisoners it was no more than a just atonement for her many sins of commission. French priests and pastors were permitted to enter the camps to conduct religious services and the delegates of the American Embassy had free access to the field. It did not at first appear wise to extend any further privileges.

The Y M C A  
Organization

In May, 1915, the Y M C A was granted special permission to distribute books and games without the privilege of visitation. Meanwhile, work had begun in Germany; and there entered the situation the usual decisive element. All permits to visit French prisoners in Germany were to be withdrawn if similar permits were not forthcoming in France. Darius A. Davis, formerly Y M C A secretary in Constantinople, assumed direction of the work in France in July, 1915; and upon him fell the task of continuing the negotiations with skilled and courteous but highly elusive French officials. By the autumn the various difficulties were gradually worked through and permits were issued to Y M C A secretaries by the War Department under the authority of General Verand, head of the war prisoners' department.<sup>1</sup> Of course, all such visits were made under the general supervision of the general commanding the region and with the permission of the local commandant.

As the system of exchange of invalids to Switzerland was developed, the medical and religious commissions of the Swiss Red Cross were granted the right of entry.

The general treatment of the prisoners and the efforts of relief agencies like the Swiss Red Cross largely relieved the Association of any necessity for providing for physical wants and left it free to devote its energies to the organization of the intellectual, social, and religious life of the prisoners.

Mr. Davis, who supervised the work in both France and Italy, was in direct charge of prisoners of war work in France until he transferred his efforts to French Army service in 1916. He was succeeded by Alfred Lowry. The American secretarial staff was small; it varied from two or three to ten or eleven men steadily at work.<sup>2</sup> On Amer-

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<sup>1</sup> Inspection Générale des Prisonniers de Guerre.

<sup>2</sup> The language problem presented great difficulties in France, as elsewhere on the continent of Europe, for American workers.

ica's entrance into the war, about a dozen neutral workers were secured to fill the place of the retiring Americans.

The French authorities came to place full confidence in the Y M C A and to appreciate fully the value of welfare service. They made many requests of the organization for specific pieces of work. The American Embassy continued at all times to assist the Association both in its official negotiations and in the actual work.

### WELFARE WORK AMONG THE GERMAN PRISONERS

The camps of the commissioned officers required little assistance from the Y. The prisoners were well supplied with money and, being mostly educated men, were able to look after themselves in most cases. Such service as was offered them was of an incidental character. They were visited by secretaries from time to time as the most urgent needs of the camps of privates permitted.

The Y M C A shared in one experience that was very interesting and which indicated clearly the far-reaching influence of certain seemingly unimportant incidents. The officers' camp at Fort Château-neuf acquired, by what means is not known, a very bad name in Germany. Its existence was regarded as just ground for reprisals against French officers in several camps in Germany. The American Ambassador sent two officials to investigate; they found the conditions excellent and secured a statement to this effect from the ranking officer among the prisoners. In this statement the writer requested a concession regarding exercise and a social hall. Realizing fully the necessity of leaving no possible excuse for reprisals, the American Embassy asked the Y M C A to provide a hut. A fully equipped barrack for recreational purposes was promptly erected by the Association. It was of great service to the German prisoners; it was of even greater service to the French prisoners in Germany.

The non-commissioned officers were exempt from work, but some preferred labor to a life of inactivity and volunteered for service. For the most part, the non-commissioned officers were placed in camps with the rank and file, but one group of about 600 was confined on the island of St. Martin de Ré. As it happened over 70 per cent of this group were students, teachers, and professional men. Acting on the hint of the Y M C A, they organized their activities and set up a good educational system. These prisoners asked the Association for a hut in order that they might extend their educational work, and the commandant warmly seconded their request in a letter pointing out the

An Educational Camp

unique opportunity afforded by "this group of six or seven hundred intellectuals." The hut was erected.

The main effort was exerted, of course, in aid of the really needy, the privates in the working camps. These groups were scattered over the length and breadth of the land, from the English Channel to the island of Corsica in the Mediterranean and from the western ports to the borders of Switzerland; and it was necessary to plan all work in view of this peculiar situation. There were no large concentration camps as in England and Germany, and from the first the small detachments were seen everywhere. With its limited resources, the War Prisoners' Aid could not possibly expect to cover the whole field with systematic visitation.

A first step taken was the sending of communications to all camps suggesting the possibilities of organization within the barbed wire. Naturally the response to such a suggestion was not uniformly vigorous action throughout the length and breadth of France, but the seed fell here and there upon fruitful ground. We have already noted that intelligent prisoners frequently organized before any outside help reached them; in many cases, the letter from the Association or the visit of a secretary was quite sufficient to set the internal forces in motion. The workers supplemented the written suggestions with as many visits as so few could possibly make. The extent of the visitation was a mere question of arithmetic: in a field of 90 parent depots and many hundreds of working detachments, a dozen workers—and this was a maximum not reached for many months after the work was inaugurated—could only touch the high spots.

It was possible to help much with the materials for welfare work without visitation. The World's Committee in Geneva worked out a very effective scheme of circulating libraries for France, the American Y providing the money necessary to carry out the plan. By 1918, there were 1,600 boxes containing in all 45,000 volumes constantly in use. The prisoners of war magazine, *The Messenger*, was very widely distributed. As the work developed, a systematic arrangement for the distribution of supplies was inaugurated. Letters were sent to the camps offering to supply five classes of material: (1) musical instruments (other than brass); (2) sheet music; (3) text-books for study classes; (4) books for Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Jewish religious services; (5) games (lotto, halma, checkers, chess, footballs, volley-balls). Attention was called to the libraries, and special reference was made to the willingness of the Y also to send games and

books to the guards. Requests from the camps included many other articles which the Association furnished as promptly as possible. One of the chief duties of visiting workers was to make purchases for the prisoners of everything from actors' wigs to altars for religious services. The requests from the camps came into the Paris Headquarters at the rate of more than a hundred a month. In order to prevent fraud, it was found necessary to have all requests countersigned by a special camp committee. There is recorded a rather amusing case where the Camp Committee withheld an illustrated French Dictionary from the illiterate man who had requested it because it was obvious that he proposed to auction off the attractive volume.

The Y hut appeared also in the prison camps of France. In all Building Activities the War Prisoners' Aid erected and furnished fifteen buildings, all of the regular French barrack type designed by General Adrian, who freely gave permission to use his plans. Their dimensions were 85 feet by 23 feet and they cost about \$2,000 each. In two other camps, the authorities furnished barrack buildings for recreational purposes, and in six centers rooms were assigned. The Y M C A assisted in equipping, furnishing, and decorating these quarters. Thus out of 70 main depots of German prisoners, 23 were provided with social centers. The need for a social center varied in different places depending upon the character of the working arrangements. In those places where the men were not at contract labor, the hut was particularly appreciated and the prisoners spent much time in equipping and decorating it. These quarters were, of course, available for all recreational purposes; and religious services of all types were held within their walls.

The visitation work of the Association was of necessity limited but effective. It must be remembered that the camps were also visited by the local pastors and priests, by the delegates of the American Embassy, and by the commissioners of the Swiss Red Cross. These visitors were always ready to transmit requests and to render any personal service within their power. The Y M C A endeavored to facilitate the work of the pastors and priests by every means in its power.

Sufficient description has already been given of typical activities <sup>The Program  
of Welfare Activities</sup> in the prison camps. These were promoted in France. Religious services and recreational features can be fitted in anywhere and their value was demonstrated as fully in France as in any other region of work. The long lists of musical instruments supplied on request sug-

gest the central place of this form of recreation in the life of German prisoners. It was unquestionably, here as elsewhere, a feature of incalculable value in prison camps. It was a great thing for the performers and, in addition, created an interest for practically the entire personnel of the camp. German prisoners found an outlet for their energies in artistic and handicraft work, in which a large number of them were skilled; but, of course, there was less need for regularly organized efforts in this line in working camps. The day was a busy one for the laborers, and arts and crafts took their place as recreations—a very wholesome position—rather than extensive activities to employ their time. The educational program in working camps was also limited and more or less of a side issue. Libraries assumed a position of large importance. At Chegnat, there were 6,000 volumes; and in the camp at Montfort-Sur-Meu, a library of 4,000 volumes was organized as thoroughly as in any university.

Camp organization was not a difficult task in most cases. Indeed, Y M C A workers frequently reported that there was little for them to do in this direction because there were many men in the camps skillful in social leadership. At one point, a former member of the Twenty-Third Street Y M C A in New York took charge of the athletics and worked them out along the most approved lines. Where such expert leadership was available, the welfare worker had only to encourage and to suggest.

The civilian camps under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior were never opened to the War Prisoners' Aid. They were, however, regularly visited by the priests and pastors and the Y M C A sent supplies on requests forwarded by these men. In the civilian camps under the direction of the War Department the Y M C A stood on the same basis as in other military camps and the service rendered was identical.

The American Army in France undertook the care of its own prisoners; and, in November, 1918, the numbers had risen high enough to justify a special department of the War Prisoners' Aid for the A E F. The American Commander approved the program of work submitted and an extensive service under eight secretaries was inaugurated immediately. These prisoners received the very best of care and their standard of living was exactly on a par with that of the A E F. The Y was well equipped for this branch of service and it is doubtful if any group of captives in the war were as favorably situated as those who were fortunate enough to fall into American hands.

The historian treating of prison camps faces the constant difficulty of maintaining an even balance in the description of prison camp experience. Favorable elements when presented in detail tend to obscure the continuous gray background of the story. Estimates of conditions must always be regarded as comparative. Some prisoners were very much better off than others, both because of circumstances and because of their own inner resources; but it was prison life just the same. Three years' imprisonment in his own home would probably become very burdensome to an able-bodied man. The working prisoner, glad to be at work, yet realizes his position every hour of the day and sees the barbed wire and bayonets in his dreams. He cannot be enthusiastic over work that certainly helps the enemies of his country. The Germans in France, also, had to let themselves down from the heights of confidence in speedy victory to the dead level of deferred hope that ended in acute disappointment. In the best of circumstances they bore their own share of suffering that was relieved to no small extent by the efforts of agencies that took a direct and personal interest in their welfare.

### THE WAR PRISONERS' AID AND THE FAVORED PRISONERS

The Austro-Hungarians, Bulgarians, Poles, Danes, and Alsace-Lorrainers who enjoyed the benefits of the *régime de faveur* were not an important group in point of numbers but were interesting because of their strange position and the peculiar character of their needs. They were, in a sense, men "without a country," well-treated by their captors but quite cut off from home. Their French guards were very kind to them and genuinely sorry for them, but could do little to help them in their special difficulties. For the most part these prisoners were very homesick; yet, if the prison gates had been thrown open, they would not have gone home during the war. They were peasants with few mental or spiritual resources and they felt themselves deserted. They were not peevish or discontented. Their danger was more serious. A Y worker reporting on one camp was utterly shocked at "the dull-eyed, listless men, moving about like sleep-walkers, consumed by the tortures of their long captivity."

It was little enough the Association could do for most of these men. Certain groups, such as Poles, were able to run activities and organize their camps. For the rest, occasional visits of encouragement and the forwarding of supplies could only touch the outer edge of the real need. The Y M C A was here compelled to enter the field of

relief; for these men, through the strange official interpretation which takes "clothes" to mean only outside clothes, were almost entirely destitute of underwear. Communication was opened with the Bulgarian Minister in Washington and he supplied some money for use among the Bulgarians. The International Committee added an appropriation for this purpose, and underwear and socks were forwarded to these needy fields. The resources at the disposal of the War Prisoners' Aid fell very far short of meeting the need.

American  
Contributions

Since the Austrian government had forbidden the exportation of books for these prisoners, it was necessary to secure them from America. The International Committee in New York gathered up all the literature it could find in America. Musical instruments, games, phonographs, and tobacco were distributed; and at certain needy points Y huts were erected. An American of Czech parentage, working in Austria-Hungary, was secured to visit the Austro-Hungarians. He was able to give only a few months to this visitation; but he spoke to the men in their own tongue and discovered the real needs to which the Association might address its efforts. He also made suggestions as to general administration. His effort to secure the complete isolation of the Czechs was never successful. Various visitors entered these camps from time to time bearing the usual gifts and generally supported by their never-failing ally, the moving-picture machine.

The effectiveness of the work in these detachments cannot be measured with any degree of accuracy. One visit in three years from an outsider who could speak the prisoners' language seems very little. One movie show during the whole period of imprisonment seems too insignificant for mention. But these slight services were expressions of interest; and when they were followed by games, musical instruments, books, and warm underwear, the prisoners were at least able to feel that someone was aware of their existence. One must ever bear in mind the oft-repeated statement of those who were familiar with prison life that a very little is infinitely better than nothing at all. It is necessary to try to realize imaginatively what a couple of dozen books might mean in a camp where there had been no reading matter for two and a half years.

#### A COMPLEX SERVICE

The War Prisoners' Aid in France faced a complex problem. The field was so extensive and so varied and the working force so limited that it was impossible to accomplish a complete piece of work. Under

the circumstances it was natural that some aspects were far more successful than others. Very much depended upon local cooperation where supervision was so difficult. Correspondence and long-distance service generally was very useful wherever there were efficient local committees with whom to deal; it could not achieve much where the prisoners were ignorant and incapable.<sup>1</sup>

The general work in France passed through its period of depression when the American secretaries were withdrawn, but a very capable group of neutrals filled their places very soon, the American Y continuing to finance the work.

The accomplishment was far from insignificant. Beyond the <sup>The Ideal  
of United  
Humanity</sup> service to German prisoners, which may be regarded simply as a pre-requisite for service to French prisoners—though the Association took no such narrow view—the War Prisoners' Aid touched many men of many different nationalities in such a way as to impress them with the fact that America, represented by an institution endeavoring to embody the Christian spirit in service, was eager to help men in trouble, regardless of nationality, race, or religion. In the midst of hatred and confusion, the welfare workers kept the ideal of a united humanity before the minds of the prisoners. Their efforts are bearing fruit everywhere today.

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of this service is found in a thesis by Clarence R. Johnson, entitled: "Social Work Among the Prisoners of War in France."

## CHAPTER XLVIII

### RUSSIA

Reciprocity

The beginning of the work in Russia illustrates once more how essential was its reciprocal basis. Quite apart from the Association's own international standpoint, the situation was such that the service had to be for all prisoners or for none. Scarcely had the first experimental work commenced in Germany when Dr. Harte encountered a new obstacle to its extension.

"I have not had the freedom," states one of his letters, "that is needed really to help the 900,000 prisoners of war in Germany. In every official interview, I was asked what we were doing for the Germans in Russia."

Since, at that time, the German policy was to congregate all the Allied prisoners in mixed camps, the Y service could not be confined to the British and French, and it soon became evident that the work already begun in Göttingen and elsewhere would be imperiled unless means could be found to enter the Russian field, where most of the captured Germans and Austrians were held. From the beginning of the war, the German nation was deeply concerned about the fate of their fellow countrymen in the hands of the Russians. Many wild stories of their sufferings in Siberia were current. Nothing too terrible could be imagined concerning those who were swallowed up in that vast, terrifying country of eternal snows, the land where so many political prisoners of the Czar had suffered and died. It is easy enough to understand this anxiety and to understand how Russia became the keystone of the arch that the Y was striving to build.

Accordingly Dr. Harte in May, 1915, left Berlin for Petrograd to advocate extending the War Prisoners' Aid in this new sphere.

#### THE Y ENTERS RUSSIA

For two weeks after his arrival in Petrograd, Dr. Harte was busy in securing the interest of influential persons, notably the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, the Empress, the Dowager Empress, and the British and American Ambassadors. In early June he was finally able to secure permission to visit the prison camps in Siberia, and set out accompanied

German  
Policy

by one of the Y M C A secretaries. His report of this tour with its favorable tone and its entirely sympathetic and constructive suggestions had much to do with resolving Russian doubts and Russian sensitiveness to outside interference in her own responsibilities; so that on June 14th he was able to report official permission to establish Y M C A service with two secretaries. A modest beginning was made at once at Moscow and at Kiev—the latter the point at which were entrained the thousands of captives sent into the Siberian expanse. By the end of August, American friends had enabled Dr. Mott to authorize the program for an extensive Russian service.

Dr. Harte now went back to Berlin, to return to Petrograd in October bringing good news of further concessions in Germany. He carried with him three immense sacks of letters and post-cards to their Russian relations and friends from Russian war prisoners in Germany and boxes of gifts to prisoners in Russia from their relatives, a consignment of musical instruments and numerous other articles. Better still, he was able to take with him a Russian prisoner. This man, the nephew of a prominent official in Russia, was an officer who had lost a leg; and, in personal appreciation of Dr. Harte's services, the head of the German War Prisoners' Department turned him over to the Y representative in order to facilitate his work in Russia. In return, Dr. Harte secured an invalided German prisoner who was sent back to Germany. At once the Russians responded generously to the suggestion of reciprocity, so that Dr. Harte cabled to America for eight American secretaries to take charge of eight provincial centers with a main office in Petrograd—this in addition to the two secretaries already on the ground. Dr. Harte had also brought with him 150,000 marks from Germany for prisoner relief and 100,000 marks from Austria, and had available 120,000 marks from America. He now made another trip to Vladivostok and on his return reported the formation of a strong committee of distinguished Russians authorized to give official and legal standing to the work of the War Prisoners' Aid. As in other countries, this committee acted as a clearing house for all services between Germany and her nationals in Russia, and Russia and her nationals in Germany.

The work in Russia was somewhat slow in gaining headway because of the extreme difficulty of getting suitable men in America willing and able to carry it on. By March, 1916, however, there were six secretaries, and by the end of the year, nineteen. The central office was at Petrograd and the men visited camps in the provinces

Concessions  
in Germany

and governments of Irkutsk, Kazan, Yeniseisk, Zabaikal, Tomsk, Akmolinsk, Bokhara, Ferghana, Kief, Orenburg, Perm, Primorsk, Primorskaya, Samara, Samarcand, Simbirsk, Syr-Darjinskaya, Tobolsk, Tschernigorak, and Zakaspdeskaya. Hampered as they were by geographical, political, and especially language factors, they represented the only disinterested agency for the alleviation of the lot of about 500,000 German and Austrian prisoners of war then scattered through some 70 Russian and Siberian camps.

#### WHAT THE Y FACED

The Ground to  
Be Covered

Let the reader bear in mind, however, that this was but a small part of the total number of war prisoners. What that number was we cannot be sure;<sup>1</sup> but we do know that in May, 1917, the number of camps which could be visited by the small force of American secretaries was 68 out of a total of 891—771 in Russia and 120 in Siberia; and that of these 68 but 52 were reported to have been effectively reached by the Association. Add to this the fact that every secretary had a territory many times the size of Great Britain—Turkestan, for instance, with 30 camps, having an area 16 times that of England; that these huge territories were in many cases inadequately provided with railway facilities, so that sometimes long journeys had to be made by horseback or sledge; that the interminable Siberian winter further curtailed travel and with the darkening of days must inevitably have darkened the spirits of the exiled war prisoners; that in many camps little attempt at sanitation could be made with insufficient water even to wash hands and faces, no soap or towels, clothing so scanty that barracks could not possibly be ventilated and a man could not wash his shirt without freezing in the process; that in such camps the men were without exception infested with lice and vermin, the sick lying among the healthy—advanced cases of tuberculosis included—the latrines in disgusting condition, and epidemics an ever present menace; that the Russian soldiers lived in much the same way and the military authorities resented any determined effort to introduce new methods on a large scale; that food was poor and medical supplies scarce—add these factors, and it becomes evident that, with the meager personnel the Y could command, the problem of adequately caring for prisoners in Russia and Siberia was intrinsically impossible of solution. Large as the ultimate achievement appears in its totality, the surface only could be scratched.

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<sup>1</sup> Estimates place the total figure at 1,250,000 to 1,500,000.

This is not to say that Russia failed to comprehend the problem What Russia Accomplished herself. On the contrary, Dr. Harte's report of his first trip through the camps, even taking into account the fact that he was purposely writing of the good that he saw and not the bad, shows that they had accomplished much. Most of the difficulties outlined above are physical and geographical, or represent psychological factors that have grown through centuries of Czardom and bureaucracy with its peculiar attitude toward the masses wrought of sentimental paternalism and hard contempt. At the same time, undoubtedly an outstanding characteristic of the Russian is compassion, a singularly acute understanding of the human heart and its needs; and through all the bureaucratic inefficiency, through all the insurmountable physical difficulties, this compassion sent its fine influence carrying a certain balm for imprisoned men. All those Russians who understood—and they were many in high places and low—did much for the prisoners.

The facts that bear this out are among the most picturesque in In Siberian Villages war prisoner history. In the early days, for example, Russia sent her prisoners to remote Siberian villages. Here they were quartered among the villagers or assigned separate houses as dwellings. The freedom of the village was theirs, and the peasants treated them as sons and brothers. They shopped in the village shop and bought milk and cream and fresh eggs, honey and butter and vegetables from the peasants' wives; they bathed and swam in the river, and they lounged and told tales under the trees. They received 21 kopecks a day, or 80 kopecks if they worked in the fields and forests. Sometimes, near large towns, the municipality employed prisoners on public works, as at Tomsk where they were engaged in building new and higher banks for the river, and in the words of Dr. Harte, "enjoy the freedom, the fresh air, the river baths, and the good food and work somewhat leisurely." In the towns, too, many prisoners were employed by the bakers, confectioners, tailors, and cabinet-makers, and were paid accordingly. Often such prisoners lived freely in the city and were considerately treated on the streets and in public buildings. Musicians were especially favored; instruments were furnished them, and they were paid for giving concerts in nearby towns.

This habit of treating prisoners as the Russian soldiers themselves were treated extended as well to the hospitals. Again and again during his first tour Dr. Harte remarked that in handling the wounded and ill everything was forgotten except their needs and everything

possible was done for their comfort and safe recovery. Russian soldiers and German prisoners lay side by side on the cots, receiving the same zealous attention from doctors and nurses. In the larger centers especially, the hospitals were clean, light, roomy, and efficient. In passing, it may be noted that many of them had been vodka warehouses.

Concentration  
Camps

Subsequently, however, Russia adopted the concentration-camp plan of the other warring countries, erecting camps to house 10,000 men each—a process that was going on at the time of Dr. Harte's first visit. But even here, prisoners seemed to have been treated on the same basis as Russian soldiers, housed in the same barracks, given the same food—a fact that implied equally bad conditions as well as equally good, it should be noted. In many camps, nevertheless, things were in astonishingly good shape, all factors considered. Welfare work was under way, music and recreation were encouraged, and above all the officers were patient, harbored no enmity, and worked hard in the interests of the men.

### THE WORK OF THE Y

The Y secretaries were assigned to various military districts and governments, generally immense distances apart, with a central office at Petrograd to serve as directive agency, distribution point, and clearing house. There were two broad types of supervision: one where the secretary had many camps to visit and had to devote considerable time to traveling, the other where he was located at one camp or spent his time between two or three. As elsewhere, the work in the camps was of the community type, aiming to develop the maximum of activity and volunteer service with the minimum of equipment and expense. For this reason, a large share of the responsibility was handed over to the camp associations, organized by the Y secretaries and operating through an efficient system of committees. By intensive work at the start, even the traveling secretaries were able to develop strong associations in camps which they could visit for only a few hours once every month or two. The plan of organization followed in the Irkutsk Military District will serve as a model. It included an Executive Committee, and committees directing activities of welfare, school, religion, music, library, and camp beautification.

Buildings and  
Equipment

In Russia, it was not, as in other countries, necessary for the Y to build special huts. Only four of these, in fact, were erected; in most camps permission was readily obtained to take over vacated

barracks, with a large resultant saving in energy, time, and money. These barracks were adapted, attractively decorated, and furnished by the Association. Partitions, often movable, were erected by the prisoners to divide them into kitchens, buffets, class rooms, lecture halls, reception rooms, churches, reading rooms, music rooms, and shops. Sometimes, starting with a single room, the Y was able to take over in the same camp two, three, four, or more entire barracks.

Much of the Y work, of course, consisted of exactly the same elements as in other warring countries. There were the same recreational features—doubly necessary to the morale of the men during the long Siberian winter nights—consisting of games, plays, and operettas, for which both encouragement and material were supplied by the Y; the same indoor gymnastics and outdoor athletics,<sup>1</sup> with skating an especially popular feature in winter and tennis in the summer; the same cultivation of vegetable and flower gardens, the same garden contests. As many of these activities, however, have features peculiar to their environment, it is necessary to describe some of them in greater detail to give an adequate picture of the Russian situation. It should be remembered throughout that the work of the Y was, as it were, intensified and broadened in Russia because of the fact that it was the only organization permitted within the camps, so that it became the agent for numerous other organizations. Whatever was done for the prisoners in Russia was perforce done through the Y M C A.

During the first year of imprisonment before the Y M C A began its activities the scarcity of reading material in the Russian prison camps was appalling. At Voenny Gorodok, for instance, when the educational work was begun in November, 1915, with 1,700 students and 35 teachers, but 15 textbooks could be secured. At Darnitzan American secretary reports bringing out a dozen language textbooks and a score of dictionaries, the only books he happened to have on hand, for the entertainment of some 1,500 prisoner officers about to be entrained; he was as swamped with demands for them as though they had been popular novels. The solution of the problem of securing books was long and difficult. The bookstores in Moscow and Petrograd were ransacked for everything that could in any way serve the prisoners, and books were bought from private citizens. The

Specific Activities

Libraries

<sup>1</sup> At Beresovka during the winter of 1916-1917 three skating places were maintained. After the ice had broken, there were playing daily at this camp 25 football teams, 50 volley-ball teams, and 10 teams of baseball or rounders. Naturally this activity had a large effect for good on the health and vitality of the participants.

problems of censorship and transportation had to be dealt with in turn. Finally, with the cooperation of the Danish Book Commission, which was able to secure a large supply of books from Denmark, the situation was relieved. By the winter of 1916-1917 at least fifty libraries had been established containing from 100 to 4,000 volumes each, every library under the supervision of a competent librarian selected by the prisoners, and the majority of the libraries equipped with a book bindery. A special book department was added to the office at Petrograd in November, 1916. This had much to do with the efficient handling of the library problem. In addition to the libraries, hundreds of individual orders for books were received from prisoners and filled wherever possible, some coming from camps which were not visited by secretaries. Among the larger libraries were those at Omsk, with 533 volumes, Pieschanka with 1,444, Tomsk with 500, and Orenburg with 1,500. There were libraries in fifteen of the sixteen camps of the Irkutsk military district. What these libraries meant may be judged from the fact that in one of those in the Irkutsk district which opened for the drawing of books at 10 a.m., there were 20 to 50 men in line by 9.30 to make sure of a book, and every book was drawn every day, to be returned the same evening. Books in Russian were also furnished by the Y for the Russian guards, who appreciated them no less than the prisoners.

**Schools** One of the most remarkable features of the war prisoners' work in Russia was the development of educational activities. In the year preceding May, 1917, there were at least 31 organized schools in 30 different camps, with an enrollment of over 20,000 students taught by more than 1,000 different teachers practically all of whom were prisoners, many being well-known university professors, writers, lawyers, business and professional men. At Voenny Gorodok, within three weeks after the arrival of the secretary, there was a full-fledged "university" in operation with 1,700 students, 35 teachers, and 27 courses, and with classes running every hour of the day from 8 a.m. until 9 p.m. At Tomsk there were 54 classes taking 23 different subjects; at Krasnoyarsk, 652 students, 25 courses, and classes from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m.; at Beresovka, 2,500 students and 60 teachers. Language studies predominated, then commercial subjects followed by legal, professional, cultural, and artistic branches. These classes were conducted in German, Hungarian, Czech, Ukrainian, Italian, Polish, Hebrew, Croatian, Serbian, and Roumanian. In one camp the teachers, unable to secure a primer, wrote one by hand and copied it on an im-

provised hectograph; these men had set as their ideal that no one willing to work should go home unable to read and write. At another camp, nine out of every ten officers learned or perfected one or more foreign languages during a period of eight months, and every German soldier in the camp was enrolled in an English class.

From the beginning, an especially important activity of the <sup>Music</sup> Y M C A in Russian and Siberian prison camps was the organization and assisting of orchestras, choirs, and choruses. Several factors brought this about: the positive craving of German, Austrian, and especially Hungarian prisoners for music, which was as necessary to their daily lives as food; the natural musical talent of these peoples and the presence among them of distinguished directors and musicians of the Central Empires, especially among those from Vienna and Budapest; and the bent for music of the Russian authorities themselves, who looked with especial favor on this form of activity and often organized their own orchestras. In May, 1917, orchestras had been reported from 31 camps, with between 700 and 800 instruments in regular use, and there were choirs and choruses in practically as many camps—in many cases both German and Hungarian choruses. The activities of these musical organizations were largely concerts during the week, assisting with Sunday services, and providing entertainment for the hospitals. In numerous cases where a sufficient number of musical instruments could not be purchased or were not donated, those needed were made by the prisoners themselves. "I know not how many unfortunate Siberian horses," wrote one secretary, "sacrificed their tails for (violin) bows." In other cases, too, musical compositions could not be secured, and whole song-books were written down laboriously from memory. A Hungarian officer at Orenburg startled the camp by writing Schubert's Mass from memory in preparation for the first Catholic service; later he made complete orchestrations for music the Y could secure for voice and piano only. Several prisoners wrote original solo, orchestral, and even light operatic compositions which were publicly produced in the camp. One camp had two orchestras—one of 45 instruments—a stringed orchestra, a German *maennerchor* of 40 voices, and a Hungarian *maennerchor* of 38 voices.

Although in some camps workshops had been started before the <sup>Workshops and Factories</sup> arrival of the Y, in many nothing of this kind had been done; and the Association at once organized carpenter shops, shoe shops, book-binderies especially needed to repair the well-thumbed library volumes—wood-carving departments, tailor shops, blacksmith shops,

basket-making shops, paint shops, and arts-and-crafts departments. In Russia, the War Prisoners' Aid was particularly successful in combining work of this kind with relief work, thus helping to solve two problems at once as well as training men to a future life of wider usefulness. At Orenburg, for example, the shoe department repaired 1,300 pairs of shoes and made 300 new pairs. The tailoring shop, housed in two rooms, turned out several thousand garments a month, made partly from materials supplied by the Red Cross but mostly from old clothes cast off by men who were fortunate enough to receive new clothing. Two old overcoats would be remade into one good one. Every scrap of cloth was saved to be made up into puttees.

One particularly noteworthy development of this work was that completely equipped factories were established under the auspices of the Association, at Krasnoyarsk and several other places. This development was forced by the growing scarcity of soap and of leather. The soap factory was the first venture, and it soon supplied not only the camp laundry but also the Russian camp authorities with all the laundry soap they required, and had branched out into the manufacture of toilet soap, disinfecting soap, and shoe polish. Next a tannery was opened. By January, 1917, it was turning out excellent sole leather and uppers of horse hide, calf, and sheep skin, and was using about 800 hides per month. All the leather thus produced by the prisoners went to supply the needs of the various internment camps.

Convalescent  
Kitchens

An illuminating example of the ingenuity employed in enhancing the value of help from other agencies is seen in the invalid food kitchens established by the Y in the Yeniseisk, Irkutsk, and Transbaikal Provinces, and at Orenburg and Tomsk. These kitchens, intended for prisoners who were weak, invalid, or convalescent, had a capacity each of from 100 to 2,200 meals a day, and were run on a self-supporting plan which at the same time permitted those who had no money to obtain meals free. In March, 1917, for example, a train-load of dried fruits, sugar, rice, and beans forwarded by the American Red Cross was received by the American Embassy and turned over to the Y for distribution. This food was then purchased by the kitchen committees of the various camps from the camp executive committees at a moderate valuation, the kitchen committees in turn reimbursing themselves by issuing tickets for each meal to prisoners at, say, a half-kopeck each over the cost. Both the half-kopeck profit—which in three weeks might amount to enough for the purchase of 75 meals—and the entire amount received in the first instance by the

executive committees would then be used to purchase meal tickets for those sans kopecks of their own. A per capita allowance was also made by which the officers could purchase part of the provisions at the same price, this money likewise going into meal tickets for the penniless. At Werchne-Udinsk more than 66,300 meals were thus provided up to the end of 1916; at Pieschanka, about 160,000 by the end of April, 1917. In 1916-1917 more than 5,000 per day were served from all these kitchens, and the average cost of the meals was 20-27 kopecks (13 to 18 cents). With food conditions as bad as they were in Russia at this time, it is impossible to estimate how many lives were saved by this additional nourishment furnished just where it was needed most. A Russian general who had seen something of the work at Pieschanka said that he would like the Y to establish similar kitchens in every camp; and the German government appreciated the effort so thoroughly that they offered to continue their monthly contribution even after America had become an enemy nation.

In view of the evil conditions as regards cleanliness in many districts, with the constant risk of the introduction and spread of ravaging epidemics, the Y did what it could to supply bathing and laundry facilities. The need may be judged from the fact that at Orenburg, where water for bathing and washing had at first been carried by hand, the new clean, warm baths and laundries with piped water, installed by the Y, were frankly more deeply appreciated even than the hut. Barber shops also were organized in numerous camps. One of the most important services rendered was the supplementing of the wretched dental facilities and the complete installation in many cases of adequate dental equipment and offices, with the consequent relief of thousands of sufferers.

The Y M C A in Russia and Siberia encouraged religious services impartially for all creeds and denominations. Rooms were equipped for the services of Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Mohammedans, the various articles used in the rituals, as well as Testaments and copies of the Koran, being furnished by or through the Y; pastors and priests to conduct services were found among the prisoners themselves, or in the cities without. Music was a highly prized accompaniment to these devotional exercises. In addition to the services of various creeds, there were, of course, many Bible study classes, the secretaries sometimes being compelled to write their own courses because of the shortage of books. As one chairman of a camp committee remarked:

Baths, Laundries,  
Barber, and  
Dental Service

"You know many of us back home before the War had gotten out of the habit of Bible reading; but now we feel the need for the book and are hungry for it. Many a man will read the book the first time in years with an earnest endeavor to understand and apply it."

At  
Orenburg

A typical report of this many-sided religious work comes from Orenburg:

"We were fortunately located, since in this city of Orenburg lived Orthodox priests, a Lutheran pastor, rabbis, two Roman Catholic and several Mohammedan priests. Services have been held for all. The singing was always attractive, and the meetings, which were held outdoors during the warm weather, were attended by the majority of those interned in the camp. I shall never forget our first service, which was held early in July. I visited the priest several times, hoping to get his consent to come, but, as I could not guarantee him an undefiled building, it was hard to get the desired promise. We finally compromised on an open-air meeting. I had an organ sent in from the city and persuaded a fine old Polish count to make the necessary preparations. On the morning of the Mass, when we arrived, we were astonished to find that a high, attractive, evergreen altar, decorated with flowers and ikons, had been erected against the stone wall of the prison. The priest's face fairly glowed, and it certainly was a beautiful sight. To this we added holy pictures, candles, silver altar cloth, communion service, a gold cross, etc. During the confession and communion service the men sat with staring eyes and seemed to be strangely touched. When the white-robed priest turned to begin the opening chant of the Mass, old and young sat with fixed faces, while the tears coursed down their cheeks as if, after two years' absence, it was too much for them.

"When the holy days of the Turks arrived, I hunted out a rich Tartar in the city and had him get a Koran and necessary holy food for our Mohammedan friends. We secured the church within the enclosure for them that they might pray to Allah and carry out their devotions as desired by the priest.

"We secured religious books and pamphlets for the Jews and took the men into the city under guard when their holy days arrived. Until the Czechs and Poles were removed to other lagers, we held Orthodox services for them regularly in the Greek church within the enclosure."

Individual  
Relief

Most of the enormous volume of individual relief and welfare work—much of it necessitated by the fact that the Y acted as agent in the camps for the Red Cross societies, the Embassies, and other organizations—was carried on in close cooperation with the camp welfare committees composed of prisoners. The Y secretary usually went to a camp loaded with money remittances for prisoners, gifts, food parcels, and clothing from relatives and other relief agencies to distrib-

ute, inquiries and replies to inquiries which had been forwarded from the Petrograd office; and this mass of material he turned over to the welfare committee to attend to and report on at his next visit. The welfare committees, under the direction of the secretaries, thus became the recognized agencies for the distribution of financial and other gifts where they would do the most good. As early as April, 1917, nearly 300 parcels a week were passing through the Petrograd office, more than 3,000 inquiries concerning prisoners being dealt with, more than 11,000 rubles a month being received for transmission to individuals. The list of such services, including the execution of the last wishes of the dying, the marking of graves, the procuring of books for special students, the changing of money, the arranging of marriages by proxy between distant sweethearts, the giving of a few rubles to thousands of soldiers setting out penniless for a long journey across the steppes—these could be extended to the length of Homer's catalog of ships. No statistics would tell what they meant to lonely and depressed captives.

One feature of this work deserves special mention. At the beginning it became evident that some organized effort must be made to overcome the many difficulties in locating missing men, and forwarding mail, money, and parcels. With the hearty approval of the Chief of Staff, a central Post and Information Bureau was established at Irkutsk for the entire district, with an enormous card catalog of names and addresses, on which 48 men were employed. Subsequently, on proving its value and efficiency the bureau was taken over by the General Staff of Irkutsk and maintained as the center for the sixteen smaller local bureaus.

#### DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION

Early in 1917 came the American break with Germany and the consequent demand from the latter country that American Y secretaries in all fields be replaced by neutrals. In Russia, this was an especially difficult task; it had been difficult enough to secure the American secretaries in the first instance. The demand, too, came just at the time when Dr. Harte was advising the reduction of expenditures for recreation and diversion in view of the increasingly poignant need for such elementary necessities as food and surgical dressings. In the face of repeated demands from Germany in April and May for the withdrawal of Americans, therefore, the Americans still hung on and as late as mid-July those who were still at their posts had determined

not to abandon their work unless forced to do so by the American Government itself; the need, they felt, was so desperately urgent. Meanwhile, however, the replacement by neutral secretaries from Denmark and Sweden had been going on gradually, and as rapidly as they were relieved the Americans were transferred to service for the Russian soldiers.

The  
Bolshevik  
Revolution

Then, in October, 1917, came the Bolshevik Revolution as a further disrupting influence. It did not immediately affect the work of the War Prisoners' Aid except for troublesome investigations by the Soviet authorities; but as the revolution spread, many camps were thrown open and a general unorganized exodus began toward Petrograd and Moscow. The work was now considered to be finished except for the salvaging of property, when suddenly a new situation arose with the Czechoslovak uprising, which cut off all rail communication with Siberia. In this situation the need for the Y was greater than ever, for the prisoners had been worked up into a fever of expectancy by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and were in despair over this new obstacle to their early release.

So once again the Association took up its burden. Secretaries were sent into Siberia and the work went on until well into 1919. These neutral secretaries braved the dangers of Russia in the throes of revolution. For months they were cut off from communication with Petrograd. Some of them were arrested by the Soviet authorities and were in grave danger; but they continued to work as long as possible and always to the extent of their ability. At Orenburg the factory system was extended and became self-supporting. In twenty-five camps visitation was maintained. But it was heartbreaking labor since these secretaries were continually hampered by the Bolsheviks, by the lack of transport and communication, and by the frequent movement of the prisoners from camp to camp. What remained of the work was finally turned over to the German and Austrian Commissions.

## CHAPTER XLIX

### ITALY AND THE BALKAN STATES

#### ITALY

In Italy there existed certain conditions that affected peculiarly the experience of the war prisoners and modified the work of the War Prisoners' Aid.

Italy, after entering the war in May, 1915, was of course deeply engrossed in making up deficiencies in war preparation. She had little time for extraneous considerations and her straitened resources offered no surplus for prisoner relief while her own people suffered so grievously. The feeling against the Austrians rose very high, for they represented the chief opponents of Italy in her struggle for unity and a place among the nations. The general in charge of the Prisoners' Commission was rather harshly attacked in the press for his supposed leniency; and popular pressure caused the stopping of moving pictures for prisoners, since the Italian people were in the mood to forswear amusements even for themselves. It was an inhospitable atmosphere for welfare service.

The labor and economic situation influenced the prisoners' condition to a marked degree. Italy is densely populated—131 to the square kilometer as against France's 74—and actually permitted some of her men to work in France. Until February, 1917, there was solid popular opposition against the use of prisoners in any form of work lest they should actually displace Italians. Similarly, such articles as the prisoners produced for sale could be neither sold in the local markets nor exported because of the actual or implied competition with Italian artisans. A plan for exportation to the native land of the prisoners was conceived but proved impossible of execution.

However, the lot of prisoners in Italy was not so wholly bad as all this might imply. Many of them were interned on islands—notably the civilian enemy aliens on the island of Sardinia where they could be permitted an unusual degree of freedom. Many, at first the majority, were housed in old fortresses where from the start there were rooms that could be devoted to meetings and other activities. They were reasonably well fed and well treated by the authorities; an interest was shown in their physical welfare; there were excellent hospi-

tals; and the surroundings, especially in the large concentration camps erected later, were sanitary and comfortable. The small amount of work within the camps, too, was assigned to many men in turn to help relieve the monotony. General Spingardi, in charge of the handling of prisoners, evinced always an attitude of sympathetic and intelligent interest in their welfare, and of openness to suggestions from extra-official sources, and readiness to cooperate.<sup>1</sup>

The Y in  
Italian Prison  
Camps

Naturally, the same obstacles that inhibited the development of a thoroughgoing prisoner-welfare program on the part of the Italians themselves also stood in the way of a similar development by the Y M C A. In addition, there was another very large factor which need not be minimized: namely, religion. Italy is the fountain-head of Roman Catholicism, with a population predominantly Roman Catholic in affiliation, and the Italian branch of the Y M C A, largely Protestant in character, had not been a vigorous organization prior to the war. The same elements that made for this weakness hampered the Y's efforts after the war began; nor is it to be expected that the Italian people, with a deeply ingrained religious bent, would throw off suddenly their natural suspicion of an organization that they considered essentially Protestant even in view of the proved non-sectarian character of the work of that organization and its extraordinary efforts to convince the Italians of the unalloyed humanitarianism of its motives. Many Italians, and especially many in high places, were so convinced, but an undercurrent of perfectly natural religious prejudice always acted as a brake to slow down the momentum of the Y's efforts in behalf of Italy's war prisoners.

Because of these diversified elements, Y work in this field was largely limited to the provision of books, musical instruments, games, and tools for wood-carving and the like, with the constant aim in view of lightening so far as possible the somber cloud of monotony and idleness that lay over prison camps.

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<sup>1</sup> Austro-Hungarian prisoners brought to Italy from Serbia after the Serbian retreat were especially well treated under a *régime de faveur*, but their case constitutes an exception. "The Italians," a visitor reported, "with infinite pains and unmeasured kindness nursed these human wrecks, mere walking skeletons, back to health and hope," and succeeded in saving about 15,000 of the original 20,000. For these men there was an extensive educational and recreational program, including painting, sculpture, pottery, music, and theatricals in a huge open-air amphitheater, and the Y was even asked to furnish fire-brick for a small glass factory. The prisoners in gratitude erected a monument dedicated "To Italy, Our Saviour." Here, unhampered by adverse considerations of "policy," the natural Italian kindness operated without stint. Most of these prisoners were finally transferred to France.

A month after Italy cast in her lot with the Allies, that is, late in June, 1915, D. A. Davis and C. V. Hibbard visited the country, made a grant to the Italian branch of the Student Christian Movement for soldier or prisoner welfare, and through influential persons proffered the services of the Y for work among the prisoners. Mr. Davis again visited Italy late in October. At this time work was well under way in England, France, Germany, and Austria, and a promising beginning had been made in Russia. Through numerous introductions, Mr. Davis explained this work to officials of the War and Foreign Offices, the Red Cross, and the Departments of the Interior and of Finance.

Personnel and Activity

He was promptly granted permission by General Spingardi, head of the War Prisoners' Commission, to visit the civilians interned on Sardinia, and after his report on the seventeen towns and villages he was able to reach there, was authorized to go to any of the military camps. Choosing Genoa, he found the prisoners well cared for as to food, clothing, and lodgment, with a beginning of educational work; but he wrote: "I have never realized so fully the awfulness of having nothing to do as after visiting some of the forts in Italy. . . . The schools will occupy a small percentage of the prisoners, but the great majority of them have to remain without anything to do. In one fortress, where there are 600 prisoners, there are only thirty booklets of any description." In view of this situation, and since there was not the same need for huts as in other countries, Mr. Davis requested permission from the International Committee to use the greater part of the money allotted to Italy for books, musical instruments, and games. As a beginning, this sum amounted to \$5,000; but the funds from America were delayed in transmission by war-time conditions, and this introduced a further element to hold back the progress that was already sufficiently slow in gaining headway. By the end of 1915 the work was still very limited in scope.

After Mr. Davis's departure for France, Dr. Walter Lowrie, of the American Church at Rome, took charge in the spring of 1916 and undertook at the request of General Spingardi to visit all prison camps. All the books in Italy suitable for prisoners of war were bought up, and a shipment to the value of 14,340 francs was ordered from Austria through Geneva. These were to supply seventy-five camps; and it was necessary to secure them from the prisoners' homeland because Italy did not have enough books in the varied tongues required: German, Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Ruthe-

The Polyglot Problem in Education

nian, Bohemian, Polish, Roumanian, and Turkish. Other services were rendered by Dr. Lowrie to the limit of the authority granted the Y. Four thousand francs were expended for games, musical instruments, and other supplies for the camps; and because of his cordial relations with government departments, he was able to bring considerable influence to bear on local officials for ameliorating local hardships. As in other countries though it was no part of the visitor's duty to inspect or report on the physical condition of the camps, the local commandants usually asked him for his opinion; and after a friendly talk with him, they were often ready to make desirable changes. At times they were glad to have the visitor take advantage of his peculiar position to ask for the authorization of special privileges from higher authorities. In some cases the bathing facilities were poor and the visitor's report resulted in the installation of shower baths. It was possible to obtain for prisoners in many camps more liberty for walks than had been enjoyed. The fact that the Commission for Prisoners welcomed the Y M C A's gifts of carving tools and the further effect that it carried with it permission to use sharp instruments in general, not only restored to the prisoners their knives, but opened the way for constructive work with tools. The Y also furnished text-books and other educational equipment.

In one camp where there were only thirteen Protestants, Dr. Lowrie found that eight of them were preachers, and his report to headquarters brought about their transfer to other camps where there was no one qualified to minister to the Hungarian Protestants. In many places religious services were arranged for and large numbers of Testaments, Catholic prayer books, and other religious literature given away. There was the more need for such service in that no other agency was doing anything for these prisoners.

"It is astonishing," writes the visiting secretary, "how few packages they receive from home. I got the impression that their families in Austria were too poor to succor their kinsmen in this way. There were no Austrian societies sending anything, whereas the comparatively few Bavarian prisoners in Italy were well supplied by the Red Cross in Munich. The prisoners who came from the Balkan provinces of Austria could get nothing from home, rarely even a letter, and the Poles were hardly better off."

The first permission to erect a hut was given in July, 1916, as a result of Mr. Davis's report on Ancona, but this building was not put up for some time. Further permissions, affecting two of the largest

camps in Italy—Avezzano and Padua—were given in December. The long delay preceding the initiation of this work resulted in a serious crisis that threatened the very existence of the work in Italy and reciprocally the Italian camps of Austria, but catastrophe was happily averted by the new permits. The International Committee at once cabled the required \$5,000 for these buildings, but even with the money and the permits, difficulties due to the scarcity of material, labor, and transportation caused further long delays before the huts were actually built. The Association centers, with their prisoner committees and organized activities, never developed in Italy as in other countries.

An American secretary, M. B. Rideout, succeeded Dr. Lowrie on November 1, 1916, and the work continued to the end in much the same manner. As has been said, it was largely a service of visitation—necessarily infrequent with only one man for the work—and the filling of requests for books and games. Something was done to solve the problem of idleness through the furnishing of tools and materials for the skilled craftsmen who were found in every camp, but the grave difficulties in the way of disposing of their products hampered the effectiveness of such an activity.

With the entrance of America into the War, there was not the same disruption of Y activities as elsewhere. For some time there was official doubt whether these activities should continue on account of the German attitude; but these were apparently solved, and the work went on without interruption.

### THE BALKANS

Work for prisoners in Bulgaria was proposed in the spring of 1916 when an appropriation was made for the initiation of work in this field. The field was not entered until the end of the year. When the Y representative arrived there, he found the conditions appalling, and the War Ministry ready to give the heartiest welcome to his offers of service for both prisoners and Army. Since Bulgaria is an agricultural rather than industrial state, there was a great lack of all manufactured articles, especially clothing and blankets. The diet of the prisoners, even though it was occasionally better than that of the Bulgarian soldiers themselves, was below the accustomed standards of the soldiers or prisoners of other nationalities. When the report of the situation reached the American Committee, it increased its appropriation to \$20,000, half of which was to be spent on Prisoners' Aid and half on the Bulgarian soldiers.

This work also, although financed by the International Committee, was done under the nominal auspices of the World's Alliance. Within a year five huts had been built in the largest camps, in five others already existing barracks had been adapted, and in still other camps where buildings were not available reading rooms had been opened. Every camp had its orchestras, theaters, classes, and varied religious services—Protestant, Catholic, and Greek Orthodox. Some of the larger camps had workshops for shoemakers and tailors. An office was opened at Sophia through which the work could be coordinated, and to establish a center for inquiries for missing men. Much necessary relief work was done through this office, partly with Y M C A funds and partly through the administration within the camps of funds furnished by other agencies.

Food and clothing were the great needs. At first, with the permission of the camp authorities, food was bought. Then some land near each camp was leased and put under cultivation. Clothes provided by the Italian, Greek, and Serbian Legations were distributed through the Y which in addition bought with its own funds clothing and food. The secretary, Mr. Phildius, had remarkable freedom in this work. He was allowed to travel freely to Switzerland to purchase supplies, and was able to come to the assistance of a Bulgarian general who, sent to Switzerland on the same mission, had found himself unable to get anything, and had to appeal to the secretary for aid.

In June, 1916, Dr. Harte had visited Jassy, seeking an opportunity to extend the service of the Association to Roumania. The greater part of the territory was then occupied by the German Army, and there were great numbers of Roumanian prisoners in Germany and Bulgaria. The highest officials in the capital and the royal family manifested the deepest interest and every facility possible was given to Dr. Harte and another American secretary in his company to study the situation. A committee of patronage and advice was formed, and a building was assigned for headquarters in the capital as well as another for the first soldier hut. At this time the plight of the unoccupied portion of the country was so terrible that the efforts of the Association for the moment were limited to the soldiers and the suffering population. No work was undertaken for prisoners until the spring of the following year, when the Austrian Red Cross requested the initiation of service to Austrian prisoners in Roumania on the basis of reciprocal service to Roumanians in Austria.

Such was the work in these countries. While severely handicapped in many ways, yet service was carried, through visits, even into the small scattered working detachments, and to the prisoners of war in the Dobrudja, in the territory behind the Macedonian front, and in occupied Serbia. More than a hundred of the smaller camps were visited; and the secretaries, having a semi-official standing as delegates of the Legation, had much greater authority than usual to criticise the hygienic arrangements in the camps, and to suggest beneficial changes. The value of their services was enhanced by this universal opportunity to secure improved conditions in lands where such improvements were sorely needed.

## CHAPTER L

### ALLIED PRISONERS IN GERMANY

The war prisoner situation developed on a grand scale in Germany. At the maximum, Germany is said to have held approximately 2,800,000 prisoners, a total greater than the population of any of the German states except Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony. Scattered in 150 camps and eventually several thousand working detachments, the prisoners required a force for guarding and administration of 300,000 men. These captives did not present a homogeneous group; they represented a score of nationalities from the highland Scot to the swart Moroccan, as many language groups, and most of the religions on the face of the globe. Of the Russians and Roumanians, probably 80 per cent were illiterate and a large proportion abysmally ignorant, superstitious, and unversed in elementary cleanliness. In spite of the fact that these groups represented a tremendous labor asset the problem of their administration was no small one. A sharp intensification of the difficulty was caused by the increasingly effective blockade of Germany.

#### THE GERMAN PRISON CAMPS

Different Types  
of Camps

There were several classes of camps in Germany. First, there were the officers' camps, for commissioned officers, who received a regular monthly payment, the bulk of which was withheld by the German government for maintenance.<sup>1</sup> Though the War Prisoners' Aid conducted some striking pieces of service among the officers, the need for welfare work in this group of camps was not so great as in others. There were camps for privates, filled with the great mass of captives of all nationalities. There were reprisal camps, the nature of which is perfectly explained by the name. There were propaganda camps, in which were concentrated nationalities and classes considered especially susceptible to German influence—the Ukrainians, for example, German and white Russians, and some of the Mohammedans. There were civilian camps for the internment of enemy aliens, many of whom were also scattered through the military camps. Finally, there

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<sup>1</sup> In the case of the American infantry officers, this payment was 60 marks a month, 52 of which were withheld.

were the working detachments which consisted of half a dozen to several thousand men each assigned to work on German farms, public works, or in important industries. These men received wages, were set to purposive work, and enjoyed a certain amount of freedom. On the other hand, they were widely scattered and frequently cut off from contact with their fellow countrymen, and were often exposed, particularly in the factories, to the ill-will of individual supervisors.

Among the Allies, the public generally was under the impression during the war—indeed, is to this day—that the prisoners in German prison camps were treated with great cruelty. There is much conflicting testimony on this point and it is not the task of this history to resolve the difficulty. There are certain facts, however, upon which there is general agreement. The punishments inflicted by the Germans in their own Army indicated a childish reliance on physical violence, flogging being a recognized and respected punitive measure. Flogging at the whipping-posts and similar practices were naturally applied to prisoners with what result among them and among their countrymen at home may be easily imagined. Also, prisoners in German hands unquestionably met Teuton arrogance in its most unmitigated and trying form. In many instances, it emerged as ceaseless nagging, which may become the worst form of torture. There were some brutal commandants; and there were some individual guards with the working detachments who could not resist the temptation to abuse helpless men. Recognizing all this as true, certain observers warn against the inevitable exaggeration and claim that, generally speaking, there was a disposition to be humane in the conduct of the prisoners' life. The testimony of prisoners themselves shows such disagreement as one would expect from varying individual experience. It is quite impossible to reconcile sharply conflicting statements made by men who should have had no personal bias; one is tempted to draw the safe conclusion that there was much good and much evil in the situation. There we must leave it.

The whole propaganda process carried on in the camps, the attempt to impress the prisoners with the high state of German civilization—especially, as one professor naively put it, since these very captives might one day be his fellow subjects—aroused in prisoners and neutral observers alike the deepest resentment. The Germans, of course, assumed from the beginning till the mid-summer of 1918 that there was not a shadow of doubt as to their winning the war and thus being answerable to no one.

Treatment of  
Prisoners

There were, in any event, hardships enough and of a very trying nature. The food situation grew increasingly difficult as time went on. Technically speaking, the meals served the prisoners in 1915 may have contained adequate nourishment, but they could not have been appetizing as described by observers; and steadily lack of dietetic variation was succeeded by actual lack of nourishment. The Y originally set out to eschew food relief, properly cared for by other agencies; but the alarming scarcity drove the workers to increased emphasis on this activity. Among the British, French, and Italians, who quite regularly received food parcels from home, conditions were not so bad; but the Russians, Roumanians, and Serbs suffered intensely. In 1917, a visitor to one camp found 600 to 700 men, none weighing over 75 pounds, lying listlessly on their cots all day, too exhausted by hunger to do anything else, while 10 to 40 of them were carried to the graveyard each day. For those who had no supplementary resources, the system of working detachments, where a more adequate food allowance was received, proved the only salvation.

The physical conditions of the prisoners varied greatly, as might have been expected in the case of so many centers scattered over such a wide area. They ranged all the way from well-organized camps such as Darmstadt—orderly, fully equipped, with a splendid hospital—to the unspeakable dug-outs in East and West Prussia. Most of the larger camps were equipped with delousing plants and bathing facilities, especially required in the case of certain groups of prisoners who were utter strangers to habits of personal cleanliness. German efficiency was markedly present in some cases but conspicuous by its absence in others. There was, as might have been expected, an official rigidity that frequently blocked proper and reasonable improvements. On the other hand, there were commandants whose generous efforts are gratefully remembered.

The first policy of the Germans was of the "let-alone" type. As time went on there developed a more wholesome point of view—stimulated, probably, in considerable measure by pressure both from within and from without—and added facilities of social life were granted the prisoners. There are reports of camps where "each compound . . had its own kitchen, canteen, reading room, playground, and theater, here and there a workshop such as a shoe, tailor, or carpenter shop, and in some cases an art studio. Usually one barrack was reserved for church purposes for the entire camp."<sup>1</sup> In many cases there

<sup>1</sup> In the Prison Camps of Germany, Conrad Hoffman, New York, 1920, p. 36.

existed among the camp officials a keen sense of pride in maintaining everything in the best possible order. Many camps had flower and vegetable gardens, the advantage of which to prisoners is obvious. It is hardly necessary to add that in the propaganda camps everything was made as comfortable as possible. For the whole body of prisoners, there was established, under the auspices of the Foreign Department, a committee charged with the spiritual welfare of prisoners.

To the American Ambassador, James W. Gerard, a very large measure of credit must be given for his persistent and successful efforts to secure better facilities for prisoners of war in Germany. This service is little known in America, but was deeply appreciated by the many thousands of men who profited by it.<sup>1</sup>

The Assistance  
of the American  
Ambassador

### THE Y ENTERS GERMANY

Dr. Harte's visit to Berlin in February, 1915, in his endeavor to bring into the German prison camps the sympathy and service of the Y, inaugurated a series of sharp conflicts with the German officials that persisted through the course of the work and extended in some cases even to the local civilian supporters. Behind every record of achievement there lies the story of long and patient negotiation. The Prussian War Ministry<sup>2</sup> was willing to permit the War Prisoners' Aid to send in supplies for distribution but held back on the real Y service. This, of course, did not satisfy the Association representative, and he persisted, playing the string of reciprocity, with the aid of the American Ambassador. By March 6th, he succeeded in eliciting a note addressed to Dr. Schreiber, a German who had been actively endeavoring to further the religious welfare of war prisoners, stating that:

"The War Ministry welcomes the commendable cooperation of the Young Men's Christian Association, and will render every assistance so that it may speedily achieve its aims. It will only be necessary, therefore, to select the prisoners of war camp in which activities may conveniently begin."

Two camps were selected for the initiation of the enterprise. At Göttingen the first Y hut for prisoners of war in the world was opened on April 15, 1915. It included a large hall and reading room,

Early Activities

<sup>1</sup> The various reports made by Ambassador Gerard to the British Government, including many camp investigations by members of the American Embassy, throw much light on this situation.

<sup>2</sup> There was one German General Staff, but each State had its own War Ministry. To a certain extent the Prussian War Ministry set the pace but the authority of the other ministries was very definite and had to be reckoned with at all times.

a small hall, and three class rooms. Dr. Harte made his first journey to Russia in the spring, returning to Germany in the summer to direct the establishment of work in several other camps. The future success of the War Prisoners' Aid in Germany depended so entirely upon the parallel expansion of work in Russia that Dr. Harte found it necessary to make a second trip to Russia in October. Conrad Hoffman, a member of the Flying Squadron, who had been working for German prisoners in England came to Germany at this time to supervise the war prisoner work in that area.

**Developments**

From this time forward the work gained in momentum and additional secretaries were secured until the allotted total of thirteen was reached. Mr. Hoffman's first permit, signed by General Friedrichs, in charge of prisoners of war, was very liberal in its terms, including even permission to take photographs. Prince Max of Baden, who on request of the American representatives consented to stand as patron of the work, assisted in securing these liberal privileges. Of course, it must be borne in mind that such a permit did not eliminate red tape: there were the Army Corps Commander, and the inspector of the Army Corps, and the camp commander all to be dealt with for their approval, and in Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg a special permit was required from the separate war ministries. Further, the regulations were altered continually and from time to time limitations were introduced that threatened the very life of the work. The secretary walked in daily peril from diverse dangers. Transgression of some nice rule of etiquette might end the service at one stroke. The authorities were suspicious on the one hand; sometimes it was the prisoner who doubted the secretary's intentions. There was the sectarian problem: it was necessary so to act that neither Roman Catholics, nor Greek Catholics, nor Jews, nor Mohammedans, nor Protestants could have just grounds for charging the War Prisoners' Aid with conducting sectarian propaganda.

**Increasing Difficulties**

The small force of the Y worked steadily in the face of an enlarging problem and increasing difficulties. The terrible seriousness of the need weighed upon the little group of workers bound by exasperating restrictions. Mr. Hoffman said:

“The efforts put forth and the results accomplished were so infinitesimal in the light of the need that discouragement was ever present. . . . It was impossible, with the resources and men available and permitted, to do anything at all commensurate with the needs and demands.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Prison Camps of Germany, Conrad Hoffman, 1920, pp. vii, viii.

However, the actual results certainly more than justified the service.

Work proceeded on the lines that had first been laid down until April 8, 1916, when a meeting was called by the War Prisoners' Department of the War Ministry at the request of Dr. Harte, based on Russia's demand for a representative committee, to establish a definitive basis and a more efficient plan for future procedure in both Germany and Russia. Those present at this meeting included Prince Max of Baden, chairman; Count Pourtales, vice-chairman; General von Pfuel and Dr. von Studt of the Red Cross; Count von Spitzemberg, Privy-Counselor of the Empress; General-Major Friedrichs, Lieut.-Colonel Bauer, and Captain Count von Boenigk, of the War Ministry; American Exchange Professor T. C. Hall; A. C. Harte; Dr. Gerhard Niedermeyer, National Secretary of the German Student Movement; Dr. Michaelis, Chairman of the Student Movement; Conrad Hoffman; and Messrs. Rosenkranz and Meyer, of the German National Committee of the Y M C A. A special Executive Committee was appointed which consisted of Professor Hall, chairman; Prince Max of Baden, honorary chairman; Captain Count von Boenigk; Dr. Niedermeyer; and Conrad Hoffman. A careful statement of Y activities was drawn up which included the supplying of huts and equipment, the furnishing of all kinds of supplies, distribution of food parcels, the extension or erection of canteen facilities, and the transmission of money. A new form of permit was drawn up, which on its face appeared to introduce no new restrictions except that the Y secretaries' privilege of conversing alone with prisoners was made conditional on the consent of the Army Corps Commanders. This actually worked out as a very severe limitation.

Each secretary was assigned to cover one or more of the eighteen army corps. At first it was possible to cover only a third of all the camps each month; but as the work became established shorter visits were possible, and at times a secretary touched 25 centers in a month.

A list of the outstanding features of four months' work of one secretary may give some insight into daily experiences:

1. Completion and dedication of a large Y M C A church building.
2. Construction and opening of a small church building and arrangements completed for another of the same type.
3. Addresses to prisoners in four camps each month.
4. Collection of 840 handicraft articles for the prisoners-of-war bazaar in Stockholm.

5. Supplying musical instruments to four camps, to be paid for on the instalment plan.
6. Furnishing handicraft tools or materials to three hospitals and five camps.
7. Furnishing athletic equipment to three hospitals and five camps.
8. Purchasing stereopticon equipment for one camp and radiopticon for another, and a second radiopticon for use in a circuit of camps.
9. Securing books or school supplies for seven camps and one hospital.
10. Making up lists of prisoners who desired news or parcels from home in all except three camps—not including officers.
11. Ordering crosses, special religious books, candles, or holy meal for Russian Orthodox priests, Roman Catholic priests, or English Church leaders in six camps.
12. Conducting and arranging chess tournaments in three camps.

Such a list by no means covers the whole day's work, but it does suggest something of the variety of the demands made upon the worker of the War Prisoners' Aid. It takes no account of the most significant thing of all, the personal service bringing sympathy and encouragement to disheartened men; yet if one has but the imagination, it is possible to see the spiritual significance of each item in the list and what it meant to the prisoner shut inside the barbed wire.

### THE CAMPS

It would be quite impossible to deal in detail with the vast range of local activities of the War Prisoners' Aid. Perhaps a few concrete examples will visualize the picture.

The camp at Ruhleben, where over 5,000 British civilians were confined, has become more or less famous.<sup>1</sup> While the group interned there, a mixture of every class of society, was exceptional, its history exhibits many important features of the experience of prisoners of war in Germany. Ruhleben is a fashionable race-course near Berlin; the prisoners were accommodated in the boxstalls. Observers have not been able to discover any single adequate reason for choosing the place as an internment camp. The living quarters were bad and the German authorities made no effort to improve them. What was accomplished in this camp was due entirely to leadership among the prisoners themselves, assisted by Ambassador Gerard and the War Prison-

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<sup>1</sup> Consult *The Ruhleben Prison Camp*, Israel Cohen, London, 1917.

ers' Aid. The situation was not improved by the presence of a group of pro-Germans among the prisoners.

There developed here exceedingly bad feeling between the prisoners and the authorities. The Germans attempted to impose rigid military discipline upon the prisoners and the guard system was obtrusive and exasperating. Several of the leaders among the prisoners managed to secure the privilege of self-government within the camp. In spite of the fact that even this government suffered somewhat from the disease of politics, the arrangement worked well and the first Y visitors in 1915 found a better feeling between guards and prisoners growing up. The influence of Ambassador Gerard prevailed to secure many facilities including an athletic field.

Dr. Harte made an effort to secure permission to erect a hut at the time of his first visit to the camp but met sharp opposition. Conrad Hoffman, in October, 1915, found the camp well organized—historical club, a music club, a science club, two or three theatrical societies, schools, religious organizations, a "Bond Street" lined with shops, and the growing "Grand Stand University." The urgent need was for better facilities to house the various activities and an earnest appeal was made to the Y.

The German authorities made every possible objection to the erection of the Ruhleben Hut; and, even when permission was granted after long negotiation, they refused to assist in arranging for the erection. It was finally built by a German contractor assisted by the prisoners. The work was begun only four weeks before Christmas but the hut was dedicated on Christmas Day, 1915. A thousand men stood within the hall with as many more outside, while this building, decorated with pine branches and the two immense Christmas trees given by the camp commandant, was dedicated to the service of God and the social needs of the camp and presented to the men as a Christmas gift from the Y M C A.

This hut was used throughout the whole day by the many students within the camp. The reference library, art studio, Italian seminary, and club room were housed here. Entertainments, physical education, and Bible study classes were carried on under its roof. Each Sunday morning from 7 to 9 o'clock, Holy Communion was celebrated by the Church of England; from 9.30 to 11, the Roman Catholics had the hut for the celebration of the mass. On Sunday afternoon Anglican Vespers and a German Evangelical service were held, and the day was ended with a brief Catholic evensong. During the week there were

Military Discipline

The Hut at  
Ruhleben

Anglican and German Evangelical morning prayers, evening prayer meetings, Bible classes, and prayer meetings. In February, 1916, a four-day series of special religious services was held under the auspices of the Y which resulted in 300 decisions and renewals for the Christian life. A further result was the formation of a camp Y M C A with 285 members and a special department for boys' work, and also a large increase in the attendance at all religious services.

The activities in this camp progressed remarkably after 1915. Still, the other side of the picture must be kept in mind. Over one hundred men went insane there, and the whole experience was a nightmare to a very large group of men. Ruhleben—literally, perhaps ironically, "peaceful life"—has been called "The City of Futility."

In the military camps the huts served a similar variety of purposes, and around them though perhaps on a somewhat less elaborate scale—especially after the men began to be drafted into working parties—centered the educational and social life of the community. In one officers' camp 500 out of the 735 officers were enrolled in the school; in another, 1,100 Frenchmen were organized for study; in still another, eleven different languages, including Hebrew and Swahili, were taught. In cooperation with various university laboratories, apparatus such as telescopes and microscopes and other valuable laboratory instruments were procured for ambitious students. Special privileges were obtained for students, some of whom were, through the intervention of the Y secretary, released from manual labor in order that they might continue their studies.<sup>1</sup> In one case, release from the prison camp was granted to a biologist on condition that the Y secretary should assume responsibility for him, so that he might continue research work in Frankfort; the results of his investigations were published in an English scientific journal. Arrangements were also made with university libraries such as that of Heidelberg and the Royal Library at Berlin to supply reference books to prisoners. Special attention was given to elementary education for the Russians and the Italians when it was discovered that from 75 to 80 per cent of these were illiterate. Early in 1916, since no Russian primers could be purchased in Germany, the Y in cooperation with the German and Swiss branches began the publication of reading texts in Russian and later in Italian. Editions of several hundred thousand A B C books were thus printed and circulated. Besides these, thousands of

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with international agreement, this should have been done without outside intervention, but it appears to have been a custom honored as much in the breach as in the observance.

other books were given to the camps—some specially printed by the Association. From August to November, 1917, nearly 100,000 books and pamphlets were shipped from the Berlin office, including books in Tartar, Turkish, Flemish, Finnish, Estonian, English, French, Russian, Roumanian, Serbian, Armenian, and five other languages. Up to March, 1918, the figures reached 653,747 books and other publications, and more than 715,000 copies of the *Messenger*, a prison-camp paper. All camps were supplied with libraries of 20 to 100 volumes, and more than 17,000 individual orders for books were filled.

The list of supplies furnished is long and varied. Up to June, 1917, more than 20,000 marks had been expended for the purchase and hire of musical instruments. Other articles furnished were cod-liver oil, underwear, clothing for 350 recently captured seamen, punching bags, boxing gloves, darning wool, sole leather, beads, a spectroscope, electrical installation for laboratory, linen for the hospitals, films, lantern slides, physico-medical apparatus, theatrical costumes. These are only a few of the articles given for relief or the encouragement of camp activities.

While the secretaries made no attempt to conduct sectarian religious service, some did give wholly non-sectarian religious and moral talks on Sundays or occasionally during the week. The stimulation of Bible-study groups was an important feature of their work, and in many camps good leaders of study circles were discovered. The regular religious services were arranged in cooperation with a German committee which had been organized for the purpose before the Y entered the field. Sometimes permission was secured for the men to attend the village churches. It is interesting to note that the first mass for Russians in a German camp was arranged by a Y Secretary, who also managed to procure the appropriate supplies for the celebration. Wheat flour for Holy Communion, incense, altar candles, prayer and hymn books, church music, oil, communion wine, and priests' robes were among the articles furnished. Some three hundred thousand crosses and ikons, a gift from the Empress of Russia, were distributed among the Russian prisoners.

In this connection there is one especially interesting episode. A Unique Service Among the essentials for worship in the Greek Catholic ritual are the antimensia (a special form of altar cloth), which, to be of value, must be blessed by the Bishop of the Greek Church at Petrograd. These could not be procured in Germany, and it was impossible to import them in the ordinary way since, once they have been consecrated, they

must not be touched by any lay person. The German authorities naturally insisted that all packages coming from Russia must be thoroughly examined by customs and censor officials. This problem was solved when a dozen of these cloths, contributed by the Russian Synod through the efforts of the Y M C A, were blessed and delivered in a carefully sealed package to a Red Cross sister who was met at the frontier by Mr. Hoffman, accompanied by a priest attached to the Greek Embassy: the sealed package was there opened by the priest in the presence of the censors. The priest held up the cloths one by one for examination, carefully keeping them at a distance from the examiners that the sacred articles might not be defiled. Religious services for the many thousands of Russian prisoners in Germany were thus made possible.

Food and  
Money

The relief of the suffering caused by the food shortage was not strictly a part of the Association's special field of activity, but it would have been impossible to withhold help in the face of conditions so distressing. As early as May, 1915, Dr. Harte made a special journey to Denmark to procure food parcels for 297 recently captured Canadians and English, and to arrange for a regular supply.<sup>1</sup> This was the beginning of the food parcel system, which was afterwards developed in England and France to such an extent that these governments were virtually feeding their own subjects in enemy hands. As has been already pointed out, however, the Russians, Serbians, and Roumanians suffered intensely from scarcity of food. Quite early in the war the Y made an effort to relieve these conditions, in part by the local purchase of food for specially needy cases reported by the visiting secretaries, but still more by arranging for the importation of parcels from Denmark, Holland, and Sweden. Relatives and friends ordered parcels and these were purchased in Copenhagen and distributed from the Berlin headquarters. Lists of names of prisoners not receiving aid from any other source were forwarded to the Crown Princess of Sweden, under whose direction regular monthly shipments were sent in from the Swedish women; and the Y also solicited similar aid from America and from Russia. In this way, sometimes as many as 30,000 parcels per month were distributed. As the need became still greater, after 1917 it was realized that the first and most important problem was the saving of these men from starvation. It was impossible to buy food in the local markets, and the Association

<sup>1</sup> Some had been sent in earlier by the Crown Princess of Sweden and some through the mails.

planned on a large scale the importation of food, clothing, medical supplies, and blankets from the neutral countries and America. It is an instance of the ruthless exigencies of war that, when all arrangements had been made in America, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, the Allied Powers refused to sanction the scheme.

To a certain extent, too, the Y became an agent for the transmission of money for the relief of prisoners. Up to June 1, 1917, 627,426.-20 marks (including 300,000 marks from the German government, 100,000 marks from the Austrian government, and 187,426.20 marks from relatives of prisoners, beside 40,000 marks from other sources) were distributed among Germans and Austrians in Russia, and 108,000 marks (of which 98,000 marks were from funds secured by the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna and 10,300 marks from prisoners' relatives) had been administered for Russians in Germany and Austria. In addition, money was received from the Polish commission and from other governments. In many cases a receipt was the first sign relatives received that their loved ones were still alive.

Each Christmas, of course, was a time of special activity, when, <sup>Christmas</sup> <sub>Cheer</sub> by distributing games, books, entertainment boxes, and gift packages, and arranging for concerts, organ recitals, songs, and illustrated lectures on religious or other subjects the endeavor was made to bring some Christmas cheer to the imprisoned soldiers and the civilians with their wives and children. Nor were the guards forgotten. In one district, for instance, the guardrooms of all the camps were given the same packages of games as the prisoners; indeed, on more than one occasion the guards and officers expressed gratitude to the Y for its share in lightening their difficulties, as when a German camp commander said: "Your visit brings a most welcome break into the lives of these officers. It also makes them feel that they are not forgotten. Don't think you can come too often nor that your visit is ever valueless." Perhaps the whole nature of the situation faced by the Y, its fundamental hopelessness and the nature and measure of its alleviation, cannot be better expressed than in the words of Hoffman concerning these Christmas activities:

"Nothing seemed more desolate than these attempts at good cheer at Christmas time, for one was aware that the longing to be at home was uppermost in the heart and mind of every man. One could not but feel how artificial and forced all the attempts at cheerfulness were, and yet how much more desolate would the lot of these men have been had not such attempts at cheerfulness been bravely made."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Prison Camps of Germany, Conrad Hoffman, New York, 1920, p. 93.

## AFTER AMERICA'S ENTRY

On America's entry into the war, Germany insisted upon the exclusion of American workers from all prison camps in all countries. It is unnecessary to recount the several negotiations that led to the securing of permission for Mr. Hoffman to remain in Germany. His position was insecure from month to month but he did stay to the end.<sup>1</sup> There was much difficulty in securing neutral workers; the Germans wanted only Danes, and it was almost impossible to secure agreement on individuals. Later, Swiss, Swedes, and Norwegians were included. New restrictions were devised and the American representative was denied direct access to the camp. The whole service was thus threatened at a time when the food shortage was becoming desperate. "Bring us bread," the prisoners cried, "and we will organize the activities you propose."

The feature of the last stage of the work of greatest interest to Americans was the contact with American prisoners. The first were captured in November, 1917, and by the spring of 1918 they came in increasing numbers reaching a total of about 2,600. Special arrangements were made at the beginning to secure and transmit through the Copenhagen office of the War Prisoners' Aid the names of American captives, so that Y lists antedated those transmitted through the regular official channels.

At first these prisoners were scattered. Mr. Hoffman made an application in February to be allowed to visit the camps where Americans were held, but it was June before he made the trip. In these preliminary visits as much as possible was done to relieve the immediate needs of the men.

On the basis of observations made in the course of this trip, the American secretary drew up certain recommendations for an agreement regarding American prisoners.<sup>2</sup> Several of these were brought about; possibly the most important one was the concentration of all Americans in one camp. Unfortunately, the Germans chose Tuchel, in East Prussia, where the prisoners were housed in damp dug-outs and root cellars. The persistent efforts of the American secretary secured their transfer, in August, 1918, to Rastatt. This had been

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Harte, as representing the American Y, insisted that the War Prisoners' Aid must maintain direct control of the Berlin office if the work was to continue on the reciprocal basis.

<sup>2</sup> See *In the Prison Camps of Germany*, Conrad Hoffman, New York, 1920, pp. 153, 154.

a propaganda camp so the arrangements were much more satisfactory. At the secretary's instigation the "block system" of confining prisoners in separate compounds was abolished.

Once or twice a month until the signing of the Armistice a visit was made to Rastatt, and a good deal was accomplished to make the life of the men bearable. Through cooperation with Berne and Copenhagen, a complete athletic equipment was provided; a piano and musical instruments were furnished and a band organized; books were sent through the Swiss office, a camp newspaper was started. Regularly on Sunday mornings church services were held, with an attendance at times of 500 men. The appearance and spirit of the camp on subsequent visits differed radically from the early melancholy days—baseball games, football matches, band practice, chess, checkers, and dominoes, reading and studying all going forward simultaneously to make a kaleidoscopic pattern of activity made possible by the furnishing of Y M C A supplies. The gratitude of the men, too, was no less sincere than vociferous; and, as one observer remarked, those who had contributed to the Student Friendship Fund would have been warmed to the heart could they have witnessed the good cheer, occupation for mind, body, and soul, and salvation from the maddening monotony of camp life that these contributions made possible.

This brief account of the American prisoners in Germany would not be complete without some mention of the outstanding figure of Sergeant Halyburton, the ranking non-commissioned officer at Rastatt who was placed in complete charge of the camp. With as many as 2,600 men under him, Sergeant Halyburton accomplished a task in the maintenance of morale and discipline and the securing of cooperation, respect, and affection that might have taxed the abilities of a staff officer. Not only did he keep up the spirits of his men and hold them in order; he also successfully resisted the extraordinary efforts the Germans put forth to propagandize the Americans, refusing to tolerate, for example, the circulation of the German propaganda newspaper, *America and Europe*, among his fellow-prisoners. For this stiff opposition he was eventually transferred to another camp; but on the vigorous protest of Hoffman, the authorities finally returned him to Rastatt. Such was the situation when the German Revolution and the Armistice intervened.

The chief characteristics of the period before the Armistice were the growing scarcity of food and the deterioration of the equipment and management of the camps. The supervision of the prisoners was

Activities  
Among the  
Americans

Sergeant  
Halyburton's  
Work

The Character  
of the Last  
Period

amply repaid to the Germans by the work the prisoners accomplished on the farms and in workshops. They were of material assistance in consideration of the depletion of man power and were fully used. The prisoners' lot grew steadily worse toward the end in spite of all that could be done.

## CHAPTER LI

### THE CAMPS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The general character of the prisoners of war situation in Austria-Hungary was the same as that in Germany: very large numbers of prisoners—about 1,750,000 in all—were held in concentration camps. These were mostly Russians, Italians, Serbs, and Roumanians. They were for the most part ignorant and very poor. Among the Russians, about 90 per cent were quite illiterate. The nations represented by these men were all too poor to send supplies regularly and in sufficient quantity and they were compelled to depend upon the ration that decreased steadily as the blockade shut in the Central Empires. One of the most interesting and pitiful features of this situation was the presence of groups of boys among the prisoners of war. Some of these were Russians or Roumanians, but most were Serbs who, in the general disaster, had followed their fathers into the battle and been captured along with the rest. The opinion of observers appears to indicate a really generous attitude on the part of the prison officials. The French from the beginning were convinced that Austria-Hungary treated prisoners better than did Germany. The stubborn realities of the situation proved, of course, more powerful than good intentions; the scarcity of food and fuel meant that prisoners did go hungry and cold and there was no way to help them.

#### Y M C A ORGANIZATION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The first opening in Austria-Hungary was secured by Christian Phildius of the World's Committee. In May, 1915, permission was given to enter two camps, working only through Austrian Secretaries. The effort of Mr. Phildius was undertaken as a part of the work suggested by Dr. Mott and was carried on with funds supplied from America. The Austro-Hungarian authorities were, of course, following Germany's lead and thinking of reciprocity; and they regarded all arrangements as tentative. In the autumn of 1915, Mr. Harte visited Austria at the request of the Austrian military authorities, after he had been in Russia. There was by this time a general agreement regarding reciprocal service everywhere; and some weeks later

The Boy  
Prisoners of War

Reciprocal  
Service

the Y M C A was permitted to erect its huts and to offer a full program of service.

Mr. Phildius remained in Austria until the summer of 1916. The work was then placed in charge of Edgar F. MacNaughten, an American secretary, who remained by special permission even after America had been drawn into the war. The working force was replaced by neutrals; and in October, 1917, Mr. MacNaughten was transferred to the work in Russia, though against the wishes of the Austro-Hungarian government. The American Y M C A supplied all the funds necessary for the conduct of this work, but it was carried on throughout with cooperation with the World's Committee. Between October, 1917, and November, 1918, the World's Committee assumed the administrative responsibility within Austria-Hungary, which reverted again to the International Committee in New York, after the Armistice.

Official  
Connections

In the spring of 1916, the War Prisoners' Aid became recognized as a definite part of the general welfare service of the Austrian Red Cross. The senior secretary of the Y M C A was a member of both the Austrian and the Hungarian Red Cross Committees. The object of this arrangement was, of course, the identification of the work with the established official agency. Baron von Spiegelfeld, in his annual report (1916) as president of the Information Bureau and Relief Committee of the Austrian Red Cross, makes particular reference to the Y M C A, commends its various activities, and offers a word of thanks for service both in Austria and in enemy countries. The War Prisoners' Aid thus acquired a rather definite official status. The privileges accorded secretaries in Austria-Hungary were exceedingly liberal and regular and seldom interfered with; among these privileges they enjoyed the rather extraordinary one of being allowed to reside in the camps. This gave them unrestricted right of entrance and they were thus not limited to visits of a few hours' duration. It is not on record that these additional privileges ever caused any trouble and it is certainly true that they greatly improved the service to the prisoners.

#### WELFARE WORK

In their early visits to the camps of Austria-Hungary the welfare workers were made vividly aware of the distinctive features of their difficult task. It was not a mere repetition of the activities in England, in France, and in Germany.

The material privations of these poor and ignorant prisoners were the first essential facts of the difficult situation. Insufficient help was received from the Russian, Roumanian, or Serbian governments, and even Italy had little surplus to devote to the well-being of prisoners. As the prison rations decreased, these caged men were reduced to the eternal cabbage or beef soup and a quarter loaf of black bread each day, varied by an occasional small portion of meat. Most of these sufferers were insufficiently clad, and coal became unobtainable. The conditions that obtained through many German prison camps were the rule in practically every concentration center in Austria-Hungary. Relief was not the business of the Association, but the need was so great that the Y M C A workers bent every effort to aid the established agencies and to supplement them as far as resources would permit. It was a primary obligation. The War Prisoners' Aid acted as distributing agent everywhere, and cooperating with all agencies and particularly with the Crown Princess of Sweden, supplied large quantities of food and clothing and other necessities throughout Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany. The Russian Red Cross was, of course, active throughout this area.

The regulations of the government regarding the purchase of food were very strict. No food parcel was forwarded unless it was addressed to an individual and no agency was permitted to send money out of the country for food for war prisoners. The local markets were able to supply comparatively little, so even the prisoners who had money were unable to purchase under the official regulations. The War Prisoners' Aid devised a method of helping the situation. Food parcels were purchased by the Y M C A in Denmark and in Switzerland and sent to the Austro-Hungarian camps in the name of designated individuals. They were handed over to the representatives of cooperative societies organized by the Y M C A in the camps, and the food was then sold. The cost of most of the parcels was refunded to the Y M C A and this money was used for the conduct of the prisoner of war service. Thus the regulations were observed to the letter. Five per cent was added to the cost of the articles by the camp committee and the profits were spent for the relief of the sick and for the establishment of tea-rooms. These cooperative enterprises proved very useful; they were able to render much service, and at the same time they provided an outlet for the energies of a large number of men engaged in the administration of the business. The Y M C A offered its help at all times to the local committees.

It is necessary again to emphasize that the relief measures of all agencies combined fell far short of meeting the needs. It requires a huge stock of material to keep a million and three quarters of men well-clothed and well-fed. The total amounts available for relief are small when compared with the number of prisoners. Arithmetical calculations are sometimes misleading but it is well to remember that ten cents per day for two millions of men totals \$73,000,000 for a year.

The War Prisoners' Aid developed steadily from its beginnings in the spring of 1915. The work could be extended only by the most careful procedure. The raising of funds was no more difficult than the securing of competent and acceptable workers, and the danger of overstepping the bounds of prudence was present in Austria-Hungary as everywhere else. The staff increased till by the later months of 1916 there were a dozen workers, providing a force sufficient to permit each man to devote his attention to three large camps. In the 28 main depots there were Y M C A social centers, either special buildings or barracks allotted by the military authorities. In many camps there were barracks set aside for church services, and here and there a special building for theater and moving pictures. At Heinrichsgrün, for example, there were separate barracks for the Russian church, the school, and the moving pictures, all of which were adapted and equipped by the Y M C A. At Wieselburg, there were a Russian Orthodox church, a Roman Catholic church, three school buildings (one especially for invalids), a work-shop, a theater, four tea-rooms, and two buildings remodeled as quarters for the Russian boys.

The welfare workers were compelled to labor with difficult material in building up their local organizations; but, of course, there was no other method of work open to them. It was exceedingly fortunate that they were able to live in the camps; otherwise, they would have been much hampered in setting up the organizations. Committees were appointed and held together by main force and sometimes a most effective social machine was put in running order. The record of the camp at Grödig, for example, shows a cabinet representing ten committees in charge of welfare, school, library, reading room, music, theater, moving pictures, athletics and recreation, arts, wood-carving, handicrafts, and religion (Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, and Jewish). The War Prisoners' Aid sent in the material and the secretaries nursed the delicate organizations into something like maturity. The appreciations of this service reflect

the pathos of the hard life. They are indications too of what might have been done for all had the resources and privileges been equal to the occasion. Here is a paragraph from a letter written by the prisoners at Thanes:

"The will of fate placed us in a difficult position; with fear we looked around, timid and helpless; we did not know what to do with ourselves. It seemed as if our years of youth, the best years of our lives, were passing away useless. Our intellectual strength was being wasted: perhaps, complete atrophy awaited us. Just then your Association, through you, reached to us a helping hand, and led us out of this helpless situation, showing us a new way, the way of intellectual and spiritual life. Through your interest and your warm sympathy, schools were opened, dramatic societies started, libraries provided, lectures and courses organized. As the Queen Bee directs the whole life of the hive, so you have led us tirelessly upon the noble way of wisdom and knowledge and directed the whole intellectual and spiritual life of the camps."

These quaint words may be taken to represent the very genius and the ideal of the War Prisoners' Aid—a high ideal, well above the power of perfect attainment; they certainly reflect accurately the needs of the prisoners and their appreciation of welfare work.

The educational work was extremely varied owing to the heterogeneous character of the prisoners. At the one extreme, in the Italian camp at Mauthausen in Austria, the school, under the leadership of an Italian professor, did work of such a high standard that credit was given by the Italian Educational Board for subjects in the fourteen different courses offered in this camp. The original Y hut was soon outgrown and a new school house had to be built. Similar University Extension work was carried on amongst the various officer groups. At the other extreme were the numerous classes for illiterates learning to read and write from text books printed for their use on Y M C A presses in the camps. The eagerness of the uneducated to utilize the opportunity of acquiring some degree of education was most impressive. Many of the pupils were over forty years of age; but in spite of adverse conditions, cold rooms and half empty stomachs, they strove to master the mysteries of elementary reading, writing and arithmetic. In seven months, more than 2,000 Russians in Wieselburg passed through the schools: the night school for workers, the invalids' school, and the officers' school. In the Serbian camp at Boldogasszony there were five different schools, one for boys, one for cripples, one for Mohammedans, a hospital school and an evening school for those at

work during the day. At Heinrichsgrün, special work was done amongst the illiterate in the two hospitals. The teacher went from bed to bed helping the sick in their effort to learn reading and writing. All of this work, of which these are but a few random examples, was done under directors chosen by the prisoners themselves and through teachers selected from the more intelligent men in the camps. Besides all this the Y provided lectures, supplied libraries, and circulated small libraries in the working camps.

## Music

The Y also did much to encourage the formation of orchestras, through the purchase of instruments and the supply of music. Through its efforts some kind of music was introduced in all the large camps. In Braunau, there was an orchestra of fourteen pieces, at Grödig a military band of twenty-nine pieces, and balalaika orchestra, playing Saturday and Sunday evenings for the theater and cinema program. Every evening the music committee gave an hour's concert in the Y hut. At Nagymegger a gypsy orchestra was found which played in the afternoon and evening in the coffee house where the Serbians congregated. Many more instances could be given but the mere enumeration of statistics does not convey the most important fact—the power of even the simplest musical instrument to enliven the monotony of camp life. That must be realized by an effort of imagination. Music was a real necessity to these men.

"The gramophone is the most used and abused apparatus we have," writes a secretary. "It is on the go day and night and it is hard to keep track of it, as it is sent from ward to ward, and from hospital to hospital. We loaned it to Estegrom where they have nine hospitals and they wanted it to go the rounds of all."

## Religion

Baron von Spiegelfeld in his annual report for 1916—to which reference has been made—referred to the War Prisoners' Aid as strictly avoiding all religious propaganda. This statement is at once just and yet unfair. The Y M C A did not carry on proselytizing propaganda of any kind, but did most definitely and energetically endeavor to provide opportunities for the prisoners to worship according to their ordinary custom. The prisoners in Austria-Hungary, with only an occasional exception, represented branches of Christianity and other religions with which the Y M C A is not ordinarily associated. In its work for these men, the Association regarded itself as an agent of humanity in the broadest sense and gave every assistance to all of the various religious leaders who had access to the camps. Bibles and prayer books in many languages were given freely.

The workers distributed religious literature, ikons, and pictures for Russian and Serbian prisoners. Churches were built according to the desires of the camp; often two or more had to be erected and to render them more attractive the Association furnished altars, statues, pictures, candles, music, priests' vestments and utensils. It was a time when every man needed the sustaining power of the religion to which he was accustomed and the Y M C A made every effort to open up the spiritual channels to the hearts of men.

The prisoners in Austria-Hungary were particularly appealed to by the celebration of Christmas. The Christmas committees provided gifts for the prisoners in the hospitals, an act that brought cheer both to recipient and to the giver. Christmas services were held out of doors because there were no buildings large enough to hold the crowds. At Wieselburg 5,000 men gathered around the Christmas trees. Greek Mass was celebrated and Russian Christmas hymns were sung. In the Serbian boys' camp, boys dressed as kings and shepherds recited the Christmas story and carried around a model of a church with figures representing a scene from the life of Christ. Trained choirs and orchestras gave Christmas concerts in the camps and in the hospitals. Christmas decorations were set up in the great courts of the camps, in the churches, in the Y huts, in the sleeping barracks, and in the hospitals. The military authorities made special presents to the prisoners and the Y M C A distributed individual gifts of chocolate and fruit in most of the camps. The preparation for the festival, participation in its activities, and the little extra presents, all emphasized the season of goodwill and pushed into the background for the moment at least the quarrels and suspicions and hardships of prison existence. The boys were the most deeply affected; they marched around the camps hugging their little gift bags to their hearts, their eyes shining with surprise and delight. In one camp, the Y M C A secretary was borne about on the shoulders of a group of sturdy Russians amid a scene of joyous enthusiasm. It was Merry Christmas in spite of everything.

The Y M C A made a special appeal to the authorities for the boy prisoners and offered a plan for segregation and training. As a result the boys of the different nationalities were gradually concentrated in special camps and entrusted officially to the care of the Y M C A. The first effort was inaugurated at Braunau, where a large sum of money was given by the Y to establish a boys' home. Eight of the existing barracks were adapted; four were used for living

Christmas  
Celebrations

The Boys'  
Camps

quarters, two as dining halls, and the other two equipped for teaching trades, such as shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, bookbinding. In addition, the Association built a church, primarily for religious purposes but used also for practical service as a school, recreation hall, and gymnasium. Eventually a school house with eight rooms was added to the equipment.

In this camp under a teaching staff of twenty-four men, nearly 500 boys received instruction daily. Courses were given in hygiene, printing, sculpture, and many other subjects. The commercial school created unusual interest. The miscellaneous activities included physical training in a gymnasium, a dental parlor, a band and choir, and gardens. Similar specialized boys' work was done at Wieselburg and at Boldogasszony. A vivid picture of one of these boys' camps is given in the reports:

"The term 'Prison Group' is scarcely applicable to a place where school is in session from eight in the morning until five in the afternoon; where melodious harmonies from the music hall can be heard at almost any hour of the day; where scores of happy shoemakers bring cheer, not only through making the feet warmer, but also by accompanying southland melodies; where the sewing machines are humming like an old country saw mill; where busy carpenter boys are sawing and pounding with delight; where hundreds are in the play house in a mental bustle over some puzzle or game; where they can attend a first class theater performance, a band concert or a movie nearly any evening; and where a big brother comes nearly every day with candy in his pockets or food parcels in his arms."

### THE CHALLENGE

The vivid impression that remains with those Americans who served in the prison camps of Germany and of Austria-Hungary is one of the dire need of the people represented by these prisoners from Russia, the Balkans, and even those from Italy. They were the embodiment of a poignant appeal to western Europe and to America. Their sufferings in prison camps were but the accentuation of the age-old hardships that they must endure in their own lands as long as poverty, ignorance, and dissension run riot. For the most part they were ignorant not only of letters and of the common facts of the world but of every fundamental principle of hygiene and ordinary cleanliness. The appalling need was burnt deep into the very souls of the workers.

But there was another phase of this experience. The welfare <sup>Slav</sup> <sub>Traits</sub> workers saw and appreciated the tremendous human powers that lie practically dormant particularly in the Slav character of Russia. Indications of its capability in the handicrafts, in the arts, in music, in religious feeling, in patient and sustained effort and enduring loyalty made the American secretaries feel that after all those travelers are not speaking in dreams who say that the greatest storehouse of energy in the world lies between the Baltic and Vladivostok. These workers gained some vision of what might happen if some miracle of human friendliness could release that power in the life of mankind and bring to our somewhat barren modern civilization the color and richness of the Slav imagination. They saw, too, that what is needed is not a superimposition of western ideas and ideals as the perfect model for all the earth, but a drawing out of the inherent qualities of the East to supplement our marked deficiencies. The Y M C A offered American help at a time of pressing need. It was little enough in terms of statistics, and the word its workers brought back was that a greater and more serious need lies beyond. The motive of human sympathy should be enough to move us, but there is no doubt in the minds of these observers who lived among the prisoners—ate with them, played with them, rejoiced with them, wept with them—that the very salvation of the world depends upon the salvation of Russia. It is not beyond the range of possibility that America may some day welcome a helping hand outstretched from the East.

## CHAPTER LII

### THE LAST ACT

For the prisoner of war, there was only one really important date—the end of the war. His spirits rose and fell as that day appeared to advance or recede; his mental attitude toward his surroundings changed with the shifting hope. The unfortunate part of it was that each imagined that the immediate sequel to the ending of hostilities would be his return to home and country. Of course, the more thoughtful men knew well enough that there were many difficulties to be overcome before complete repatriation could be accomplished; but in the extremity of longing, human beings seldom reconcile themselves beforehand to long delays and discouragements. As it actually worked out, the close of the fighting was the beginning of a period of special suffering for war prisoners. Even the most favored groups did not escape entirely, and those children of misfortune, the Russians, passed through a variety of tortures that continued year after year actually into 1921.

The final act in the prisoners of war drama is a complicated one. The first phase was inaugurated by the Peace of Brest-Litovsk when the first movement of prisoners between Russia and the Central Powers began. The second phase began with the Armistice; the repatriation of Allied prisoners was accomplished during this period and the movement between Russia and the Central Powers was temporarily checked. The last phase saw the repatriation of the Central Powers' prisoners in Allied hands and of the last of the Russians. The phases overlapped but each is marked by a quite distinctive character.

#### THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The peace concluded between the Central Powers and Bolshevik Russia on March 3, 1918, provided for the repatriation of prisoners by the signatories. From Central Europe the movement began in a methodical manner with the forwarding of the sick and severely injured. There were over 2,000,000 Russian prisoners in the hands of the Central Powers. Austria-Hungary and Germany had still a great deal of fighting on their hands—the final drive in France was about to begin—and the transportation system in the area between the

old fighting lines was completely destroyed; so that it was not possible before the Armistice to move more than a fraction of this great host. On the Russian side, the prison gates were flung open and the German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners were free to go wherever and however they chose, with serious consequences for the Russian nation. Those in Russia proper managed fairly well and large numbers of them reached home through privations that can hardly be imagined. Russia was utterly disorganized and there was little food anywhere. The prisoners who were held in Siberia faced a different situation. The Russian map—which must be kept continually before the eyes of anyone who would understand the situation—furnishes in itself all the required elaboration of this point. “Beating one’s way” across three thousand miles of a poverty-stricken and disorganized land possessed of one line of railroad is something of an adventure. This returning movement encountered a further obstacle. In the spring of 1918 the Czechoslovaks began their spectacular progress through Siberia.<sup>1</sup> As these crusaders appeared in May on the border between Russia and Siberia, they blocked the line of advance; and German and Austrian prisoners were cut off from their own countries for the time.

The actual ending of hostilities between Russia and the Central Powers at the Armistice of December 15, 1917, produced an immediate effect in France. About 20,000 men of the Russian Expeditionary Forces came to the conclusion that their country was at peace and that therefore they could not continue in arms against the Central Powers. From the point of view of these men, the decision was quite just and reasonable; naturally it did not appear to the French in quite the same light. The Russians were promptly interned and generally classed as cowards and traitors. We are not called upon to pass judgment upon either the prisoners or the French in this case; it is only necessary to note carefully that this was another of those complicated situations whose proper handling at any time requires the very nicest sense of discrimination and unlimited human tolerance—which are not always forthcoming in the midst of a tremendous death-grapple.

The Russian prisoners who returned from Central Europe in the spring and summer of 1918 drifted into the country almost unnoticed. In the place of enthusiastic welcome, they were offered expositions of the glories of communism, of which they had heard very little before. Most of them were sick. They were placed in hospitals in Moscow and Petrograd, and very little attention was paid to them by anyone.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter LVIII.

Russian Forces  
in France

Welfare Work  
in Russia

The more fit found their way about and were lost in the civilian population.

The Y M C A in March, 1918, had in all Russia about 50 men available for service.<sup>1</sup> They were assigned to various tasks scattered over the whole country. Seven or eight men began a definite work for the returning prisoners in Moscow and Petrograd. In cooperation with the American Red Cross, work was begun for the ailing and half-starved men in the hospitals. Supplementary food was distributed and a regular program of activities instituted. For a few months this work progressed; and the invalid enjoyed the benefits of relief, entertainment, and libraries, besides the large amount of personal service possible under the circumstances. The curious isolation of these men, who surely deserved something at the hands of their own nation, presented an appeal of peculiar poignancy to which the American relief and welfare agencies responded to the best of their abilities. It was not long, however, before the new government made up its mind about the Y M C A; the welfare workers' position became untenable and by October, 1918, the last man left Russia.

Work for  
Russians in  
France

The newly interned Russians in France drew the attention of the Y M C A forces at once. Their condition was pitiable. "My experience," wrote a secretary, "is that the Russian soldiers are the most misunderstood of all types of mankind that have been here during the last four years. The civilian population in every village is bitterly hostile. The guard in many cases is brutally insolent." Such antagonism is easily understood.

With the full support of the French Government, the Association, in order to lighten the lot of these men, organized a Russian Relief Department. Workers were drawn from a group of men who had been engaged in work in Russia and men who were familiar with the Russian language in charge of George M. Day, a Y M C A secretary who had seen a decade of service in Russia. Two experimental huts were opened in February, 1918, in villages where the Russian soldiers were working. The success of the effort was immediate and proved to be of such value that the Y M C A was asked to extend its service to all working camps. Centers were promptly opened in a score of villages. Canteens, reading rooms, and recreation rooms were made available; and a program of religious, educational, athletic, and recreational activities instituted. Theaters were built and plays were given by companies organized by the Russians themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter LVIII.

This service was of immediate and direct benefit to the prisoners; it also brought about a very much better relationship between the prisoners and their guards. "Within a week after we opened," stated one report, "I found a new spirit. The French were beginning to warm up to the Russians in fine French style." There are several reasons for this. The guards unquestionably were affected by the attitude of the American workers; if these Y M C A secretaries considered the Russians important enough to bother about at such a time, surely they must be entitled to some consideration after all. And the guards themselves greatly benefited by the new arrangement. They were not overlooked in the work. They enjoyed the "movies" and other recreational features, and naturally attributed their new blessings to the presence of the Russians. The ice once broken, a more liberal disposition immediately came to the surface.

Before the work opened, the Russians were gloomy and despondent. They had been long away from home; they were disappointed deeply over their treatment in France and felt keenly the hostility of all who surrounded them. They had lost heart and were lapsing into physical filth and moral degeneracy. The new hope engendered by the interest of workers, the growing good feeling of their guards, the huts and their social activities arrested the progress of disintegration. The authorities welcomed the work doubly on account of its great value in lessening the spirit of mutiny and drunkenness. These disgruntled men were, of course, exceedingly hard to handle. When a degree of contentment replaced the restlessness it was better for everyone concerned. In certain cases the withholding of the service was used as an effective form of punishment, so popular had the work become. This first experience with the Russians in France prepared the way for a larger effort which became necessary immediately after the Armistice.

#### THE ARMISTICE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The Armistice, November 11, 1918, provided for the immediate re-patriation of all Allied prisoners, civilian and military; the term of repatriation was fixed at "fourteen days," an impossible mark evidently intended merely to emphasize immediacy for it was practically recognized as impossible in a special provision. No promise was made, of course, regarding the repatriation of prisoners in Allied hands. The Russians appear not to have come within the scope of the terms of the agreement. As the situation worked itself out,

the Allied prisoners with the exception of the very sick were repatriated by the end of January, 1919, those held by the Allies were nearly all kept till the terms of peace were concluded; while the Russians and the Germans and Austro-Hungarians in Russia shared a highly diversified experience as might have been expected.

The imprisoned citizens of the Central Powers in Allied countries were naturally disappointed and disheartened over the turn of affairs. During 1918, such information as they received pointed to an early victory for their nations. They came out of their dreams to realize that they were to share a stupendous defeat and to remain in prison for a period that seemed to them indefinite. There appeared to them, of course, to be no real reason why they should not be repatriated. The feeling of resentment hitherto confined principally to civilian prisoners extended to the military and it grew day by day as the period of peace negotiations lengthened. They lost their heart for all kinds of activities; it did not seem worth while to start anything new. There spread a depression hardly equalled in any other phase of imprisonment. There was only one real cure for such depression—release; it came at last but only after many months of painful waiting.

The Armistice did clear the way for an extended welfare program. The difficult though necessary restrictions that had so hampered the work were largely set aside and the Y M C A in the general rejoicing did not forget the prisoners. Service was extended in every direction, backed now by adequate funds and a more sufficient supply of workers. A determined effort was made to rouse men from their lethargy and keep before them the need for resolution in the face of this new but surely final trial. The work did achieve success. The report of the work in England records the constant repetition of such extravagant expressions as: "We have never needed the activities of the Y M C A so much as now. It is the one thing that keeps us all from going mad."

In the terms of the peace, signed June 28, 1919, provision was made for repatriation "as soon as possible."<sup>1</sup> This movement was carried out at the convenience of the Allies but was accomplished within a very few months after the Treaty came into effect.

The end of hostilities found Austria-Hungary—Government, Army, and transportation system—in chaos, and Germany in the throes of a popular revolution. The Austro-Hungarian guards simply threw open the prisons and left the prisoners to their own devices. To a large extent Germany did the same. When Conrad Hoffman

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<sup>1</sup> Articles 214 to 224.

visited the Americans at Rastatt after the outbreak of the German Revolution but before the Armistice, he found the streets of the town full of doughboys released by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council. Men on working detachments hurried to the parent camps, thousands drifted to the larger cities, and many started for the border without waiting for any other arrangements. A very difficult and highly dangerous situation was created; it was not long before urgent appeals were made for troops to protect civilian communities. The prisoners, left without guards and so without food, were out foraging for themselves. It was a sad fact that medical service was interrupted. The new spirit of comradeship expressed by the Germans was scant protection.

The various military missions of the Allies arrived in Germany <sup>Allied  
Prisoners</sup> promptly after the Armistice. One of the first duties was the repatriation of the prisoners. The large number of men who were not content to wait for the wheels of the official machinery to turn and started to repatriate themselves really suffered very severe hardship. Their last months of imprisonment had been marked by an increasing scarcity of food, emphasized by the lack of supervision of the camps during the days just before and just after the Armistice, and the overland journey on foot was an arduous adventure for men far below par physically. The advancing armies of occupation day by day met a very weary and worn crowd of returning prisoners. It is easy to understand the reports of Americans regarding the serious conditions of the men who came down through the Toul area. They drifted up to the north and down through Switzerland; they went anywhere to be free. Hundreds of thousands of Italians freed in Austria made their way to the Italian front and met the advancing troops. They also met the forces of the Y M C A with the Italian Army and such service as was possible was extended to them *en route*. The Y met all trains of prisoners passing through Switzerland and provided refreshments or supplemented the regular rations.

Because of its relationship to the prisoners the Y M C A was able <sup>Y M C A  
Assistance</sup> to be of great assistance to the military missions by furnishing information regarding the location and organization of camps, by helping to distribute relief, and in some cases the welfare secretaries were called upon to assist in arranging transportation. A Y Foyer was opened in Berlin; and through the courtesy of the Allied officials, it was possible to offer open hospitality and tea, coffee, and biscuits to all comers. The relief agencies were prompt in coming to the

rescue and the Y M C A workers cooperated eagerly, particularly to help the invalids, who suffered most from the disorganization of the camps. Influenza was rife at this time.

The prisoners were gathered in the north for transportation by way of Denmark and in the south to be forwarded through Switzerland. In both these countries the Y M C A set up emergency service. The effort of the Danish National Council, assisted by the American Y M C A, was a model of rapid organization to meet an urgent need. There was considerable delay in providing transportation from Denmark, so there was much need for the regular welfare services of the Y M C A.

The time between the Armistice and February, 1919, was a trying one for these prisoners; but the ordeal was soon over. Before spring, British, French, Italian, and Belgian able-bodied prisoners were all at home. The sick followed as rapidly as they were able to move.

The Russians in Austria-Hungary, turned loose from the camps, made for the border. They took what they could get and in some cases seized trains. They were a mob hurrying to get home. In the eastern part of Germany the same conditions obtained to a large extent. A large number got over the border and began their tramp across the ruined areas while others were stopped at the border by the new Russian forces and turned back into Germany. The disorganization in this section was complete. Marauding bands of prisoners marched about the countryside in search of food. In a number of cases Y M C A secretaries were called in by guards and the better men among the prisoners to assist in instituting some kind of control. In other parts of Germany, the prisoners swamped the parent camps. Food supplies ran out. There seemed to be nobody who cared what happened to the Russians. The authorities, both German and Allied, had their hands full at this time in keeping the Allied prisoners contented during the period of delay and had little time to help the Russians.

The Germans were frankly anxious to get rid of the Russians; and, as soon as they could take the matter in hand, they forwarded the prisoners to the border, gave them a supply of food, and bade them a relieved farewell. Bolshevik propagandists were in every group of prisoners. The Allied commissioners finally took the whole affair into their own hands, stopped the movement back to Russia, and, since the Germans could not furnish supplies, assumed control of

the prison camps of Russians on February 15, 1919. It was exceedingly difficult for these Allied authorities to decide just what should be done with these men. They were a menace to Germany as they were; if they were returned to Russia, they might join the Red forces; yet the men themselves had fought on the Allied side in the war and were comrades. Every record of this period reflects the confusion of this whole question.

The Russians now became prisoners of their former Allies. The Y M C A offered its services, which were gladly accepted but were held up till certain diplomatic forms were fulfilled. With all the former restrictions removed, a full program of activities was rapidly established and accomplished remarkable results.

But the point was the Russians did not desire benevolence but a ticket home. Some expressed their willingness to join anti-Bolshevik forces and were released at once, but most of them were not sure. They became a group exceedingly difficult to handle, and without the welfare activities might have been much more dangerous. Here was a new and interesting phase of welfare work.

For the British and American guards an extensive service was also developed at this time. They faced a very tiresome job and social recreation was a necessity.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian  
Prisoners'  
Situation

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<sup>1</sup> The following letter from Brigadier General George H. Harries, Chief of the American Mission at Berlin, is significant as indicating appreciation of all for the service which the Association endeavored to render:

"Now that the career of this Mission approaches its termination I am surveying the achievements of the faithful—among whom are those who followed the leadership of Mr. Hoffman and yourself.

"Never was there better or more work by few workers than that done by the American Y M C A, whether for our prisoners in German hands, for the Russian prisoners, or for the force of this Mission in Berlin or in the camps.

"Particularly effective were your efforts with respect to the improvement of Russian morale. Prisoners for more than four years, ill fed, half clad, homesick, and rebellious, they were almost desperate when the Inter-Allied Commission came into control. Every available agency was called upon to assist—save the American Y M C A. It volunteered before anyone could ask for its active interest. Many difficulties confronted Mr. Hoffman, but we managed to push them aside so that you and your staff were then free to accomplish—and you have wrought—miracles. Football, baseball, and other athletic sports, libraries, schools, theaters, and orchestras came to the rescue of hundreds of thousands of those in captivity.

"The combination of the increased rations provided by the Entente and the greatly accelerated physical and mental activity induced by your little corps lifted the prisoners out of dangerous despondency and upset many a threatening conspiracy.

"My hearty thanks to you, to each one of your assistants, and to the Association itself for a priceless contribution to the work of this Mission."—From In the Prison Camps of Germany, Conrad Hoffman, New York, 1920, pp. 261-262.

The Allied commissioners withdrew in August, 1919. They offered no particular objection to the repatriation of the Russians but a new difficulty had arisen. The Poles and Russian Reds had started another war on the ground between Russia and Germany. It was impossible to send men across by land. Germany had given up so many ships that there were none left for the transportation of prisoners. So there was another long delay until about May, 1920.

Old  
Prisoners  
and New

These men were now called "old" prisoners because a "new" group of Russian prisoners had come into existence. The Poles pushed about 100,000 Russian Reds over into East Prussia. The German border guards, comparatively few in number, disarmed these forces but could only get about half of them into internment camps. This new factor further complicated the situation.

On the opening of the Rhineland camps, some 50,000 Russians found their way into France. They certainly expected a warm welcome from their former allies; they were interned without delay. It is as little to be wondered at that they resented this treatment as that the French could find nothing else to do with them. France was actively supporting anti-Bolshevik enterprises. The radical virus had spread far and wide and anti-Bolshevik forces appeared strangely weak. The idea seems to have been to keep these men isolated as far as possible and recruit from among them soldiers to fight the Reds. As a matter of fact comparatively few of them were willing to enter such a military enterprise.

The Russian Department of the Y M C A in France extended its service to cover these newcomers. More than 60 canteens were established and 190 different points in France, Belgium, Algiers, and Egypt were served. At one time fourteen workers were employed in this service. Some of the special features of this work were a Russian newspaper (issued three times a week), a school for cripples, English classes for men preparing to emigrate to America, and the discovery of openings in America for students and technical experts. The American Red Cross supplied funds for relief, which were distributed through the Y M C A.

This work resembled that undertaken at the same time in Germany. There is no doubt that some of the military leaders expected political results from Y service, but the Y M C A itself began such work long before there was any question of politics with the distinct purpose of aiding these needy men. This was an opportunity to set a few Russians on the pathway of mental and spiritual enlightenment,

a definite step, however insignificant, toward bringing Russia into the circle of international cooperation. The central office of the War Prisoners' Aid in Switzerland issued a large number of text books and works of inspiration for this service. It was impossible to secure Russian books from Russia; without this supply created rapidly by the need, the Russian work developed in France and Germany in 1918 and 1919 would have been very greatly hampered.

On the map of Russia, it may be observed that the cities of Ekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, and Omsk lie on the main route between Russia and Siberia. YMCA workers forced out of Russia in the late summer and fall of 1918 moved to these cities, which were also for the time being centers of other YMCA operations.

On the  
Siberian  
Border

As the winter closed in the prisoners who had been released from Austria-Hungary and Germany began to pour through these cities. They had crossed the ruined areas between Germany and Russia on foot for the most part; with much difficulty, they had secured train transportation as far as Samara, which is about 450 miles east of Chelyabinsk; from Samara they had walked forward, frequently making wide detours, and while some were able to get on trains beyond the Bolshevik lines others completed their journey on foot. From the German border to Samara the distance is more than a thousand miles; there were only three organized feeding points along the line. On their various detours the men found practically no food. With the weather frequently 40° below zero (Fahrenheit), these men came into these border cities all of them half-clothed and three-quarters of them provided with no other foot-wear than the German burlap or rope boots. All were starved and many were carried from the trains in a half-frozen condition. The YMCA gathered what food it could find and purchased clothing and supplies which were distributed to these needy men. The Omsk government finally organized a feeding station at Chelyabinsk; and the American Red Cross, under conditions of the greatest difficulty, opened a hospital for the many sick. The YMCA service touched in all about 80,000 men at these points.

The term "touched" is accurate. After receiving the little gifts and other service each group of men passed on to Siberia.

The events of 1918 and 1919 opened up the Siberian prison camps where Germans, Austro-Hungarians, and Turks were still awaiting repatriation. The YMCA was at this time better equipped than it had been at any previous period and a new program was possible in spite of the many complications affecting the situation.

The Siberian  
Prison Camps

## THE LAST STAGE

The period immediately following the Armistice was characterized by a general stabilizing of the prisoner of war situation. The prisoners in Allied countries were held pending the close of the peace negotiations. The Russians in Germany and France were also held by the Allies "for further consideration." In Siberia, Germans and Austro-Hungarians were blocked by the Czechoslovak movement and the Allied forces in the Vladivostok region. Toward the end of 1919, things began to move again.

Prisoners in the Allied countries were returned systematically. Some of the Russians in France were released late in the year. In the spring of 1920 the French finally decided to repatriate the rest; and these were landed in South Russia, all being cleared out by January, 1921. Russia and Germany were anxious to get their affairs wound up, so arrangements were made in the spring of 1920 to complete the exchange. Since the Russo-Polish affair dragged on interminably, overland repatriation was impossible. The Allies lent ships and the transfer was effected primarily through the Baltic ports. Lastly, a considerable number of Russians were carried by ship around to Vladivostok, and Germans, Austro-Hungarians, and Turks brought back by the same route. The spring of 1921 found practically all at home once more.

The Y M C A during this last period conducted an extensive welfare service in both Riga and Vladivostok while maintaining the camp service for the men who awaited repatriation.

The colorful story of the traffic that was set up between Stettin and the eastern Baltic ports is largely outside the scope of the present narrative. The vessels plied back and forth, crowded not only with prisoners but with families which the prisoners had somehow or other acquired during the period of captivity, and numberless refugees. This movement, begun slowly in the spring of 1920, continued in varying volume month after month. Train service from Germany was resumed later on. The total progress was slow on account of the lack of facilities both in ships and in train service in Russia. The stream continued through 1920 and 1921.

Y M C A work at the ports<sup>1</sup> consisted of a variety of personal services such as might be appreciated by travelers journeying under uncomfortable circumstances. There were tea, coffee, cocoa, and biscuits

<sup>1</sup> A group of Rhodes scholars from Oxford were enlisted for this service in the long vacation period.

ready for everyone; and little gift packages were handed to the men on the trains. Social gatherings were arranged for the women and children. The lay-over at the ports was usually short; but, particularly in the case of those entering Russia, it offered the last opportunity for a hot drink until the end of a very long journey. Early in 1921, Riga was made the exchange port. The Y M C A set up a large work in connection with the camp in which those returning from Russia passed through the disinfecting process. It was significant that during this last period all prisoners coming out of Germany were familiar with the work of the Y M C A and eagerly welcomed its further service.

At Vladivostok in 1920 the Y M C A was well-equipped for ser-<sup>Vladivostok</sup> vice. The International Hut was a great rendezvous for fighting men of about fifteen different nationalities.<sup>1</sup> The various forces were evacuated gradually, among them the Czechoslovaks to the number of 53,026. After them came the prisoners of war from Siberia—Germans, Austrians, and Turks—and the Russians who were sent back home by way of Vladivostok.

Again, there ensued another scene full of color and life as these strange groups passed to and fro through one of the strangest of all cities. There was little possibility of orderly procedure in the repatriation of prisoners. They came almost unannounced from Siberia and frequently boat-loads of Russian prisoners were in port before anyone knew of their existence.

A vivid scene out of the midst of the active period of 1920 appears in one report. The motor cars and trucks of the Y M C A were busy racing about in all directions assisting in the disposal of a group of Austro-Hungarians coming down from the interior. A big program of three days of special recreational events was in progress, and all welfare workers were busy from early morning till the small hours of the next. Word came in suddenly that nearly 500 Russians had come in on a steamer. The Y M C A secretary in charge of War Prisoners' Work hurried to the dock. These returned soldiers, in ragged clothing and almost barefoot, were standing silent on a barge at a dock waiting to be towed over to Russian Island. There was no welcome for them—not a soul in sight to raise even the ghost of a cheer for these survivors of battle, prison, and a long sea voyage. These same men had seen returning German prisoners march over flower-strewn streets. They had been placed on the barge at six o'clock

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter LVIII.

in the morning: at six at night nothing had yet happened. A representative of the German Red Cross delayed the sailing of their steamer in order that they might have some food. It was late when the Y secretary discovered them. While he and his helpers were off in the city rounding up provisions for some kind of a supper, someone came along and towed the barge laden with hungry, disappointed, exhausted men out into the dark bay.

The Russians' Homecoming

The next day Y M C A workers started out with supplies to find these men. No information could be secured, so a launch was borrowed from a U. S. cruiser and search began. Fifty of the group were found in one of the hospitals and supplies landed there. Then the hunt continued till at 4.30 o'clock in the afternoon the location of the prisoners was discovered. As the Y M C A workers came into this dismal barracks—there were iron beds but no mattresses or blankets—the men were finishing their first meager meal in 30 hours. They had spent the previous night on the shore. Each man received from the Y in the cold and gloomy hall, two packages of cigarettes, two packages of matches, four beef cubes, one bar of milk chocolate, and a quarter of a pound of sardines. The workers ate their own supper with the good-hearted commandant who had been a prisoner himself. When they rose to go out they suddenly discovered, in the shadows of the hall where they had eaten, four hundred men standing in line holding their gifts in their hands, courteously waiting for their benefactors to depart.

Such was the homecoming of the Russian prisoners.

This was the daily life of the War Prisoners' Aid in Vladivostok. There is little need to labor the details. These were the fag ends of the six million imprisoned men of the nations. Some of them had been away from their homes for seven years and some had been in prison throughout the whole period. The Y M C A had these men in its range only a few days, perhaps only a few hours. During this brief period the attempt was made to bring a little friendship into the lives of those who had come out of great suffering and who had before them long hard journeys at whose end in too many cases were only poverty and sorrow.

#### THE HUMAN MOTIVE

In the early days of the struggle, it was the prisoners of war who drew deepest upon the sympathies of the leaders of the American Y M C A. They were not effectives on the front, they were non-combatants,

just men. Considerations of military policy did not then affect the attitude of American welfare workers, for there were no American prisoners to benefit by reciprocity: the Y M C A put forth its first effort because these men were in trouble and it appealed, not in vain, to the heart of America in the interest of human need apart from all question of winning the war. British, French, German, Turkish, Bolshevik—as prisoners they were all treated alike. From the very first days, through the period of America's active participation, and on into days long after the fighting was ended the work continued without interruption. There were over 6,000,000 prisoners. Some never heard of the Y M C A; yet indirectly the lives of nearly all of them were affected in some degree by the activities set in motion by the secretaries of the American Y M C A. It was not that the American Association workers did it all. They had the vision; they conceived the idea of organizing the prisoners of war to help themselves. The prisoners carried on the activities; it thus became their work throughout. But it was American goodwill and leadership and financial backing that made it possible. American goodwill, manifested to friend and enemy alike, was, in the case of countless numbers of prisoners, the first thing that met them inside the barbed wire and the last thing they saw as they set their faces toward home.

American  
Goodwill



PART V  
WITH THE ALLIED ARMIES



## CHAPTER LIII

### THE INTERNATIONAL SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN Y M C A

The motive that took the American Y M C A into a varied service in Europe during 1914-1917 was the same motive that has inspired its work for nearly three generations. The Association movement was international in character long before it became a significant enterprise in any one nation; and of all its various national branches, none has been more energetic than the American in extending help to the young men of foreign nations. The first war effort was genuinely and exclusively humanitarian, including both fighting men and prisoners on both sides of the conflict. The American outreach comprised the supplying of funds and workers to various Association agencies abroad and also the assumption of direct responsibility for the widespread service in behalf of prisoners of war. The Y M C A was and remains an unofficial organization yet throughout this early period it was entrusted with considerable responsibility by a number of governments and in its War Prisoners' Aid Work received the recognition and assistance of the State Department of the United States and of its representatives in Europe. To other nations the American Y M C A, in its many contacts with young men in need, represented quite unofficially but very directly the altruistic spirit of America and her capacity to help at a time of serious crisis. Owing to the very intimate relationship that had existed for so long between the American and European leaders, the Y M C A was in a position to note, with a sense of pride and a feeling of humility, to what extent in their heart of hearts the relief and welfare workers were counting on America's effective generosity.

*The Altruistic  
Spirit of  
America*

The large funds<sup>1</sup> necessary for this European work (1914-1917) were raised from the Y M C A constituency through the regular or-

<sup>1</sup> The contributions received by the Y M C A Committee on Work for Allied Armies and Prisoners of War, were as follows:

YEAR	
1914	\$ 42,300.00
1915	237,262.21
1916	887,678.65
1917	1,113,065.32
Total	\$2,280,306.18

ganization of the Association. The American Y M C A had at this time assumed no public function and extensive popular campaigns were neither possible nor desirable. The sharp difference of opinion over the responsibility for letting loose the powers of destruction affected our viewpoint toward all questions and an excessively embarrassing situation might easily have arisen over the disposition of funds raised at large. It was therefore necessary to secure these considerable amounts of money by very cautious means. Direct personal appeals were made largely to Association supporters and the Student Friendship Fund was promoted by the Student Young Men's Christian Association in the colleges of the country. Similarly the personnel of this early service of necessity was recruited with the very greatest care. The leaders were fully aware of the fact that misunderstandings—there would be from Americans no fundamental opposition to such service—might easily arise, and that such misunderstandings if they became a matter of public discussion would certainly tend to hinder prompt action in a situation where prompt action was an essential requirement.

A New  
Situation

With America's entry into the war, the situation changed somewhat. The American Y M C A assumed a public position as an arm of the forces of the United States and was supplied with funds raised by popular subscription. It was of course out of the question to continue support for service to men actually in the field as enemies of America or of the nations with which America was associated in the war. The Y M C A's offer of service to the American fighting men was accepted by the American Government both on the grounds of military expediency and upon the grounds of the conservation of American ideals in American manhood. Military and naval officers of course were compelled to consider the question of expediency first of all.<sup>1</sup> The revision of the program of the American Y M C A under the altered situation called for the continuance of the prisoners of war service, and, in addition to the work for American fighting men, a very large increase in the effort for soldiers of the Allied Armies. This part of the program was made clear in the appeals for funds addressed to the American people.

The American Y M C A in no sense changed its attitude toward the men whom it strove to serve but it was in a new situation involving new responsibilities. It had accepted a definite commission from

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<sup>1</sup> See the broad attitude of the American Government as illustrated in Chapter XXVII.

the Government of the United States. Therefore, its efforts had to be considered not alone from the humanitarian standpoint but also from the point of view of assisting in the winning of the war with a primary responsibility in connection with the welfare of the American civilian soldiers.

That service for men in the Allied forces not only helped the cause for which America was fighting but was actually of value to our men is plain when all the elements are considered. If the French Army work be taken as an example, the illustration will serve for all such service. Marshal Foch has unequivocally stated that the work of the Foyers du Soldat decidedly affected the staying power of the French soldiers in the last lap of the war. He has said what no welfare worker would dare to claim.<sup>1</sup> Granted that such an appreciation was all too generous, still it remains that everything that helped to keep the French Army fit meant that there was just so much less burden to be borne by the American forces. Had this great force given way seriously America would have had to send certainly twice 2,000,000 men to the Western Front. Every Y M C A effort for every Ally, in so far as it contributed in even the remotest degree to the ultimate success, was of just so much service to American men. But further America became part and parcel of the Allied cause. America aided with material equipment and men at every important point. It was therefore eminently just and fitting that the benefits of its welfare service, which in spite of all deficiencies was by far the most comprehensive service ever rendered to fighting men, should be extended far and wide wherever it would do the most good.

The continuation of the prisoners of war work was also a sound decision. It was necessary to work for both sides if any work for the Allied prisoners was to be maintained, for all privileges of access to the camps were granted on a reciprocal basis. Had this work ceased on America's entry a very large number of Allies would have felt a measurable increase in their sufferings. In the case of American fighting men, it was fortunate that the war ended before any large number were put behind the barbed wire; but there were over 2,500 American prisoners in Germany who had every reason to be thankful that Y service was continued to the end. Surely the welfare of even such a small group was alone worth all the effort put into this work during the previous years.

The Value of  
International  
Service

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter LIV.

Beyond the work for men in the fighting forces and the prisoners during the period of actual conflict, the Y M C A in the name of the American people joined with other American agencies in special work here and there with distressed civilian communities and with new nations struggling to establish upon wreck of the past a new and stable national life. There are higher motives for international service than that of selfish advantage, but it is well to keep always in mind that the world is one and will remain one through its period of existence and that America is deeply involved everywhere on the globe. The assistance rendered by America through the Y M C A to such nations as Greece and Roumania and Russia in the hour of need and to Poland and Czechoslovakia in their time of aspiration will prove in the end of the greatest advantage to the interests of America and has already opened what all true Americans desire above all else, an unlimited opportunity for a continuing humanitarian service.

## CHAPTER LIV

### LES FOYERS DU SOLDAT

France was the protagonist of the Allied cause. At the first rush, the German Army entered her borders to stay until the end. It was her fields that were ploughed by shells, her villages and towns that were drenched with poison gas and battered into dust. The world watched the sufferings of her refugees and the resolution of her soldiers with sympathy and admiration equalled only by the emotions inspired by martyred Belgium. In a peculiar sense, the fate of France was the fate of the world and in her fluctuating fortunes the nations saw the alternatives which awaited all. Within, one purpose concentrated the thought and will of the entire nation. Civilians as well as soldiers divested life of every gratification that diverted energy or material resources from the sheer maintenance of national existence. With home and liberty and every human sanctity at stake, even the things regarded as necessary to normal living were renounced as trivial luxuries. France stripped and hardened herself for her fight for life.

So it was not strange that the physical comfort of soldiers, their enjoyment of petty luxuries, their recreation and amusement were dismissed as meriting no share of the national attention. But the war modified many conceptions and brought its own readjustment of relative values. Comfort, contentment, even play, were found to have a vital relation to fighting efficiency. The welfare work established in the American Army, at the moment of our entry into the war, owed much of its welcome by authorities to observation and experience of similar work in European armies, as well as to previous work in our Civil and Spanish Wars. Hardly had the first American contingents appeared in France, accompanied by welfare organizations, when request was made for American assistance in extending welfare work, already begun among French soldiers. Supported by the hearty approval of General Pershing, the American Y M C A entered into a cooperative arrangement with the French Government and civilian agencies, to enlarge the operations of the Foyers du Soldat, whose share in stimulating and reviving the spirit of war-weary France was generously recognized and appreciated.

The Initial  
Attitude toward  
Welfare Service

The story of the Foyers is not a mere repetition of familiar welfare operations; it has many distinctive features, and particularly provides an illuminating demonstration of the morale-promoting value of welfare service.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOYERS

Welfare work with the French armies owed its inception to M. Emmanuel Sautter of the *Société Chrétienne des Jeunes Gens* or French Y M C A and General Secretary of the World's Committee of National Young Men's Christian Associations.

"From the beginning of the war, Great Britain and her Dominions had undertaken the operation of huts for their soldiers," M. Sautter writes<sup>1</sup>, "and their sympathy and their help for the French work were shown on several occasions and in many ways. But, it was especially from America that immediate and complete help came. Financial assistance began with an important contribution in October, 1914, followed by other continually increasing sums. 'You can go ahead,' wrote the General Secretary, 'we will always be behind you.' Before becoming our Allies and entering the war, the Americans showed themselves faithful and generous friends."

Inasmuch as the general mobilization had absorbed most of the membership of the French Y M C A, Mr. Sautter was obliged to act in his private capacity. Before the war, reading and writing rooms with some club features had been established in French garrisons; and in August, 1914, Mr. Sautter proposed to the *Service du Santé*, the Health Department, that these be extended to soldiers in the field. His suggestion met with no response, and he did not feel warranted in approaching the high command. In August, 1914, invaded France had other concerns than the comfort of soldiers.

In October, Dr. John R. Mott visited Europe to investigate needs and opportunities for service to the belligerent armies and peoples. Encouraged by his promises of financial aid from America, Mr. Sautter renewed his efforts. Gaining access to General Putz, then commanding in the Vosges sector, he secured permission to establish one or more Foyers with his troops. This permission was temporarily cancelled by superior authority on the ground that military interest forbade the presence of civilians in the camps.<sup>2</sup> A few weeks later

<sup>1</sup> Une Oeuvre de Guerre. *Les Foyers du Soldat de l'Union Franco-Américaine*. Emmanuel Sautter. Préface du Maréchal Pétain. Paris, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> "The safety of the camps and the secrecy of operations definitely demands that no person outside the army shall be informed of tactical arrangements or of the interior life of the cantonments, any more than of troop movements and changes in the location of cantonments." The same, p. 13.

it was renewed and on January 16, 1915, the first Foyer was opened in the village of La Voivre, near St. Dié. Shortly thereafter Foyers were opened at Baccarat and Gerardmer.

These forward Foyers had to cope with the conditions and difficulties in the combat area—bombardments, the German drives, the constant movement of troops, and the sudden changes of encampments. The original Foyer of La Voivre was demolished in bombardment; its successors were established in changing localities, its personnel adapting themselves as best they could to the necessities of each movement, but never failing in their service to the soldiers. "C'est la guerre" was their watchword, too, whenever forced by circumstances to leave hurriedly, remove, or rebuild elsewhere.

At the same time, other fields for welfare work presented themselves. An offer to establish a Foyer at the great military camp of Valbonne, 30 kilometers from Lyons, was warmly welcomed by the military governor. A knock-down hut was loaned; and the Foyer of La Valbonne, which thus modestly made its début, met with such success that an extension was immediately necessary. "The Foyer is excellent," said the general, commanding the camp, "but your Committee must furnish something considerably larger." An enormous hall, with several annexes, was built adjoining the first location. Twelve to fifteen hundred men used the building daily, from morning to night. In the early months of 1915, leading men in Lyons asked the assistance of the Committee to install two Foyers in the city; one among a vast camp of convalescents, the other on the quays of the Rhône River, where the municipality placed at their service an extensive location in the heart of the city. The first efforts of the workers had been directed toward securing access to the forward areas as the French workers felt that their service would count for more in those positions. While they never changed their judgment as to relative value, the great need and extensive possibilities in the rear areas were freely recognized.

By May 1, 1915, six Foyers were thus organized in the front and rear lines. The work accomplished was but a preface to the work that was to follow. The Committee had achieved its aim in contributing to an appreciation and understanding of the value of the welfare work for the French "poilus."

Mr. Sautter's account of the beginnings thus outlined, indicates a wide skepticism among French military and Government authorities: that welfare work would or could play any significant part in

In the  
Fighting Zones

The First  
Foyers

the life of a fighting army was inconceivable. He was told that "ravissement moral," or moral support of the spirits of the soldiers, which he urged as of equal importance with material support, was purely a concern of the General Headquarters, and was referred to certain hospitals where there might be a possibility of relief work for convalescent wounded. "The expression—maintenance of morale—so popular later, was then ignored," wrote Mr. Sautter, "and the idea which it expressed did not seem to correspond to any urgent needs in a war of movement." The complete reversal of this mental attitude was perhaps the most striking proof of the military value of welfare work which the war produced.

Late in November, 1915, a Committee of Patronage was formed under the chairmanship of General de la Croix, who had preceded Marshal Joffre as Commander-in-Chief. By the end of that year, 20 Foyers were in operation. In the following spring, the Minister of War was sufficiently persuaded by demonstrated results to grant a general permission to open Foyers in such places as commanders might approve. Not until September, 1916, did Mr. Sautter succeed in presenting his plans to General Headquarters, and secure permission to open negotiations with generals commanding the various armies. He secured interviews with the commanders of the 2d, 4th, 5th, and 7th Armies, covering the front from Amiens to Verdun. General Pétain, then commanding at Verdun, requested that 100 Foyers be provided for his soldiers. A little later, permission to serve colonial troops was secured. By the early summer of 1917, 78 Foyers were in operation. Up to this time the participation of the American Y M C A was limited to the loan of a few secretaries and most of the financial support.

The transition from this relatively small work to the greatly expanded service that followed on active American participation in the war, is best set forth in the communications exchanged at the time. On June 25, 1917, the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations received a cablegram forwarded by the Secretary of State as from the American Ambassador at Paris, but bearing signature of D. A. Davis, Senior Y M C A Secretary in France.

"Pershing declares that greatest service America can immediately render France is to extend work to entire French Army. Confidential. Raising morale of French troops is vital international necessity. Red Cross agrees regarding need and states that considering experience and division of labor decided upon Association is logical

organization render this service. If we cannot act immediately, Red Cross will. Plans call for five hundred men and million dollars in next three months more later. The situation demands quick action here. Imperative have your decision this week. Sautter agrees. Military status of secretaries and uniform necessary whatever decision."

The matter was at once brought before the Committee and on July 3, 1917, the following reply was sent to Mr. Davis through the confidential channels of the State Department:

"Committee authorizes work in French Army according your cable June twenty-fifth."

In September, shortly after his return from Russia and before a financial campaign could be organized, Dr. Mott secured \$1,000,000 toward meeting this most urgent situation. The financial campaign that followed later in the autumn made ample provision for a great expansion of the Foyer work.

A conference took place with General Pétain on August 26, 1917. There were present representing the Young Men's Christian Association, William Sloane Coffin, Francis B. Sayre, D. A. Davis, and E. C. Carter. The proposed plan of American cooperation in the Foyers on a greatly enlarged plan under the name of the Union Franco-Américaine YMCA was submitted to General Pétain and received his approval. Later these proposals were submitted to General Pétain in writing and received his formal endorsement. By mid-autumn of the same year the advantages and, indeed, the necessity of this form of American cooperation had become clearly evident. On October 26th the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association received from the Secretary of State a message transmitted through the American Ambassador at Paris which embodied the following appeal:

"Following received from American Ambassador Paris quote. I have received following letter from Prime Minister, Minister of War. Will cable within a week increase budget involved unquote copy of letter in translation follows quote:

Mr. Director:

At the request of the General in Command of the armies of the North and Northeast I have decided to create in the rest cantonments of the armies about thirteen hundred clubs or soldiers' homes. I must call upon institutions which have already devoted their efforts to improving the physical and moral welfare of the fighting man and above all others the Franco-American Union to help in organizing

Organization  
of the Union  
Franco-  
Américaine  
Y M C A

and conducting those many abodes. I take this opportunity to say to you how highly I appreciate the value of the assistance of the Americans in the matter. I know that even before the United States took sides with the Allies your Y M C A friends had testified their sympathy with our cause by granting you liberal subsidies and that since that country entered the war their cooperation in the soldiers' homes institution has actually turned into a Franco-American Union, has greatly grown and asserts itself in the very large financial contributions already paid or promised as well as in the help furnished in personnel in this field as in all others. The Americans show their willingness to work hand in hand with our compatriots for the triumphs of the cause for which we are fighting in the name of our soldiers and their commanders. I beg you kindly to extend to them our warmest thanks. With a modest beginning toward the end of 1914 when the first two centers were created your institution steadily grew and spread with the approval of my department and of the High Command over the whole French front as well as in the interior formations. Thanks to your homes the men are afforded in the best cantonments meeting places where they find at once shelter from the weather and moral comfort as shown by the unanimous reports of the military authorities. I cannot therefore but wish to see the good work reach every cantonment. I have accordingly the honor to beg you to let me know whether the Franco-American Union would be disposed and if so in what measure to lend its assistance to the military authorities in organizing and operating the thirteen hundred clubs to be created in the general conditions set forth in the enclosed notice. Accept, Mr. Director, with the renewed expressions of my gratitude the assurance of my high consideration.

Signed Paul Painlevé  
Sautter Davis"

In response to this request from the Prime Minister and Minister of War, the Young Men's Christian Association undertook to operate such part of the 1,300 as were not undertaken by other organizations.

The steps in the development of policy are significant. We see the Foyers first as a voluntary agency permitted within the lines with some misgiving. By the spring of 1917, the work had won its place and the cooperation of America was urgently desired in a program of extension. Then, after the hard summer of the same year, the French high command took the position that the welfare of the Army demanded a much more comprehensive arrangement. The French Army assumed the basic responsibility of providing buildings, heavy furniture, heat, and light, for 1,300 centers, and appealed to the Foyers to undertake the operation of the service. The incorporation

of the Union Franco-Américaine Y M C A into General Pétain's military organization was marked by the issuance in January, 1918, of the "Règlémantation Générale des Oeuvres de Guerre aux Armées." All necessary information concerning the movement of troops was supplied to the headquarters of the Foyers and the army telephone service was placed at the disposal of the workers. The military organization had not handed over authority to the welfare society; on the contrary, the Foyers became an integral part of the service.

The change of attitude on the part of the French authorities had, <sup>The Problem of 1917</sup> of course, a cause which is not far to seek. In the spring and summer of 1917 the spirit of the fighting forces of France, worn down by the long strain of the war, depressed by the extremely dubious prospects of the Allied cause, dealt a crippling blow by the disappearance of Russia as a combatant, was seriously impaired. How high that fighting spirit had mounted, all the world knows. The resourcefulness and dashing valor which crumpled the triumphant German advance to the Marne in 1914 had not only shattered the enemy's vain-glorious certainty of a quick and easy victory, but had taught him caution in trying apparently inviting opportunities in the succeeding months. The grim resolution of the defenders of Verdun—never weakened in four months of incessant furious fighting against greatly superior numbers of men and weight of guns, and followed by a brilliant counter-offensive that rewon the outworks temporarily lost—stands unsurpassed in history. In the Second Battle of the Marne and the following Allied offensive of 1918 that culminated in victory, the French Army played a part second to none. If, therefore, the historian notes that French morale suffered a temporary decline, it is not to make derogatory comparisons, nor to diminish the glory of France; the point is stressed precisely because it illuminates an element of victorious strength which must be given a weight and attention never before conceded. If such an Army as that of France could be weakened by intangible foes, then no army can ever be immune; and no responsible military authority can be excused if it neglects the means and agencies that promote and maintain morale.

Great as were the rejoicings over the successful defense of Verdun there was no escaping the reaction which ensued as France realized the cost. Losses on both sides were enormous and left the two armies well-nigh exhausted. There is no way of determining how far these losses were responsible for the pacifist tendencies that appeared, but undoubtedly they were an important factor.

France was dragging out her third year of war with no end in sight. Practically all her able-bodied men were mobilized. No one who has not experienced it can realize how the cold, darkness, wet and mud of the trenches wear down resolution, and how the great ideals that inspire heroic patriotism are dimmed and lost in the dreary monotony of physical suffering. The desperate fighting made it impossible to grant many leaves and men were separated from their families and private affairs for months at a time. Many from the invaded regions knew only that their homes were destroyed and their families were dead, made refugees, or deported. The army was flooded with syndicalist and defeatist literature in spite of the watchfulness of commanders. News, not always veracious, of strikes and sabotage in war industries was energetically spread. Soldiers on leave crowded into meetings where they were told that the war was a capitalist conspiracy, that victory was impossible, and that their lives were being squandered uselessly.

The Effects of  
the Champagne  
Offensive

Then came the tragic Champagne offensive of April, 1917. France had been led to expect a great success, the smashing of the German lines and early victory. Instead the armies met a bloody check, with enormous losses. A great despondency ensued. To the stirring battle cry, "They shall not pass," was added, "But neither shall we." "This will end only when we are all dead." Reviews of the battle operations led to recrimination and open feuds. Infantry commanders charged that artillery preparation had been incompetent, failing to destroy the German first-line defenses, so that advancing troops were mowed down from undamaged machine-gun nests. Artillery men blamed aviators for imperfect observation. The different services refused to fraternize. Whole units collectively refused to obey their officers, and some regiments voted to march, armed, to Paris to overthrow the Government.<sup>1</sup>

Such conditions made clear the urgent necessity of providing for "ravitaillement moral." General Pétain, who had just succeeded to the chief command, was convinced from his observations of Foyer service among his troops at Verdun, that the Foyers offered one very useful means of restoring the spirit and confidence of the troops. The resulting conferences with General Pershing and with Mr. Sautter and representatives of the American Y M C A have been noted.

<sup>1</sup> For elaborate details, see *A Survey of the War, 1914-18*. Intelligence Section (G2-A1) General Staff, American E. F.; also *La Vérité sur l'Offensive du 16 April, 1917*. Official statement by Premier Paul Painlevé, published in *La Renaissance*, Special Number, November, 1919, Paris.

Out of them came the formation of the organization with the formidable title, "Les Foyers du Soldat, Union Franco-Américaine YMCA," and the order that Foyer service should be extended to every part of the fighting forces.

France took a grip upon herself again. There is no doubt that external means were of great service. The mere presence of American Red Cross and YMCA workers among civilians and troops helped to make clear to the hard-pressed fighters that American assistance was on the way; and the direct benefits of the relief and welfare work were, on the testimony of the French themselves, of a very decided character. Such things were positive elements of encouragement; but, it must be emphasized, at whatever risk of tiresomeness in reiteration, that the French fighters of course "saved" themselves. Whatever part these external influences played in the process—and they did play a significant part—the fundamental change in morale that was made so evident in the determined French assaults of the fall of 1917 was born of a new determination of France and her fighting men to see the affair through to the end.

Because of the fact that religious and sectarian differences are complicated with political partisanship in France, it was rightly considered necessary that the work be administered by an organization having no specific religious or political character. In the new organization, therefore, large participation was provided, both in the directorate and in the service ranks, for Roman Catholics and men of no professed creed as well as Protestant Christians, and all religious or political activities were strictly prohibited. Inasmuch as the work was to be done in French military areas, and the Government was to supply building, equipment, transportation, and other facilities, it was properly determined that the director should be a Frenchman; and Mr. Sautter was appointed in that capacity. The large American contributions of money, personnel, and ideas were recognized by the appointment of two Americans, D. A Davis and W. S. Coffin, as Associate Directors. Each Foyer was managed by a French director or directress, aided, so far as Americans were available, by an American associate director. Numerically, Americans constituted about one-third of the working staff. After full conference, a carefully defined program of activities was authorized by the Ministry of War, embodied in the set of regulations officially issued February 23, 1918. This entered into such details as fixing the price of hot drinks and other canteen supplies, forbidding free distribution except in

Government  
Regulations

special cases, limiting libraries to books approved by the Minister of War, and prescribing the types of building, equipment, lighting, and the like as well as the methods of requisitioning them from the proper military officers. The mode of militarizing workers, and the form of local, regional, and national organization, were defined. The employment of women, even as directresses of Foyers, was specifically authorized. The maximum independence of the Foyers as a private enterprise compatible with close cooperation with the military establishment was secured.

#### THE EXTENSION OF THE FOYERS

The  
Thousands  
Foyer

Up to June, 1917, 78 Foyers had been opened. From that date to the Armistice, centers were established at the approximate rate of five every two days, or an average each month almost equal to the entire number opened during the first three years of the war. The establishment of the thousandth Foyer at Saint Mihiel, forty-eight hours after the recapture of the village by American and French troops, was fittingly celebrated, September 23, 1918, at the inauguration of the great Foyer of the Camp des Cercottes, near Orleans. From the beginning of the work in January, 1915, till the signing of peace in June, 1919, 1,534 Foyers for French soldiers and sailors were opened, distributed as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Zone of the Armies .....	1,091
Interior Regions .....	206
Alsace-Lorraine .....	92
Occupied Territory .....	65
Army of the Orient .....	25
Morocco (each with approximately 4 annexes) .....	54
Russia (Murmansk, with 6 annexes) .....	1
 Total .....	 1,534

Of the Foyers in France, 130 were captured, 50 transferred to the American Y M C A, and 434 were closed on account of the departure of troops. The maximum number operated at any one time was about 850.

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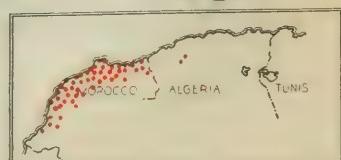
<sup>1</sup> Consult *Une Oeuvre de Guerre, Les Foyers du Soldat de l'Union Franco-Américaine*, Emmanuel Sautter. Préface du Maréchal Pétain. Paris, 1919, pp. 41, 52, 53.

LOCATION OF FOYERS DU SOLDAT  
UNION FRANCO-AMÉRICAINE  
· YMCA ·



French Army Zones	1091
Interior France	206
Alsace Lorraine	92
Occupied Territory	65
Morocco	54
<hr/>	
	1508

Note large proportion of foyers along battle line.





A personnel of 1,682 men and women secretaries, not including employees, was engaged in the work. The personnel comprised the following:

French men secretaries .....	700
French women secretaries .....	288
American men secretaries .....	611
American women secretaries .....	79
Swiss-Romands .....	4
 Total .....	 1,682

The founders of the Foyers desired positions in the forward areas, as near the actual lines as possible, because of the need. There was no "period of preparation" in France; the armies were on the field of battle within a few days of the declaration of war. A study of the distribution of the Foyers<sup>1</sup> indicates to what extent the ideal was realized. The fact that about twelve per cent of those in the zone of the armies were captured indicates clearly enough their exposed position. Of the first thirteen centers established, nine were at the front. Of one of these a report states:

"Our tent having been struck by the bursting of a shell, the Foyer has been transferred for a while to a large cellar."<sup>2</sup>

Early letters from American secretaries recount send-offs to raiding parties. One woman secretary writes deplored the necessity of leaving her Foyer at Soissons to the mercy of the enemy.

In the citadel of Verdun an underground Foyer was established early in 1917. The German shells fell ceaselessly upon the position; but safe from their fire was this deep shelter, lighted with electricity and furnished with games, a library, and a piano. There was warmth and quiet there—and as much contentment as could be snatched from hard circumstances. Representatives of the War Work Council from New York were able to visit this safe shelter during a bombardment in the company of the commander who regarded it as one of his show places. There was somewhat less of security in the Foyers located in the "holed" banks of the Aisne. There the soldiers lived the lives of cavemen. A man remarked of one dugout:

"It cannot be said that this Foyer is not sufficiently near the front. A few steps further and you'll be right in the fighting lines."

<sup>1</sup> See Plate XVII facing p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Millions of Men, New York, 1917, No. 5, p. 30.

Within Sound  
of the Guns

In the period of trench warfare, up to the spring drives of 1918, it was also possible for the workers of the Foyers to extend occasional services into the trenches themselves. Equipment, particularly small, portable libraries, was designed for this work, which was carried on under varying conditions in many sectors.

When the fixed lines broke up in the summer and fall of 1918, field conditions became very difficult. Many corps commanders, however, unhesitatingly set apart the necessary transportation to keep the Foyers with their troops. In balancing one advantage against another, the leaders were unwilling to lose the moral effect of the welfare service; and the so-called "Foyers volants" came into being to meet the need. The extension of such service depended, of course, entirely upon the judgment of the commander in a particular situation. General Gouraud—who cannot be accused of any lack of fighting spirit—made the maximum use of the Foyers possible under the circumstances of the last hard year.

In the rapid advance preceding the Armistice, Foyers were established in the ruins of the reoccupied villages wherever four walls—the roof was immaterial—were available. The Foyers took possession of the comfortable "Soldatenheim" of the Germans at Ham, and also at Nesles, a fair turn-about considering the number of Foyer huts that had been lost. In the occupied territory of the Rhine bridgeheads and in Alsace-Lorraine similar "Soldatenheime," the most luxurious of which was that located in Metz, provided a home for the French. At all points proper quarters were assigned by the military command.

In the rear areas it was possible at many points to secure quarters in which a varied service could be developed. The general features of such work are quite familiar. There were some Foyers that had a distinctive character.

One of the most interesting was a very popular Foyer, which can hardly be called a "center." A sloop sunk early in the war was raised, transformed into a floating "fireside," and moored in the River Aisne at Soissons, where it naturally was in much danger of again returning to the bottom. However, when the German drives swept forward, its faithful friends pulled it back to Vic-sur-Aisne and then to Pontoise; and it finally found its way to the River Marne where it continued its career.

In 1918, Dr. Mott, at the close of his third visit to France during the war, urged work for the French sailors. A naval department of the Foyers was organized and centers were established at naval

ports, patrol stations, and naval aviation camps, covering the greater part of the French Navy. It was in this department that the finest Foyer of all was established, the Foyer du Marin at Toulon. This magnificent center contained every facility—a winter garden, canteen, souvenir shop, lounge, billiard-parlors, shower baths, library, class rooms, assembly hall and gymnasium; the building was attractively decorated and the walls were covered with fine scenic paintings. Two other important Foyers for sailors were located at Corfu and Cattaro.

The Foyers did not find all their constituency within the borders <sup>Overseas</sup> of France. Toward the end of the winter of 1917, centers were established for the "Armée d'Orient" at Saloniki and on the Macedonian Front. Later, Foyers were opened for the Army of Occupation on the Danube, and four in Constantinople and in the cantonments on the Sea of Marmora. In 1918, Rabat, in Morocco, became headquarters for 54 Foyers and over 200 annexes, established in the regional subdivisions of the North African Protectorate. Finally, there was the center in the Murmansk district in North Russia.

The much-used word, cooperation, hardly covers the relationship <sup>American Cooperation</sup> that existed between the French and American agencies united in this service. The work of the Foyers was French in origin and in conception: it became "officially" French by the arrangement of 1917. No attempt was ever made to "Americanize" it, although the financial support came almost wholly from America.

The budget of the Foyers du Soldat rose to the total of over 20,000,000 francs in 1918. The French Government supplied buildings, equipment, and transportation, and permitted the purchase of supplies from the Quartermaster at cost. Military subventions and considerable sums were generously contributed by the French people; but, as Mr. Sautter gratefully acknowledges,

"These would have been absolutely insufficient if they had not been supplemented by enormous American contributions. With a fidelity and a regularity which never failed, the War Work Council of the Y M C A of the United States sent us month after month, checks of several hundreds of thousands of dollars, in so much that our treasury never ran dry, and we were always enabled to go ahead without being delayed a single day on the question of money. The resources which our New York friends so liberally placed at our disposal came from funds received in two vast collections made throughout the entire extent of the immense territory of the Republic and which furnished harvests respectively of \$50,000,000 and more than \$100,000,-000, sums which appear fantastic to Europeans."

The financial support furnished by the American Y M C A to the specific work of the Foyers du Soldat for the French armies, amounted to \$7,600,000.

It should be borne in mind that concurrently from 1917, in addition to more than 1,500 Foyers opened for French soldiers and sailors, the American Y M C A operated in France thousands of additional centers—rented buildings, tents and huts—for American soldiers and sailors, more than 150 in the United Kingdom, and after the Armistice over 500 in Germany.

Among other dispositions made of these Foyer huts when the war was over, a considerable number went to provide housing for homeless people in the devastated region. A French woman worker in reporting on the final arrangements remarks in passing, "So you see, the Foyers have come to a glorious end."

Under these arrangements the expansion of the service already indicated was speedily accomplished, with the anticipated results. Upon the transfer from a war to a peace basis, which occurred in September, 1919, letters of appreciation and gratitude were received from practically all the generals who had held active command during the last eighteen months of the war, most of whom explicitly referred to the beneficial influence on morale which had proceeded from the Foyers. During the period of demobilization and reconstruction, 300 Foyers were continued, of which many were for the benefit of civilians in devastated areas. Others were established in industrial cities. Features of the work introduced by American workers, especially games and athletic sports, were permanently established in the officers' training schools and in the public schools. On June 6, 1919, the enterprise, with greatly extended outlook, was taken over by a permanent organization, under the name "Société des Foyers de l'Union Franco-Américaine," with General de la Croix as President. Its constitution pledged it to "work, through the education of individuals, for the moral and social progress of France, inspired by the Christian ideal of fraternity in the largest sense of the word." Work was at once undertaken in four principal fields: military, including the Army of Occupation and permanent garrisons; naval; devastated regions, and industrial and urban centers. Perpetuating in its titles recognition of American aid, which, however, will be needed in decreasing degrees, the Society, supported by the leading personalities in French military, industrial, professional, and government circles, has become a permanent and influential force in the life of France.

## THE METHOD AND INFLUENCE OF THE FOYERS

What the extensive development of Foyer service meant to the French fighting man can be understood only with reference to the experience of those men and especially the psychological state into which the French had come in the third year of the war. There had been no cessation of combat. They were tired-out, worn by long-endured hardships and discomfort, depressed by heavy losses and by uncertainty as to the future of France, devastated and shorn of one-sixth of her able man-power. They had come, perhaps, to feel that they were regarded as just so much war material, food for cannon. Tangible evidence that they were cared for as individuals, that their private anxieties were of real importance, that their well-being as men was a matter of concern, was lacking in any large degree. One searches in vain for words that describe adequately a state of mind arising from so many complex causes and complicated by so many unusual elements of circumstance. "War-weariness" conveys only a suggestion to American minds.

The French leaders recognized what was needed. Superficial critics of French culture have made much of the alleged fact that the language contains no equivalent for the English "home." They have overlooked the word, "foyer," whose primary meaning is "hearth" or "fireside." The use of the happily-chosen name, "Foyers du Soldat," suggested at once the need and the remedy. The French fighter, under the conditions, desired primarily not excitement nor things to eat but a center of warmth and refuge, a place of his own where he could have some peace and rest. These men were Europeans and, on the average, older than the Americans in service. They were satisfied with much less of the mechanism of diversion; they required no elaborate equipment and did not want much "done for them." In so far as the Foyers offered shelter, warmth, and a spirit of friendliness, they were reasonably content. To read, to write, to smoke, to talk, away from the insistent reminders of conflict—that was the real thing. At first, battle-pictures were used among the decorations; this was a mistake soon realized and immediately rectified. A popular motto was supplied by General Malleterre:

"The Foyer du Soldat is the link between the battle front and the home. It helps us to live, to fight, to hope."

A soldier in one camp wrote in the "Golden Book" provided for uncensored comments, that the assurance of warm, dry, light Foyers,

with hot coffee and chocolate, removed the greatest dread of entering another winter at the front.

The Foyers came into the lives of tired and hard-pressed men as an unexpected but utterly welcome ray of warm sunlight.

The typical Foyer consisted of two "Adrian" barracks connected by a corridor. One of these was equipped as a club room with writing facilities, a library of 200 books, besides illustrated magazines in considerable quantities, phonograph, and games such as dominoes and checkers. On the walls were posters designed by some of the best French and American artists, with moral and patriotic appeals. Light and warmth made sharp contrast with trenches and barracks. This room could easily be arranged with benches as an entertainment hall. The second barrack was used as a canteen for hot drinks and minor articles of common personal use. Alcoholic beverages and gambling were forbidden. Tobacco in its various forms by agreement was supplied only when it was otherwise unobtainable by the men. Whenever circumstances made it possible, the ground around the Foyers was prepared for croquet, bowling, and quoits, all exceedingly popular with the "poilus."

The program of activities was simple and direct. First and most important was the friendly attention of the director and his associate, who, owing to the limited character of the canteen, had much more time than in the American huts to mingle with the men. His readiness to listen to their private anxieties, and to give help, counsel or sympathy was continually called upon.

The presence of women, especially, contributed to this prime service. Carefully chosen for gifts of sympathy as well as poise and good judgment, they became the confidantes of the men and reestablished the reality of normal life which had become a memory or a dream, as nothing else could have done. Among other results, the World War proved, both in American and French huts, the practicability and usefulness of the presence of good women with soldiers. Although there was a general provision that women should not be sent to dangerous posts, the women themselves scorned such protective restraint and uniformly sought the posts where need was greatest. One American secretary, Miss Marion Crandall, was struck by a shell at Ste. Menehould. Her body was buried under the tricolor, with military honors, by the French.

This question of employing women secretaries was long discussed by the French Committee. The precedent of nurses in the military

hospitals was not precisely a parallel service because there is a distinction between wounded men, incurables, convalescents on the one hand, and healthy men, on the other. Would the directresses meet with the requisite regard? Would they be respected? The material conditions of life in the Foyers at the front, the inevitable promiscuities, would they not often create delicate and sometimes intolerable situations? The principle was established to send out directresses in pairs; whenever possible, an elder and a younger one. The fact remained, however, that these two women had to live alone amid an exclusively masculine population. Experience happily proved that the preliminary fears were groundless.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the disposition of the soldiers and their expectations regarding the Foyers imposed a special responsibility upon the workers, both men and women. Character became a matter of prime importance where mechanism was incidental. If the director was able to fill the part of the courteous and genial father of the family all was well; otherwise there might be difficulty even among such tolerant children.

It was very often a mixed family, too. The French colonials were accepted by their European comrades on a basis of equality and the Foyers took them all in. Vivid pictures appear in casual sentences in the correspondence of directors. At one time it is a woman secretary endeavoring to impart the elementary principles of reading and writing to a little group of Arabs. Again, it may be a director engaged in forcibly ejecting an obstreperous member of the same race from a moving-picture show—not the least appreciated part of the performance we may be sure. On another occasion, a Moroccan is discovered earnestly trying to point out to a young Frenchman the error of his dissolute ways.

In the Foyers, the art of hut decoration took its place as one of the leading features of the program. While it may be true that beautiful surroundings have their subconscious effect even upon those who appear to appreciate them least, it is discouraging work to decorate without encouragement. American workers coming into the Foyers discovered that the French soldiers and sailors were highly sensitive to artistic values in their environment, that they were not afraid to show their love of color and harmony. The Foyers for this quite sufficient reason paid much attention to the matter of decoration. The furnishings were made as attractive as possible. Flags of the Allied nations, good prints, and colored travel posters were used everywhere.

The Importance  
of Character

Hut  
Decoration

Many of the huts were embellished with mural paintings, executed by French and American artists, real works of art whose contemplation brought to many a French soldier a sense of relief and refreshment more enduring than that ministered by bodily comforts. The artistic sense, of course, does not demand only pure lyric harmony; it has a large place in its heart for the bizarre and the grotesque. Humor, manifested in subject or in treatment or in both, was the theme of many a painting—and was thoroughly appreciated. Anything, anything that would lift the mind out of the war environment was welcomed by these hard-pressed men. No simple effort to beautify the huts was wasted on the French: its spiritual value was immeasurable.

The  
Epigrammatic  
Motto

The peculiar circumstances of welfare work, especially in forward areas, gave the inspiring motto a real place in the Foyers. These were prepared, in general, so that they were part of the adornment of the huts. It is quite possible to overdo this method of moral suggestion in ordinary life; but in war all experience is sharp and vivid, and the epigrammatic sentence, often repeated, does arrest the minds when other approaches fail. Such a sentiment as, "When you talk of womanhood, think of your mother, your sister, your betrothed, and you will never utter base thoughts," served to remind all men that the Foyers were endeavoring to keep firm the link between home and the front.

Education

Educational work consisted mostly of lectures; purity, health, temperance, and the great issues for which France was fighting furnishing the predominating subjects. When there were American workers, classes in English were popular, some directors spending ten to twenty hours a week in teaching the language. The library of 200 volumes contained 100 of general literature, 60 of industrial education and 40 of information concerning the Allies and the causes and issues of the war.

Entertainment

The entertainment features of the Foyers were not essentially different from those in the A E F-Y M C A, except that the French soldiers ran true to form in rather preferring the exhibitions of "local talent" to any other show. Of the movies, the dramas, and the vaudeville shows they were appreciative enough; but what they really enjoyed to the full were their own productions. In the ranks were many professional entertainers.

"To mention among several evenings," a secretary reports, "one where Zoto and Bombone, the clowns of the Circus of Paris, passing through as members of a battalion of chasseurs, met with a great

reception. I cannot enumerate the reciters, story-tellers, military comics, instrumentalists or singers, many of them professionals, who appeared upon the stage. I was astonished by the variety of talent found in the Army. Often it was simply necessary to raise the curtain and call for volunteers, to organize in less time than it takes to write, one of those impromptu, pleasant evenings, of which the trooper is so fond."

The audience of course maintained at all times its sacred right <sup>Appreciation of  
the Audiences</sup> of criticism. No performer was granted immunity. The amateur who ventured out upon the difficult ground of the stage had to be prepared for a very decided expression of approval or disapproval. The fact that the unskilful were continually boo-ed appears not to have reduced in the slightest degree the number of candidates willing to try their luck. Yet the apparently merciless audience was true at the core. One American secretary reports that a little man whose brain had evidently fainted by the wayside in early youth was always listened to with the greatest courtesy as night after night he rendered his interminable ballads before the gathering in the Foyer.

Anyone familiar with soldiering in any of its phases will recognize at once that these impromptu entertainments set the directors of the Foyers—and the directresses, too—a very delicate and difficult problem. The Foyers had no desire to exercise annoying restraint over the men whom they were endeavoring to serve, but they had been promoted in the French Army, and were expected by the authorities, to function as an elevating influence. There was no desire to be prudish; but it remains a fact that what we call the "home atmosphere"—which the Foyers strove to recreate—is not an atmosphere of prurienty. Though there may be great difference of opinion as to the exact line between good fun and indecency, there are limits; and the Foyers positively urged the necessity for observance of the decencies. The visiting artist who was stopped by the director in the midst of his career would express extreme surprise: "I had been told that this was not a Catholic club. Then why, between soldiers—?" The director would then endeavor to explain, as tactfully as possible, the general attitude of the Foyers. There were difficulties and some dissatisfaction, but there grew up among the men a decided disposition to protect the character of these popular gatherings. One incident is typical of this disposition. At the Foyer de La Valbonne one evening a soldier who had raised the first notes of a familiar piece was

stopped by the unanimous cry: "That song is not wanted in the Foyer."<sup>1</sup>

Athletics

American participation stimulated athletic sports to a high degree. As compared with Americans, the French people in general play few games although many individuals are expert in boxing, fencing, soccer, and competitive sports combining speed and skill. The accuracy and range displayed by Americans in throwing hand grenades was ascribed, in part, to general proficiency in baseball. In consequence, orders were issued from the Ministry of War that baseball should be promoted throughout the French Army. Officers reported distinct improvement in the use of grenades by men who received baseball training under expert American coaches. Basket ball was enthusiastically welcomed. Its effect in developing the upper body made it particularly beneficial, and its features of speed, excitement and open play caught the fancy of participants and spectators. When American and French soldiers were neighbors, Franco-American basket ball games became popular events. Mass games and exercises also were introduced. In numerous camps the American athletic director was appointed by the commander as athletic officer; athletics were made obligatory at stated times when the entire unit, officers and men, were placed under his direction. In preparation for the Inter-Allied Games, American athletic directors were supplied as trainers and coaches for French contestants, whose success in the contests has been noted elsewhere. Not least important was the attention paid by Americans, in intervals of duty with soldiers, to the boys and girls of the villages, teaching them new games and organizing sports for them. In all these ways the seeds were sown of conviction that athletics and play—"play for everybody"—is not only a natural, wholesome diversion but a constructive force for good citizenship.

American  
Influences

The mere presence of Americans in the Foyers resulted, during 1917 and the early months of 1918, in a contribution to the Allied cause which cannot be measured. It was no less than tangible evidence to French soldiers that the United States, with its immense resources of men and material, was really coming to reinforce the outnumbered forces of France. Propaganda had sowed broadcast doubts of American aid. Assertions that America would supply money and munitions but would send no soldiers to fight and be killed, were

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter VI, Morals and Military Efficiency.

freely made and gained increasing belief as months passed without the appearance of Americans in the fighting lines. The American Foyer director was, for countless Frenchmen, the first real sign of our actual participation in the war. Headquarters kept them informed of developments in the United States, and they told of the troops mobilizing in the great cantonments, of the shipbuilding and all of the rest of the strenuous activity that showed that America was in deadly earnest. The news spread along the front, and companies and regiments sent delegates to see the Americans with their own eyes. Skepticism gave way to hope and conviction. As American soldiers in increasing numbers began to confirm these promises, and it was seen that numerical superiority was at last being won by the Allies, the spirit of France rose to belief that her enormous sacrifice had not been in vain. For months, however, the American secretaries in the Foyers were the only prophecy and sign of what was to come.

The American secretaries endeavored at all times to remember that they were part and parcel of a French enterprise. It is easy to exaggerate racial differences; it is quite true that sincerity and friendliness will in the end win through all artificial barriers. But the old adage suggests that they actually did things in Rome a little differently: to "do as the Romans do" meant at least some slight change of program. An American woman worker in the Foyer offered a little advice to new recruits: "Never ask anybody to do anything that will make him late for meals. Never hurry people; never forget to say '*S'il vous plait*,' or '*Merci*'; add '*Mon ami*' to all soldiers, '*Mon colonel*' or '*Mon capitaine*' to the officers, '*Monsieur*' or '*Madame*' to civilians; take plenty of time and keep on smiling!"<sup>1</sup> Externals are external, but their due observance saves time in the end; adaptability in this case meant efficiency. Needless to add, many an American worker came to like the French ways; and, almost without exception, the Americans fell into line—earning thereby a gratitude that far surpassed anything that could have been won by the unfettering of the impulse to "improve."

Courtesy  
and Sincerity

#### A DISTINCTIVE SERVICE

It was the business of Foyers to "chasser le cafard"—to drive away the blues—to assist in curing the homesickness, hypochondria, and boredom which are always present in war experience and which had so deeply affected the hard-pressed armies of France.

<sup>1</sup> Millions of Men, New York, 1918, No. 14, p. 9.

There were distinctive features that distinguished the *Foyers* from the welfare work for the A E F.

First of all, the canteen, which absorbed so much of the energy of the secretaries in the American work, and which complicated welfare service by introducing a commercial enterprise, was minimized in the *Foyers*, leaving the director free for personal service to the men. The running of the post exchange is not a true function of welfare work. It was undertaken in the A E F because it appeared to be the thing most needed under the circumstances, and the Y M C A was present in France not to fulfil a formal program but to serve where required. The little stores in the *Foyers* were supplementary and were always regarded as such.

Further, the *Foyers* were actually a part of the French official organizations and were regarded as such by the men. Prices and regulations regarding sale were fixed by the authorities. Some of these regulations were very strict,<sup>1</sup> but the men understood that the director was simply obeying orders. As a part of the military organization, the *Foyers* had certain clearly defined rights; requisitions upon officers for assistance could not be refused if within the limits of possibility. On the other hand, buildings and transportation in the zone of the armies were entirely furnished by the Government; and if buildings were not provided by the Army or transportation broke down, the *Foyers* were not blamed. American soldiers widely assumed that welfare organizations in France had general permission to be with the Army everywhere, forgetting that under the American arrangement requisitions were requests which might be granted or refused. The American Army did not assume primary responsibility as in the case of the French.

The complete absence in the *Foyers*, by strict orders, of specifically religious activities removed a fruitful source of friction. This is not the point at which to discuss either the propriety of the French arrangement or the values of the religious work in the American huts. The religious question was never raised in the *Foyers* and the actual conduct of the general work was just so much easier.

Further, it must be remembered that the *Foyers* came to the poilu at a time of great need, almost as a complete surprise. He was extraordinarily appreciative. He expected nothing and was grateful

<sup>1</sup> For example, the sale of American tobacco to French soldiers in the *Foyers* was positively forbidden. Frequently, the director had in hand a supply of American tobacco which he could sell to an American in the *Foyer*, but which he was compelled to withhold from a French soldier in the same room.

when he received the slightest service or the most casual attention. His smiling, "Tant pis," when told that something he desired was not to be had, was the measure both of his tolerance and his sense of humor.

Lastly, the Foyers enjoyed the great advantage of being able to go quietly about their business without any necessity for advertisement. The funds necessary for the work were supplied from America; there was no need to publish to France the achievements of the service—a process which involves the greatest risk of misunderstanding. This burden was borne by others in this case.

The outstanding values of the work were clearly established in the minds of all who knew it at first hand. That a great number of tired, discouraged men, who had borne and were bearing frightful hardships, received a measure of physical comfort was unquestionable. Out of this purely humanitarian service grew a spiritual result, the reviving of confidence and devotion to the cause of France and of humanity. Innumerable new individual friendships—the threads that, woven together form the web of international friendship—were created, and a better mutual understanding of national characteristics leading to respect and liking. An idea, ignored at the beginning by all but a few far-seeing minds, developed into a potent force for the social betterment of France in peace as well as war. Such results are always worth what they cost.

It is only fair to leave to a citizen of France the final word in summing up the value of the Foyers. In response to greetings extended by the Y M C A at a dinner in his honor at Washington, D. C., Nov. 21, 1921, Marshal Foch said:

The Appreciation  
of France

"There is no greater eulogy to be made of your Y M C A work on behalf of the Allied Armies than to enumerate in figures, the services that were rendered. There are no words that speak better than these figures. I cannot better them. But I must say here, in my capacity as Chief of the French Armies, how greatly we have appreciated the services that you were able to render us. In 1914, led by the great principle of humanity, you started to aid, to relieve the prisoners of war; and shortly after we asked you: Come and help us to uplift our soldiers.

"The French soldier, it is known, is brave, full of initiative; he is full of impulse, he is full of that spirit which is called the 'French fury.' But, would it last? The world doubted it. Would it hold out? Would he be steadfast? Would he last in a long war? All the world asked that question.

"Well! Yes! To the great astonishment of the whole world this soldier was seen to endure, to hold out during battles lasting more than twenty days, under continuous fire, persistent, without any shelter, having very often for cover, only the bodies of his comrades who had fallen; during four winters he was seen maintaining his trench warfare, a war in mud and mire, having for roof but the sky of winter, with its clouds and its rigors, and his only shelter a hole in the ground.

"In this effort, all moral support seemed sure to break under a bombardment which never ceased. What man was there whose nerves were sufficiently strong to endure for entire years? Above all, the loneliness, the reaction, the depression, the melancholy, that which was recently and very judiciously called the 'blues', invaded the minds and seemed as if they must turn the soldiers away from facing the enemy.

"Well! This morale, we have been able to sustain, thanks to your powerful help, thanks to the Foyers du Soldat Union Franco-Américaine Y M C A, into which the tired soldier came for new strength, and to find a touch of that family life, or at least that familiar contact which seemed to him an infinite comfort. This was the means by which resistance was maintained, and when we wished to advance, we found energies much better revitalized and much better prepared because these soldiers who had felt and proved in themselves the contact of this goodwill, placed entirely at their disposal, believed themselves obliged to pay once again with their life-blood—and advance.

"When we definitely launched our final offensive, they were driven forward by the inspiration of the forces behind, and the soldiers marched ahead with resolute step determined and conscience-bound to go to the very limit.

"From this direction came that magnificent blast which, driving our sails and our flags, carried them forward in an irresistible assault, to that moment on November 11, 1918, when the enemy cried, 'Halt! Enough!' Yes! Our flags blending with each other, we forged resolutely ahead, driven by that impulse, not only of soldiers who felt themselves supported by the organization behind them, but above all, by their faith, their religious belief and their absolute self-sacrifice.

"Then, let me, gentlemen, attribute a great part of our success to you, as much in the defensive as in the offensive by that support which you gave us, and because you sheltered all that work in the shadow of the finest of ideals, the principle of humanity—unselfish service.

"I would never conclude, gentlemen, if I attempted to tell you all the sentiments that inspire me in the presence of such results, but I must tender to you the greatest 'Thank you!' that I find in the depths of my heart, for all the work you have undertaken—and realized."

## CHAPTER LV

### WITH THE ALLIES IN FRANCE

Among the smaller groups of Allied soldiers in France, the American Y M C A rendered a service which, though small in extent as compared with American and French Army work, was in every case interesting and significant.

There was no Serbian force fighting as a unit in France, but several hundred Serb students were stranded in Paris. Early in 1919 the Association took over the management of a hostel for these men, the "Maison Serbe," which a generous French woman had been operating at her own expense. Some work was also done in a Serb hospital in Paris. After July, 1917, a stream of sturdy Siamese trickled into France. Though the Siamese Government was opposed to the introduction of Y service, the officers on the field requested it; and the Siamese Minister to France formally expressed his appreciation. A Czechoslovak unit was assigned a few secretaries; and as a result the Czechoslovak authorities asked that the work be continued among the troops on their return home.<sup>1</sup> Work for Indian troops in France is discussed in another place.<sup>2</sup>

Serb, Siamese,  
and Czechoslovak  
Service

The service for the Portuguese, Poles, Russians, and Chinese, with the many difficulties arising from linguistic differences, must be considered in more detail.

### WITH THE ARMIES OF PORTUGAL

In accordance with a long-standing treaty with England, Portugal did not declare neutrality in 1914. Casting her lot with the Allied cause, she entered the war in March, 1916. She seized German ships in home and colonial ports, helped the Belgians and British to drive the Germans from Africa; finally she sent 60,000 troops to the British front in France, and suffered a hard pounding in the 1918 offensive.

The chairman of the Portuguese National Y M C A, Don Alfredo da Silva, noting the work with the British troops in the fall of 1917,

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter LXIX for the complete story of the work that developed from this small beginning.

<sup>2</sup> Consult Chapter LVII.

asked Dr. Mott for American cooperation in service for the Portuguese troops. The Portuguese were welcomed in the British Y huts, but linguistic difficulties led to the request that Portuguese-speaking secretaries enter the field. This emergency was met in 1918 by an American, Myron A. Clark, a YMCA secretary who had served for many years in Brazil and had inaugurated Association work in the University of Portugal, Coimbra, Portugal, in 1915. In February, 1918, Mr. Clark went to France to take charge of the work and was assigned to the Headquarters Staff of the British Y at Abbeville. The work was operated under British secretaries at first, but later Americans who knew Portuguese came in. The supplies, funds, and accounts, however, were handled through the British Association, which furnished tents and canteen equipment but no great financial support. Financial aid could not be expected from Portugal. The Americans appropriated funds, secured personnel, and plunged into the work with the Portuguese Army at Brest, at the front in Flanders, and in the rest zone near the Channel ports. There was also a Paris Bureau at 29 Rue Montholon, with a dormitory and canteen to care for Portuguese officers and men when passing through the city. During the six months preceding the Armistice, some 50,000 francs were expended on the Portuguese work. After the Armistice and during demobilization, service was again rendered at Brest, and for a time in Portugal itself. At Cherbourg, this special work continued until the middle of summer of 1919.

The work with the Portuguese was interesting from several points of view. The personnel of 23 secretaries was international. The greater part were Americans, and the others British, Portuguese, and Brazilians. They had to grapple with an acute morale problem. The troops were composed of illiterate peasant boys and men from under-privileged groups in the cities, who had no such motive for fighting and enduring the hardships of war as animated Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans. Their officers, largely drawn from the Portuguese aristocracy which as a class was opposed to entering the war on behalf of Great Britain, were in many cases quite uncertain in their loyalty to the Allied cause. For this reason, if for no other, relations were often strained between the British and the Portuguese. Thus American workers were more acceptable than British. The Portuguese looked to them for help in their difficulties and their joy at hearing their own language spoken by American secretaries was almost pathetic.

The Association followed its regular athletic and social program, and helped the Portuguese troops personally in many ways. By acts of kindness the secretaries endeared themselves to thousands of Portuguese soldiers who were very ill at ease at war in a foreign land. Several of them were cited by the Portuguese Command, and four were made officers of the Order of Christ (*Ordem de Cristo*). Their demonstration of the Christianity of service rather than of creed left a deep impression.

#### WITH THE POLISH AUTONOMOUS ARMY

Among the most interesting of the minor units fighting in the Allied cause was the Polish Legion, recruited largely from Polish Americans before the United States entered the war and later including those Poles in the United States who wanted to fight for a liberated Poland but who were not eligible to military service in American armies. This force, originally about 60,000 strong, became known as the Polish Autonomous Army, and was later increased to 75,000 by additions in France of former Austro-German war prisoners of Polish birth. With this force the Association served, first through the Foyers du Soldat, and later under purely American direction. When this army under General Haller returned in triumph to Poland, secretaries accompanied it by express request of the commander and were able to inaugurate work there.

Work with  
Polish-Americans

Y M C A work was commenced with the Polish Autonomous Army in France under the auspices of the Foyers du Soldat in January, 1918. A request for Y M C A aid was made to Mr. Carter by a Polish soldier who came with other Polish troops on a ship from New York, on which Y M C A secretaries, both men and women, served the troops. Walter S. Schutz, who had an indefinite appointment in the Foyers, was sent to Laval in the department of Mayenne by D. A. Davis in response to this request.

The first hut was opened on January 31st at Laval for the benefit of the First Regiment of Polish Chasseurs. A canteen was also opened here and a few weeks later two American women went to Laval to operate this canteen. A little later, small huts or foyers were opened in other training camps of Polish troops at Mayenne, Sillé-le-Guillaume, and Mamers.

The work spread rapidly as new contingents of the Army arrived from America and were sent to French training camps in the Departments of Mayenne, Sarthe, Calvados, La Manche, and along the

Loire. In all about fifty men and women secretaries served with these Polish soldiers in France, following the regiments from one training area to another. On March 1, 1918, the two pioneer secretaries accompanied the 1st Regiment of Polish chasseurs into the Champagne area and opened their canteen at Sainte-Tanche in the Mailly district. In early June the first regiment went into the lines between Châlons and Rheims with General Gouraud's French Army, and gave an excellent account of themselves. The Y followed them in camionettes. Later the First Division, composed of the 1st, 2d, and 3d Regiments, held the lines in the Vosges sector first occupied by the United States Army. Here there were huts between the first and second line trenches whose service also reached out to the men in the outposts. One of the secretaries was decorated with the Croix de Guerre for his bravery under fire. After the Armistice, the First Division continued in the Nancy area preparatory to its departure for Poland, secretaries serving them in the various camps and towns where they were billeted.

As about 80 per cent of the soldiers composing the Polish Army were recruited in and came from America, their needs and preferences were American rather than French, although they were equipped and rationed by the French military authorities. It was decided, therefore, to transfer the Polish Army Work from the Foyers du Soldat to the American Y M C A. This had been suggested as early as June, 1918, and the transfer was effected as of August 1, 1918. From that time the work was entirely under the auspices of the American Y M C A. Secretaries were privileged to participate in three epoch-making events in the history of the Polish Army in France; May 3, 1918, the anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of 1791 (corresponding to our Fourth of July); June 22, 1918, the presentation of the Polish flags to the 1st, 2d and 3d Regiments by President Poincaré near Brienne-le-Château—this was the first time that an independent Polish Army had fought under its own colors in more than a hundred years; and October 6, 1918, when General Joseph Haller, the Polish patriot, assumed command of the entire Polish Army in France, near Nancy in Lorraine.

In March, 1918, General Haller officially requested the Y M C A to accompany his army to Poland, and promised it every facility possible in carrying on its work, which he said had become almost a necessity to his men. Five secretaries accompanied General Haller's staff to Poland, leaving Paris on April 16, 1919, and reaching Warsaw

on April 21st. On April 29th, these secretaries were present at the meeting between General Haller and the Chief of State, Josef Pilsudski, on his return from the recapture of Vilna; and they also shared in the magnificently impressive celebration of the 3d of May—the first since Poland became free and independent. While the Y M C A went to Poland at the invitation of General Haller and with only sufficient equipment to serve his Army, Commander in Chief Pilsudski and his officers urged the extension of its work to all the Polish troops and especially the young, new recruits. The Ministry of War officially requested the Y M C A to serve the Polish Army, promising full cooperation.<sup>1</sup>

### WITH THE RUSSIAN LEGION

The Russian Expeditionary Force, which in the spring of 1916 A Difficult Situation had numbered about 60,000, had dwindled by the spring of 1918 to a small body of 2,000 men, known as the Russian Legion. Casualties, sickness, and particularly the disaffection arising after the conclusion of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, had accounted for the diminution. The rest of the fit men, at least 20,000, were virtually prisoners of war under the control of the French. The Legion was, of course, absolutely cut off from communication with home and the Russian Government of the day ignored its existence. It was attached to the famous Moroccan Division and fought in the defense of Allied lines against the German attacks of March and April, 1918. The little troop was terribly cut up in this fighting, but replacements were found among the men in the labor battalions; and the Legion was thus able to uphold its honor to the end of the war. As a recognition of its services, it was included in the French Army of Occupation.

The Y M C A obtained permission to work with this Russian fighting force. The work was conducted by the Russian Department, organized in France by the American Y for the purpose of serving all Russians. The workers marched with the troops through storm and mud, supplied them with extra rations of bacon and bread en route, distributed American chocolate and cigarettes before action, followed them into the trenches with supplies, and visited the wounded in the hospitals after the fighting. These men, separated from their people and from their disaffected comrades, found a great barrier in their difficult language, and felt very isolated. A Russian officer thus summed up the chief values of the Y service:

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter LXIX for the story of Y work in Poland.

"You will never fully understand how much we Russians appreciate the goodwill of you Americans in accompanying us to battle. This proof that someone actually cares for us has touched our hearts more deeply than we can express to you."

When the fighting troops and invalids returned to Russia, the Association had the good fortune to know of their intended departure in time to send secretaries to the docks to brighten the homegoing with stores of chocolates, biscuits, cigarettes, games, books, and papers, and with phonographs and records. When a volunteer body of fighting troops was recruited in France for service in Russia, two of the Association secretaries accompanied them to Marseilles, where they were sent on their way with the usual gifts. Letters from Constantinople and South Russia record the appreciation of these services.

#### WITH THE CHINESE LABOR CORPS IN FRANCE

One of the most interesting and significant phases of the war was the importation of Chinese Labor into France. The Chinese Government, thoroughly in sympathy with the Allied cause but unable to aid it by means of troops, gave the British and French permission to recruit workmen under contract which included their transportation from China to France and return, and wages in cash for the period agreed upon. In 1916, the British and the French opened recruiting offices in Puhow, Weihaiwei, Tsingtao, and other points and in the course of the war enlisted between 150,000 and 200,000 Chinese workmen for service in France. The British used by far the greater part of these in their base area from Havre to Dunkirk and in the army zone between Cambrai and Ypres. The French used some 30,000 in ports from Brest to Marseilles and at munition works in the interior, while 10,000 were loaned to the Americans for use in the Services of Supply. They were engaged in the handling of military supplies at ports and bases, in repairing roads and building railways, handling munitions, and even digging trenches. After the Armistice, they were sent up to the devastated areas in large numbers where they were engaged in reconstruction and salvage.

The maintenance of the morale of these Orientals suddenly transported from their homes and set to unfamiliar tasks in a foreign and war-ridden land was imperative.

The efficiency of the Chinese as laborers depended largely on their contentedness and on the degree of understanding between them

and the Westerners directing their work. Very few Westerners understand Chinese; but the Y M C A was able to secure the services of missionaries to China, at home on furlough, to work as secretaries. Before these secretaries arrived, there had been riots and strikes every few days. These were, in most cases, largely due to lack of understanding. No one could speak both Chinese and English. The food was insufficient and not suited to Chinese. No boiled water or tea was provided, whereas Chinese drink only hot water or tea. Much sickness and discontent resulted. Since the doctors could not understand Chinese, diseases were improperly treated, if attended to at all. There were misunderstandings concerning hours and wages, suspicions and resentment resulted, and occasionally mistreatment by the officers in charge. All these and numerous other difficulties the Mandarin-speaking secretary was able to remove, for the commanding officer was always willing to remedy any trouble when the situation was understood. Even so the entire group would sometimes strike, and it was the business of the secretary to get them back on the job.

The English National Council of the Y M C A immediately offered to aid in a recreational program for these men but the military authorities were opposed to any outside influence which might tend to lessen discipline, and no official sanction was given to such work. Although no formal permission had been granted, the British National Council, by the end of 1917, had opened work in thirty centers and military men had come to see its value in keeping up the morale of these working men. The British Association with the help of Colonel Fairfax, in command of these labor battalions, at last succeeded in getting the work officially sanctioned and in March, 1918, the British National Council was formally invited by the General Headquarters to establish canteen and recreational service in all the Chinese labor units. By the end of 1918, there were 80 centers serving more than half of the 194 companies under British command. The personnel included 38 Chinese students and a score of missionaries provided by the International Committee of North America.

Simultaneously, in the fall of 1917, the International Committee undertook work for the Chinese under French command; and a Chinese student from Harvard, Mr. Hsi, started the first hut for Chinese workmen in Feysin, a suburb of Lyons. There were soon nearly 40 centers with secretaries, the Chinese personnel being twice that of the American. In the spring of 1918, the work was extended to the Chinese workmen under American command. In 1919, the British

With the  
British

With the  
French

staff included over a hundred, nearly half of whom were Chinese. The funds for all this work were furnished by the International Committee of North America, and the English National Council.

One of the strongest elements in the whole work was the thorough and cordial cooperation of the Chinese Government. When the Director-General of the United War Work Campaign cabled the Y M C A of China suggesting that China provide \$100,000 toward the welfare work in Europe, a committee of 52 Chinese political and commercial leaders, associated with the Y M C A, was organized, and secured not \$100,000 but over \$1,400,000. It is not too much to say that the fact that the Association was actively associated with this work immensely stimulated the interest of the Chinese. The American National War Work Council eventually appropriated for work among Chinese in France and elsewhere, its proportion of this total sum. The President of China headed the fund with a contribution of \$5,000, and gave this characteristically sound Chinese testimonial:

"If an old man like me goes wrong, it doesn't matter much. If a middle-aged man goes wrong, that is a most serious loss, but if a young man goes wrong, he goes on destroying character all the rest of his life, and for that reason I believe we ought to sustain such a work as that being done by the Young Men's Christian Association."

One of the first forms of service was to bring the Chinese into touch with their people at home. Many had written letters but had received no replies. They did not realize that during the war six months' time was required for a reply from China, and it was rumored that Chinese, employed by the French Government as interpreters, appropriated the stamps and burned the letters. To remove this difficulty permission of the American base censor was secured for the Chinese mail to go through the American Army Post Office, the secretary assuming responsibility for censoring the same. To make sure that the replies from China would reach the men in France each laborer was provided with several return envelopes, the return address being printed both in French and Chinese. As only a small percentage of the Chinese can write, the secretary prepared a letter for them in Chinese. Two thousand were printed and distributed. The laborer had but to fill in his name and the date. These letters told of the general good conditions surrounding them—which had been secured by that time, and included friendly messages. An educated Chinese, detailed by the Government to help the secretary in

the canteen, was at the tent on Sundays to assist in correspondence. Y M C A stationery, printed in English and in Chinese, was provided free.

A Paris bank agreed to transmit funds to China for these men, <sup>Home Remittances</sup> but when some never heard from the money they had sent, many grew suspicious and would not risk remitting money in this way. After the secretary had gained their confidence in himself and in the Y M C A, the Association headquarters in Paris were prevailed upon to transmit funds to China by the same method our soldiers used in sending money to America. The Paris Office agreed to make the experiment. More than 15,000 francs (about \$3,000) was collected to go to several hundred needy families in China. Some had been carefully saving this money for three years, others had lost or gambled away much that could have been sent to their families had there been a ready means of transmission. The Chinese readily took advantage of this opportunity and showed real appreciation.

The temperament of the Chinese, even the lowest class, responds <sup>Taste in Recreation</sup> to mental diversion before it takes to games. So classes in the Chinese language were established with trained secretaries brought from China. An intensive course was given in the meaning of the war, the geography and social conditions of Europe, and especially in the significance of the environment in which they found themselves. This led to classes for the better educated in English, French, geography, history, mathematics, and a course of study which put within their reach something like that of the common schools in America. A Chinese weekly newspaper was published in Paris, edited by a Chinese graduate of Yale University. This education proved among all these Chinese volunteers a key to the understanding of our Western world.

The transplanting of this army of Chinese citizen laborers into <sup>Athletics</sup> the heart of European civilization opened a new field for creative welfare work. Every Chinese camp had not only its social and educational centers, but a sports program which kept the men fit and active and which taught many of them for the first time the European mode of enjoying outdoor life. Soccer, football, volley ball, basket ball, running, and even baseball were enthusiastically indulged in by the young and active Chinese. The Army organization had a compulsory physical program of its own, and men were given calisthenic drills; but the Y secretaries made the most of Chinese games and Chinese forms of physical exercise from the start. The result was that

kite flying, throwing the stone lock, lifting the double stone wheels, and the extremely dexterous battledore and shuttlecock game, which in some parts of China is a national sport, brought a spontaneous response of the native sport instinct.

The Y M C A was in a position to conduct such work successfully because of its contact with missionaries, Chinese students in America, and Chinese agencies in China. Some of the Chinese secretaries gave up scholarships in American universities in order to undertake this service. There is no doubt of the value of the work. A marked improvement in morale followed its introduction at every local point. It was also another opportunity for America to offer a friendly hand to the great Republic of China, which, be it remembered, is the largest nation in the world.

## CHAPTER LVI

### ITALY AND THE BALKANS

#### ITALY

It is easy to overlook the part played by Italy in the World War. During the period between the declaration of war against Austria on May 24, 1915, and the fall of 1917, her men held a very difficult front of 480 miles; and while they achieved no decisive success, they kept a large Austrian army from the western front at a time when such reinforcement might have turned the scales in favor of the Central Powers. Even the unfortunate disaster of October, 1917, did not actually work much harm to the Allied cause; for its accomplishment drew heavily on the power of the German divisions, and the lines on the Piave were stabilized without much actual loss of power on the western front. During 1918, the Italian Army acquitted itself well, contributing in no small degree to make the final victory sure.

The position of the Italian soldier was extremely difficult. Italy <sup>The Italian Front</sup> is a country of limited resources, that have been much depleted by the many struggles in which her people have been engaged for a century. The soldier at the front, during the early days of the World War was not very well equipped and rather poorly supplied; and the forces were probably much inferior to the enemy in artillery in nearly every engagement. The continuous fighting in the mountains was difficult and discouraging. Transportation was a most serious problem in the high Alps. Besides all this, the fighting man as a rule lived in constant anxiety regarding the family he had left behind. With the drafting of the bread-winner, many thousands of families were left in dire want. Neither government allowances nor private beneficence could meet the situation with adequate relief, for the maintenance of the forces at the front practically exhausted the surplus resources and energy of the nation. France and Great Britain had not very much to spare during those first three years.

The first definite effort to alleviate the hardships of the Italians <sup>First Welfare Work</sup> was made by a young Catholic priest-professor, Don Giovanni Minozzi, a chaplain of the Knights of Malta, who went to the front with the second hospital train sent forward by the Order. He opened

reading and writing rooms—Case del Soldato—in the rugged Cadore. The Italian High Command in 1916 officially requested Don Giovanni to extend his service to the entire front. The Army requisitioned buildings, and private funds were secured for maintenance and equipment. The leader of the work experienced the usual difficulties in extending such an enterprise but by the autumn of 1917 there were some 200 centers in operation, carrying on a program much like that in Y huts. These Case were all in the forward zone.

In June, 1915, just as the first Case were being established, C. V. Hibbard and D. A. Davis of the American YMCA visited Italy to offer assistance in service both for prisoners of war and for soldiers. Mr. Davis at this time inspected Don Minozzi's work as well as certain Protestant efforts. Some proposals were made for work to be conducted by the Italian YMCA and support was promised for one center in Naples to be operated by the Student Christian Movement. The American YMCA, in prisoner of war work, confined its efforts during this first period to contributions toward the support of a score of centers in the rear area largely under the direction of the Italian Y.

By midsummer of 1917, the value of Don Minozzi's work was universally recognized and the need for its rapid extension appeared everywhere. His resources were, however, quite insufficient for such an extension; and he and his friends made a definite appeal to the YMCA for men and money. Both the American and the British Associations had their hands full at the moment. The American forces were coming into France and Generals Pershing and Pétain were urging a big program for the French, and under the circumstances these were regarded as primary obligations. Prominent Italians had meanwhile become interested in Y work as carried on in the British Army; and an invitation was extended by the Italian Institute in Paris for the visit of a mixed commission of American and British secretaries<sup>1</sup> to the Italian Front. This mission, proceeding to Italy in September, inspected the fighting armies and returned with high admiration both for the conduct of the military operations and the excellent work of Don Minozzi. As a result of the negotiations, the Association's offer of service was accepted by the Italian high command, the terms of acceptance asking "maximum cooperation." To meet this situation the Y stood ready to provide \$1,000,000 and 200 secretaries for the first year. It was hoped by the Americans that

<sup>1</sup> The invitation was originally extended to the British, at whose suggestion the Americans were included.

experienced British leaders might be set aside for this service; but the British Association could spare neither men nor funds at this critical time, so the American Y assumed the responsibility of leadership and support.

The demands upon the American Y in France caused a most unfortunate delay in establishing work in Italy. The leaders in Paris were face to face with the serious situation of 1917<sup>1</sup> and experienced leadership was in demand everywhere. It was nothing short of tragic that the institution of American cooperation was held over till January, 1918.

For meanwhile the terrible disaster of Caporetto befell the forces <sup>Caporetto</sup> of Italy. The combination of war weariness, astute propaganda, and skilful attack that wrought this catastrophe has been described too often to require elaboration here. Disaffected troops in the Second Army gave way at a critical point, involving that army in almost total disaster thus forcing a desperate retreat all along the line. For a time it looked as if Italy were utterly defeated but the heroic stand of exhausted veterans aided by practically untrained boy recruits held up the advance at last; while two British and one French division backed up the final stabilization of the lines in December. The British General, the Earl of Cavan, declared that this recovery of the Italians was unparalleled in the history of warfare.

Needless to say, the morale situation was very serious. The chief cause of the reverse was such as to spread consternation far and wide. Re-establishment of confidence was an immediate necessity. The value set upon welfare work at this juncture is best appreciated in connection with the statement of Prince Borghese that the institution of Y work a year earlier would have prevented the invasion of Italy. Of course, the Case del Soldato had suffered with the armies; its 200 centers were all lost in the retreat. The American Y M C A National War Work Council, a Protestant organization, however, appropriated 500,000 lire to replace the buildings of the Roman Catholic Case del Soldato. The demand of the previous summer upon the American Y now became doubly imperative.

In January, 1918, the American Y was able to move; Dr. John S. Nollen arrived with ten secretaries at the Army headquarters at Bologna—next month American cooperation became an actual fact. The work took the name of *Opera di Fratellanza Universale Americana Y M C A*, *Case del Soldato*—abbreviated everywhere to *La Fra-*

*The American  
Y in the Field*

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XXVII.

tellanza, the Brotherhood, or L'IMCA. Under the same arrangement as in the case of the Foyers, it was understood that there was to be no religious propaganda, either Protestant or Roman Catholic. No distinction in insignia was made between the American and Italian Case.

The American workers had no reason to complain of their welcome. Every facility was placed at their disposal. Goods were admitted free of duty; transportation of men and materials was not charged for; buildings were requisitioned wherever needed; even the personal comfort of Americans was a matter of solicitude on the part of the military; and the most competent liaison officers, subalterns, and soldiers were detailed to facilitate the welfare program. Certain restrictions imposed in regard to initiation of service at new points on the front soon yielded to pressure from officers of the line, and thenceforward there were never any hindrances. When Dr. Mott was on a tour of inspection in the spring of 1918, the King of Italy expressed to him the earnest desire that the service be expanded to the maximum as soon as possible. Individual soldiers and civilians rendered direct assistance of the very greatest value at all times and officers and officials tried uniformly to smooth the way of the American workers. The Italian personnel in the service at all times outnumbered the force of foreign directors.

During the period of hard fighting in the summer of 1918, the Y had 150 huts in operation, 50 of these being in the forward area.

At the time of the Armistice there were about 200 huts, while work was being carried on in 318 hospitals, 127 military barracks, and in connection with all the principal railroad stations. In addition, there were 20 camion and launch routes. At this time there were 220 American secretaries, which number increased to over 270 at the peak of the service, with over 500 Italians assisting. Over 400 Americans altogether served in the work for Italian fighting men.

That the Italian work never received either the personnel or supplies that were needed was due to the critical difficulties faced by the Y M C A in France both in 1917 and particularly in the spring of 1918 when the German drives upset all programs. The overseas forces of the Association were compelled to regard the work for the A E F as primary, with the Foyers enterprise a close second. The great struggle was decided in France and Flanders during the very months when the Italian need for service was so urgent. Under the circumstances, it is hard to see how it would have been possible to

divert any more energy from the principal services while both were undermanned in the days of supreme crisis.

The first opportunity for service lay very close at hand. In the Bologna district there were more than 10,000 wounded whose recovery was slow in spite of the best efforts of the medical corps. A YMCA director immediately offered to arrange a demonstration in corrective gymnastics. The character of the exercises and the spirit in which they were carried out produced both moral and physical results of the highest value. One observer remarked that it was the first time he had seen the men smile since Caporetto. Before the end of March, young officers specially coached were carrying the program to other hospitals. The demonstration at Bologna brought invitations from other centers; and the officers' school at Modena, after such an exhibition, welcomed a resident secretary who could train officers in athletics. The general result of these demonstrations was a bulletin issued by the Minister of War commending such activities to all military units. The director of military hospitals for North Italy requested service for the convalescent areas of five armies. This physical service—whose guiding motive was recreational, a fostering of the spirit of play—was supplemented by the use of games and puzzles, phonograph concerts, movies, music, and dramatic entertainments.

The plans for the armies were pushed forward as rapidly as possible during the early spring months. The American Y forces were still very few in number but energetic effort backed by splendid local cooperation developed a really impressive program.

The first two locations were assigned on the lower Piave close to the line. From these centers all the program that could be made to travel by camion or launch was carried to the scattered units along the river. These could be reached with magazines, newspapers, stationery, phonographs, and moving pictures. Regular activities were opened in the huts. A field meet was held on April 30, 1918, and squad prizes were given to encourage team play. This event led to a discussion with the Duke of Aosta, resulting in an invitation to carry the athletic program to the whole army. The need for this program of recreation was felt everywhere and became a leading feature of the work when the Fratellanza was extended to the Second Army, west of the first huts. On May 10, a few miles from the trenches, 12,000 gathered for an athletic tournament on a field gay with flags while airplanes dropped patriotic handbills among the contestants. Other armies asked for an extension of this recreation.

Rehabilitation Service

Recreation and Diversion

The entertainment department was set up at Y M C A headquarters to promote this feature of a welfare program so vital under the circumstances. The moving picture machines were, of course, kept on the road continuously. A dramatic company was organized; and soon afterward, through the efforts of an Italian well known in operatic circles, abundant musical talent was secured. The first singers at the front after Caporetto were his troupe, which sang for the Third Army in May. In June another troupe visited the Second Army. A favorite woman singer from unredeemed Trieste sang popular airs in many dialects while the boys joined in the choruses. In the Second Army area, a company was organized at Montebelluna—just in the rear of Montello, a critical point in the line—which gave numerous performances to which soldiers were brought directly from the trenches.

The need of athletics and diversion in the cities was also impressed upon the Y leaders at an early date. American Consul Carroll urged the need at Venice, and the director of an American hospital emphasized the claim of Florence and the surrounding districts with their numerous barracks and 43,000 wounded men. In March, two secretaries reached Florence and in April a single American began work in Venice. From Bologna, secretaries were stationed at neighboring towns to open Case and to direct athletics and entertainment in barracks, camps, and hospitals. Everywhere the flag, the uniform, the games, music, pictures, and plays met the same response. A local paper declared the service "truly beyond praise—simply American." In a short time, centers had been organized in a dozen cities, where the workers divided their attention between the wounded and the able-bodied. At the railroad station in Florence a Casa del Soldato was established to serve the crowds of men who passed to and fro through that center of transportation.

Throughout this period, let it be again emphasized, the American workers were laboring under a great shortage of men and of supplies. They were enabled to conduct so much work solely because of the assistance of detailed soldiers and other Italian workers.

The Austrians began, June 16th, an offensive planned to complete the disaster of Caporetto and overrun central Italy. The thrust was quickly parried in the mountains; but the enemy bridged the Piave at many points and crossed in force. The fighting was bloody for many days. Determined resistance and counter attacks at length drove the invaders back across the river. The Italians recovered territory

held by the enemy since the previous autumn, a constant threat to Venice. Depression in Austrian morale was accompanied by corresponding elation among the victorious troops, and the way was prepared for the decisive defeat of Austria in the short and sharp autumn campaign which soon followed.

The main fighting was in the sectors of the Second and Third Armies, and the farthest enemy advance in the region of the first American "soldiers' houses." One was wrecked; the second abandoned in the temporary Italian retirement. Thus, by chance, all Americans at the front were so situated as to render vital service to troops in action.

They had anticipated important activities. Just before the battle <sup>Emergency Stations</sup> every American with the Second Army had volunteered to serve troops in the first trenches. In both armies, emergency stations were set up—*posti di ristoro*—where numbers of wounded men would pass, and here the Americans served day and night hot drinks, hard bread, chocolate bars, and cigarettes to wounded and exhausted soldiers—to more than 1,000 at a single point in one day. Hot Fratellanza coffee and American cigarettes had to serve in place of unobtainable anaesthetics for field hospital operations. When the Italians recaptured the bloody triangle between the Piave and the Sile Canal, and the wounded were picked from among the dead over the marsh battlefield, all were brought, after first aid, to the Y stations for restoratives. Secretaries operated a motor boat on the Sile Canal for weeks, distributing restoratives and food to wounded men brought from the last actions of the counter-offensive.

The Americans admired the heroism of Italian medical officers, and Italians were equally generous in their praise of the "activity and intelligence" with which "the humanitarian task had been accomplished even in times of greatest difficulty," as General Caviglia wrote. This welfare service to men in action was a striking novelty. Formal inquiry was made at Bologna, and assurances given, that in future emergencies similar service would be undertaken. Hence, before the final offensive in October, complete information was entrusted to national and regional headquarters in order that plans might be perfected for the fullest emergency service.

The Fourth of July, coinciding with the assurance of victory in this second Battle of Piave, was enthusiastically celebrated throughout Italy. Wherever there were Fratellanza men, they were guests of honor.

After the Battle

After the battle, demands for the vitalizing service of physical welfare, sports, music and drama, ran continually in advance of the possible supply until numbers of new men began arriving in late August and the autumn. More than 100 came in September and a substantial number in October. Throughout the summer, however, there was steady development. By the end of July, the stimulation of the new moral factor was being felt in 360 hospitals, barracks, and Case del Soldato. The propaganda officers at the front were combining their efforts with those of the Americans to see that music and drama reached all American and Italian centers. Regional physical directors traveled along two army fronts setting thousands of men weekly to playing games. Phonographs journeying on six or more camion routes, and later on nineteen, played airs from "Rigoletto," "Aida," "Il Trovatore," or American ragtime within reach of the Austrian guns, sometimes in dugouts in hearing of the enemy. The American line of service gradually stretched westward to Mount Grappa and then to the Asiago plateau, on to Lake Garda and around the lake to the vast Adamello glacier among the Alpine snows.

The Mountain Huts

Some of the "soldiers' houses" were in desolate places in the hills. To one or more the men descended daily from the peak-top artillery and observation posts by wire cables, the teleferica. One appeared at the foot of Mount Grappa. Before the next battle began, there was a Casa on the very summit, just outside the rock gallery from which the big guns shelled Mount Pertica. In such places, light and a little warmth of oil stoves meant much even in a barren village house. Letters to the family gave a new sort of ease of mind, and the shows and music and games were a spur to both flesh and spirit. Men recovering in the field hospitals, only to go into the lines and be wounded again, felt that their hospital stay was a bit more like a leave of absence.

The proprietor of a theater who opened his building for a show to 2,000 soldiers was astonished that nothing was smashed. He did not understand the psychology of contentment and appreciation for a little kindness. He may not have wondered where the soldiers and officers had written their letters before they began using a thousand lire worth of stamps daily in the Casa at Venice. But understanding was widespread. Great enthusiasm marked the opening of new centers in towns in the war zone. In one district in Lombardy a theater, a school, and a hotel became each a Casa del Soldato; at one of these the townspeople gave the opening program, and for another they fur-

nished the seats. As to the soldiers themselves, their appreciation was far beyond American deserts, and their homes everywhere learned of their satisfaction. From one army region, 230,000 sheets of paper in one month and 13,000 picture cards carried greetings to the mothers and wives under the strange symbol of the Red Triangle.

Abundance of talent was available for entertainment. Italian directors were found in most of the large centers to train troupes of singers and players. Increasing numbers of concerts were given at theaters and "soldiers' houses" and more singers appeared in hospitals. Jugglers, burratini—puppet show artists—hypnotists, vaudeville companies, famous musicians, all entered the ranks of the Fratellanza reserve and helped to hearten the fighters and win the war. An experienced director of entertainment work arrived in September and another for movie shows a month later. Soon thereafter Bologna was supplying films to fourteen subordinate centers and pictures were diverting 8,000 soldiers daily. When the autumn offensive opened, the friendly intervention of the IMCA had reached 580 hospitals, barracks, camps, and Case del Soldato, and 19 camions and a launch were going to those who could not come to the sign of the Red Triangle.

The great Italian offensive opened on the night of October 23d, The Victorious Offensive with the Austrians superior by twelve divisions and twenty per cent in artillery. There were two British divisions and one French in the Italian line. Heavy rains flooded the Piave, rendering the bridging of the stream exceedingly difficult. The fighting was extremely sharp for several days. But, within less than a week, the Italian Army had driven the Austrians back at every point and the enemy forces were in complete collapse. More than 450,000 prisoners, 250,000 horses, and 7,000 cannon had been captured before the battle ceased.

The Fratellanza relief work had been thoroughly organized beforehand. National and regional headquarters had full information, and supplies were previously provided for emergency relief to six of the Italian armies. Approximately 100 Americans took part in this battle service. Points had been selected at which many wounded men would return from the battle, and they were served at these points as in the June fighting. In the Fourth Army alone, 51,000 persons were directly served; in the Eighth, 74,000.

After the first few days, conditions were entirely different from those in June, and required quick readjustments. The Italians were advancing rapidly, and the Americans had to follow them with emergency supplies under great difficulties of congested traffic.

Moreover in the midst of the service to wounded men, a new field of operations was opened. The population beyond the Piave was found to be practically starving. The whole region had been swept bare by the Austrians. In this situation, the Fratellanza temporarily supplemented the efforts of the relief organizations, using all its camions for the distribution to the starving of emergency food supplies provided in part by the Red Cross. The camions of a single regional headquarters made eleven trips beyond the river, distributing cocoa, coffee, sugar, condensed milk, oil stoves and fuel oil, as well as fruit drops, chocolate bars and cigarettes. The fruit drops and condensed milk are pathetic reminders of the thousands of mothers who had no milk for their babies, and of little children starved for sweets. The ordinary supplies for use of the soldiers were distributed in greater quantities than usual during the same period.

Discipline disappeared in Austria with the collapse of the army, and some 500,000 Italian prisoners left the prison camps and returned into Italy by every possible means of travel. Coming in with the army of newly captured Austrians, these hundreds of thousands of men, many in a pitiable condition, rendered the task of the government almost impossible. The Fratellanza assisted as extensively as practicable, organizing emergency relief stations at many concentration centers, where food and restoratives were provided, followed by games, music, picture shows, mass singing, and other means for stimulating the exhausted men.

When the Italian Army moved far to the north and east to hold the armistice line, the Fratellanza accompanied the troops. Headquarters were established close to all the army headquarters. With the increased American personnel, a largely increased service became possible. Military leaders declared this fully as necessary during the gradual demobilization as it had been in the time of fighting. When it was about to be closed, in October, 1919, they urgently pressed for its further continuance, and the closing date was postponed to the end of the year. The maximum volume of service was reached in the late summer. The entertainment department actually touched more than 1,500,000 men a month with its many concerts, plays, and programs of mass singing, in which the Italian soldiers showed the greatest enthusiasm. Educational work reached considerable development at a number of important centers. Motion pictures, which entertained nearly 500,000 soldiers in January, were reaching more than 1,000,000 by September. The Americans conducted hundreds of Case del Sol-

dato and supplied everything to many hundreds conducted by Italians. A single army zone will illustrate the scope of the work. When the temporary strain in relationship occurred in May at the Peace Conference, the Americans were serving the soldiers and thus maintaining an active spirit of goodwill, at 144 localities in the Ninth Army alone.

Certain very interesting developments occurred. By request of the military, the Fratellanza took over the buffet at the railway station, Florence, where bad food was being sold to soldiers at high prices, and for many months served daily hundreds of gallons of soup and coffee and quantities of good food at absurdly low figures. Teams of boy scouts were trained at many points by American secretaries for a great field meet in Rome. Playground activities in the capital city were directed by American secretaries in cooperation with the Italo-American Society. Highly competent physical directors were stationed for weeks at several of the most important officers' training schools. American athletics left a permanent impression in Italy, where the military authorities have to some extent modified their physical training of soldiers as a result.

The Fratellanza program was extended to Naples, Palermo, Durazzo in Albania, and to Tripoli. By special request it was continued in Albania until May, 1920.

Did the welfare program help to maintain and heighten the The Effect  
on Morale morale of the severely tried Italian army? The officers believed that it did. In asking for the extension of this program to the Genoa district, General Spinelli, director of the Propaganda Office of an army corps, wrote:

"From the sectional offices dependent upon the office of Press and Propaganda, and from numerous units and commands, there continue to come to me . . . reports containing the most fervent praise and appreciation for the magnificent work which is being developed among us for the purpose of resistance and victory. . . . For a long time I have recognized . . . the many meritorious services which the American Mission Y M C A in a generous spirit of humanity has been able to achieve in Italy. . . . The reports . . . impress upon me constantly the ever-increasing scale of achievement and the fruitfulness of the labor so diligently undertaken by this mission in the province of this army corps, and convince me of my opinion that, among the many manifestations of generous aid and fraternal collaboration which are coming to us every day from our great Ally, America, the work of the Y M C A is among those destined to leave the most profound and beneficent impression in the minds of Italians."

## THE BALKANS

The work of the American Y M C A in the Balkans and Asia Minor was developed principally in Roumania, Greece, Constantinople, and various centers in Asia Minor and Northern Syria. Association work was undertaken in Roumania during 1917-1918, but after the German occupation, American agencies had perforce to retire. No American work was extended to Bulgaria or Serbia. In the spring of 1918, at the request of the military authorities, the British Y M C A inaugurated work in the Serbian camps. This work developed until there were centers in Belgrade and in many of the principal Serbian towns. The British also had 35 centers at Saloniki and various base ports in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. In January, 1919, a request came from Montenegro for the American Y M C A to organize work there, but nothing could be begun because of the obligations of the Association in countries where work had been already started. In a few instances effective relief work at different points in Macedonia and Albania was accomplished by individual secretaries from Greece and Italy.

Definite work in Roumania, Greece and Turkey was undertaken after the Armistice. This work was directed from Russia, and strictly speaking forms a chapter in the story of the Association's experience between the Bolsheviks and the advancing Germans on the Eastern front. The work in Greece was entirely with the Army. The work in Turkey was of a post-war emergency character and was directed largely toward the welfare of the civilian refugee population. This service in the Balkans was carried on in increasing volume during 1920, on account of the very great need. None of it could be kept up indefinitely by the War Work Council, and liquidation was begun under a general plan that a National Council in each country would be formed to take over eventually the responsibility for the work while American support and personnel would be gradually withdrawn. Welfare work with armies has come to stay. It is inconceivable that any army that has shared in the common experience of the World War will be content to remain mobilized for long without the customary soldiers' hut or home, with its programs of athletic games, education and recreation to look after his physical, mental and moral needs. Yet practically every soldier in Europe who enjoyed these privileges wants the same on his return to civilian life; so the experiences of war have started a demand for civilian associations.

### ROUMANIA

Roumania entered the war on the side of the Allies by a declaration of war on Austria on August 27, 1916, and undertook an immediate but unsuccessful advance into Transylvania. By the end of September the retreat began. The Germans advanced into Roumania and occupied Bucharest, December 6, 1916. During 1917 Roumania was at the mercy of German exploitation and as a result there was great suffering on the part of the civilian refugee population. Relief work was undertaken by various agencies including the Association, but on March 9, 1918, Roumania signed a separate peace with Germany, and American agencies had to be withdrawn. After the Armistice, however, plans were made to reopen work in Roumania and from 1919 on there has been a new and fairly successful beginning of permanent work. Thus the story falls into two parts, one dealing with attempts to work for the Roumanian Army during the war, the other with a post-Armistice program of army and civilian work.

The earlier Roumanian work was the sequel to a visit to Roumania by the secretary in charge of work for war prisoners. As a result of this visit, two American secretaries arrived in Jassy in May, 1917, to distribute supplies for the Rockefeller Foundation. By July they began receiving their goods by way of Odessa, Roumania being cut off from the west. Very soon they became engaged in army work also and opened a hut in Jassy on September 12, 1917; but this point had to be closed within three weeks on account of the advance of the German troops. This hut was opened again on December 12, 1917, and various attempts were made by the Y M C A in Russia to establish service in this area; but the whole situation was so unstable that very little could be accomplished but some relief work. The work was definitely placed under the direction of the Y M C A forces in Russia in the spring of 1918, and Jerome Lansing was put in charge. The preliminary peace signed by Roumania and the Central Powers meant the demobilization of the Roumanian army; so army work died a natural death by June, 1918.

From the first the undertaking had been under the patronage of the Queen of Roumania, and Prince Carol, who was President of the committee in charge. He had urged the Association to stay in the field as long as possible, even after the army work ceased. At the request of the queen, a relief train was sent on June 17, 1918, to aid some soldiers who were supposed to be cut off and in dire distress, but

Before the  
Armistice

they were found to be reasonably well fed and not in need of shelter at that time of the year. The relief workers provided one meal and then went back. The Association had the help and cooperation of several able and devoted Roumanians as well as the continual support and sympathy of the royal family. During this summer of 1918 it was planned to do relief work during the winter and an attempt was made to gather supplies for this purpose, but hardly enough could be scraped together for the single canteen which was opened and operated for a short time. The work having practically collapsed, Mr. Lansing left for America January 1, 1919, to report on conditions in Roumania and to make suggestions for the future. In his report he said:

“Our presence in Roumania has been a promise to those people that we would do something for them. Through no fault of our own we have been able to do only a very little in the past. Now a large opportunity is presented to us to fill a long-felt need. I earnestly hope that work will be undertaken on a scale comparable with the importance of the need.”

As may be inferred from the foregoing account, the bulk of the work in Roumania was small and the difficulties to be overcome were very great. The secretaries in charge did their best in a heroic fight against the disintegrating forces of war and revolution.

In November, 1919, another start was made, and four workers were sent to Roumania to begin work with the army. Political conditions were still very unsettled, and there were many difficulties of an official character. Had it not been for the kind offices of the Queen, it is doubtful if arrangements to start the work could have been consummated with the military authorities. As it was, the first hut was not opened till March 19, 1920, but it was an especially good one.

Shortly after the opening of this hut, and as a result of a change in the ministry, the War Department issued an order to the effect that buildings, equipment and every facility be granted for the opening of a model center in every army corps and province. The Government appropriated the necessary funds. In addition a general army order was issued giving the Association official status, buildings, equipment, rail and motor transportation, details of soldiers, and other facilities. The work has been so useful that the Association has been urged quite generally, and especially by the Queen, to continue this emergency army work through 1921 and to begin civilian work as soon as possible. The Prefect of Police of Bucharest even urged the addition of an outdoor summer athletic program for workingmen.

The most important phase of the work is the aid lent by the national Y Physical Director to Colonel Badulescu, in charge of the Department of Physical Education in the Roumanian Army. There is promise of a permanent development of thoroughgoing physical training in the Army from the officers' schools down, and if the projected system of army huts is realized this movement will spread rapidly. The general in command reports that officers have noted an improvement in the morale of the troops because of the spirit and activities of the Association.

It cannot be said, however, that the Roumanian work shows the same certainty of success as that inaugurated in Poland, Czechoslovakia or Greece. Political conditions are perpetually in flux and activities are of necessity in the nature of such emergency work as can become permanent only when political and social conditions permit. With the assured support of the Queen, and of certain military, civil, and ecclesiastical authorities, the Association will continue to play a salutary role in toning up the morale of the Army, especially through its athletic program, and will afford the Roumanian Government and people some indication of the goodwill which many persons in the United States feel toward their country.

#### GREECE

Greece had a very varied history during the war. Neutral, but with a tendency to pro-Germanism while under the influence of King Constantine until July, 1917, the Greek Government at length was forced to take sides under the leadership of President Venizelos, the friend of the Allies. The Greek Army became the pivot of the offensive that overwhelmed Bulgaria in 1918 and marked the beginning of Germany's defeat. As a result of the Allied victory, to which Greece contributed in no small degree, the national dream of a greater Greece has begun to be realized, and Greece has found herself for a time by far the most powerful state in the Balkans. The recall of King Constantine and the possible revision of the Treaty of Sèvres has affected the future of Greece adversely for the time being, but it is fairly certain that Greece will retain much of her influence and territory. The peace and prosperity of the Near East depend very largely on a healthy and progressive Greece.

Non-political agencies have long been at work creating good feeling between nationals of the two countries. Thousands of Greeks have returned to their native land, after several years' sojourn in the

United States, enthusiastically pro-American. In educational matters Americans have had a profound influence there, especially through Robert College, Constantinople, alumni of which form a distinguished and influential group in Athens. During the war it so happened that the American Y M C A, which hitherto had enjoyed little or no credit in Greece, was able to extend its morale-building service to the Greek Army and bids fair to continue to do so. When Dr. Mott visited Greece in 1910 on his world wide trip to ascertain world conditions and the prospects for Y M C A work, the Y M C A was known and appreciated by but few persons in Greece. In 1920 it was virtually as well known as in any other part of Europe or even in the United States. Hardly a Greek soldier had escaped its influence and the military, civil, and ecclesiastical authorities were enthusiastic for its increase and continuance.

Acceptance of  
the Y Program

The initiation of army work in Greece was due to the interest of Harvey A. Henderson, an American educator and business man, who had lived there for years. When offering his services for war work, he suggested that he be assigned to Greece. He succeeded in interesting another worker in this field and together they made preliminary arrangements in London and Paris with Government and Association officials. Mr. Henderson proceeded to Greece under the authority of Mr. Sautter of the Foyers du Soldat, to work for the Greek and Serbian Armies. Arriving in Athens August 6, 1918, he was presented to Venizelos, who welcomed the idea of Association work in the Greek Army and agreed to act as Honorary President of a committee to cooperate in establishing the work. Through his influence a committee of prominent Athenians was formed, and relations established with a woman's organization for welfare work, known as "The Soldiers' Sisters," and with the Alumni Association of Robert College, which was composed of prominent young men of Athens who had first-hand contact with American institutions and were sympathetic toward the Association.

Armed with letters of introduction, Mr. Henderson proceeded to Saloniki, the military center of Greece at that time, and with the concurrence of the military authorities there opened a hut and canteen. By September the first three huts were in action, one in Saloniki, one at the Toumba Camp, a large permanent military reservation, and one on the Struma front. A fine piece of relief work at Serres, Macedonia, was accomplished in improvising soup kitchens and feeding a needy refugee population. Other secretaries arrived but the work did

not have the hoped-for rapid development. This was partly on account of a misunderstanding with the authorities of the Foyers du Soldat. After the middle of November, the work was put under purely Greco-American auspices, under the direct supervision of Mr. Henderson as representing the American Y M C A. In December a hut was opened at Athens and several more in the Saloniki region, and by January, 1919, nine of them were in full operation. In March, Mr. Henderson went to Odessa to open a club for the Greek soldiers with forces of occupation, but this club had to be evacuated when the city was surrendered to the Bolsheviks, April 6th. The American hut at Corfu was turned over to Greek workers, and other huts were opened in Saloniki, Larissa and Piraeus. Later the work was extended to several centers in Asia Minor, especially to Smyrna, where in March, 1920, there were eight buildings; to Aidin, Magnesia, and other centers, to serve the Greek Army of Occupation; and although the American personnel was never large, varying only from five to ten, the service has been extended to a score of centers with the aid of nearly 100 Greek soldier helpers and is still going on. The Association has become not only an integral part of the life of the Greek soldiers, but even a necessity. For that reason the attitude of the Government is very favorable to the Association.

The work in Greece has been a typical example of the attempt to meet an acute morale situation. The Greek troops on the Balkan Front observed the activity of the British Y and the French Foyers du Soldat with the Allied troops and coveted similar benefits. The Greek Government, even with the help of the Allies, was unable to provide its troops with the equipment, rations, and canteen facilities that Allied troops enjoyed. Greece was almost impoverished and war-weary. Some of the troops had been mobilized for seven years. Their pay was small. In many places their barracks were unheated, unlighted, infested with vermin, evil smelling, with earthen floors on which the men slept often without blankets. They found their only rest and recreation in cafés where they were exploited. The first duty of the Y seemed to be the establishment of a canteen service where the soldier could enjoy his coffee and political discussion at a reasonable price in wholesome surroundings. So the canteen phase of the work was stressed, especially at first, and the hut was thought of simply as a coffee house. Gradually more emphasis was put upon athletic, educational, and religious work and a regular program developed. The ideal was to provide the Greek soldier with the same home environ-

Another Morale Problem

ment that he might enjoy in a fully organized city Association. That this ideal was actually realized in several huts cannot be questioned. In fact the most outstanding result of the work for the Greek Army has been a unanimous appeal from all elements of Greek society that permanent work be started as soon as possible.

The official support of the Greek military, civil, and ecclesiastical authorities has been unqualified. From the day Venizelos first lent his aid to the Y it has received the cordial backing of all. The Greek Government early passed a special law permitting the Association to be organized. Prominent Athenian citizens, many of them graduates of Robert College, were willing to provide whatever money was necessary for starting the Y on a permanent basis. Leading Greeks of Saloniki in April, 1919, petitioned the Association for an extension of its work. Venizelos himself, although not a wealthy man, had a permanent Y building erected at his own expense.

In February, 1920, a large appropriation was made for the building of an athletic school, and in March, A. E. Marriott, an American physical director who had been appointed to coach the Olympic Team, was named by royal decree Director of Athletics for the Greek Army and attached to a newly created National Military Department of Athletics. Greece was one of the ten nations that decorated the American athletic directors because of their services to physical education in the armies. The athletic appeal of the Y is very strong in Greece. The Greeks pride themselves on the athletic prowess of their ancestors and the tradition of the Olympic games. Yet their athletic activity has been limited, according to western notions, for the play instinct is not highly developed. The unique contribution of the American YMCA athletic program is that of scientific and systematic physical training in the development of games. The spread of the American sport idea to the nations of the Near East can be a powerful factor in promoting their national health and morale.

The social program of the Association will not have in Greece the same development that it has had in the west. The Greek, who is semi-Oriental, must have his coffee and political discussion at all costs and can find plenty of opportunity for this outside of the Y. Nor does he care so much to be amused by movies and entertainments. He is, however, quick to learn. A popular educational program, such as is already in force in army huts and required by the military authorities for illiterates, can do much to reduce the percentage of illiteracy, now rather high in Greece. Many young men returning from the Army to

civilian life have had years of continuous military service with a corresponding deprivation of educational advantages. A widespread elementary educational program can become one of the most valuable features of the work.

Curiously enough there has been a much larger development of <sup>Religion</sup> religious work in the Greek Army huts than any one unfamiliar with the Eastern Church might suppose. It almost seems as though there were a kind of revival of religious life in Greece. The Metropolitan of Athens in a published interview said:

"It is therefore our duty, in the first place, to dispel the erroneous opinions of foreigners regarding us, and in the second place to improve our religious life, teaching the people the essence of the orthodox faith, cleansing our Church's life of the rust engendered by the slavery and ignorance of the past and ridding it of its load of dead forms, in order that our Church's life-giving spirit may shine forth anew. I cherish the belief that we already stand on the threshold of this new religious life."

The Metropolitan is much interested in a revival of preaching and encourages that religious activity in which Greece excelled in the days of John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nanzianzen, and Photius. He preaches simple, direct sermons of an ethical rather than dogmatic import and promotes religious work in the huts by appointing the most eloquent priests to preach regularly. Other Metropolitans, especially in Saloniki and Smyrna, have followed a similar course, and the general attitude of the Greek Church toward the Christian Brotherhood of Young Men, the Greek name for the Y, has been decidedly cordial. Commenting on Association work, the Metropolitan of Athens furthermore said:

"In former days, for lack of information, the Y M C A organizations were viewed in Athens, Constantinople and Smyrna as dangerous to the religious convictions of the Orthodox Greeks, who, having suffered much in the past from religious propagandists of the West, always looked suspiciously upon every foreign movement that had a religious character. Today, however, because of the fine impression made by the marvelous war work of the Y M C A on every front, and particularly the Greek front, the old hesitations no longer have any ground. The Church, after investigation that no conversion from dogma to dogma is intended, has decided to give full and hearty support to similar organizations in Greece."

The Y idea made such headway that one Greek colonel put up a <sup>Individual Support</sup> hut in Athens on his own initiative and responsibility, raising funds

among his own command and asking only for the aid and supervision of the American Y. Other officers have either contemplated or engaged in similar action. The Government has sent a representative to America to study Y methods and seems to be committed to a program in behalf of the young men of Greece. One Greek expressed the significance of the Red Triangle in almost classic form, as symbolizing the development of the body, the elevation of the mind, and the ennobling of the soul. What the Y M C A began in war work bids fair to become a permanent feature of Greek life.

#### TURKEY AND ASIA MINOR

In 1920, no part of the world was in a more chaotic state than that which formerly was included in the Turkish Empire. The war had hardly finished in the Near East. There were still armies in the field and refugees in the towns. Allied forces of occupation and military authority were the only guaranties of order in many localities. There was the same chaos of antagonistic races and religions that had long made that part of the world the most hopeless from the point of view of ordered peace and prosperity. In fact, since the Turko-Italian War of 1911, open warfare had hardly ceased. Hardly had the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 ended before the Great War began, which fought over again the ever-pressing Eastern question.

Because of this aftermath of the War in the East, it was decided to allot an emergency appropriation from the funds of the War Work Council to tide over the very difficult time of social readjustment for the thousands of Armenians and others who found themselves without home or country. It was understood at the time that such emergency work would be criticized by many as unnecessary and that relief work alone was justifiable. But these people were in despair and the constructive work of the Y might well be expected to have a tonic effect upon civilians as well as upon men in uniform. In every sense this was real war work. The event proved that much could be done to raise the morale of Armenian and Greek refugees who for years had been deprived of everything that most people consider makes life worth living.

This emergency or temporary work in Constantinople took several forms. There was a Foyer du Soldat for French troops; a typical city Association for young men in Constantinople; a special club for American sailors of which there was an average of 1,000 in port in need of wholesome entertainment; and a summer camp for Armenian

refugee children in cooperation with the American Committee for Relief in the Near East.

The Foyer work soon came under French management. The <sup>Activities</sup> city Association, formally opened November 14, 1919, grew and prospered for a long time without a proper gymnasium or boys' department. By January, 1920, it had a membership of 700, of whom 500 were in classes, and it became a center for education and moral training for the youth of Constantinople. The Sailors' Club was a great success. It offered excellent canteen and restaurant facilities and a touch of home through the ministrations of several American women and the secretary in charge, who arranged dances, sight-seeing trips, picnics, entertainments, and the like for sailors. In July, 1920, the club moved into larger quarters of eighteen rooms and increased daily in effectiveness and popularity. The importance of providing wholesome entertainment for American sailors on shore leave in an Oriental port such as Constantinople cannot be over-emphasized.

The summer camp for refugee children was opened in May, 1919, <sup>Work with Refugee Children</sup> at Derindje on the Gulf of Ismid not far from Constantinople. This was an interesting innovation. The phenomenon of thousands of young children, quite without home and parents, trying to make their own way in the world amid the chaotic conditions of a war-ridden country has been a common experience of welfare workers, especially in Eastern Europe. The idea of giving refugee children the advantages of an American boys' summer camp was a new one. The American Committee for the Relief of the Near East offered equipment and food and the Association furnished or enlisted the personnel. An athletic director and student helpers from Robert College were of invaluable assistance. The camp was magnificently located on the Gulf of Ismid. It included the shaded gardens of an old Imperial Palace where the boys attended classes much in the fashion of Plato's Academy. They lived in the open air under tents, had nourishing food, and enjoyed systematic exercise and games. Over 500 boys who had formerly picked up a bare living as best they could in an overcrowded and demoralizing city were given the opportunity to build up morally and physically. At the end of the season they were sent to agricultural schools or provided with work in factories. This was done with the full permission and under the patronage of their ecclesiastical leaders, who in the absence of a national Armenian government performed the functions of the state as well as the church. Curiously enough this excellent work, which appeals at once to any

American acquainted with our admirable boys' camps, raised a storm of criticism among Orientals who had a horror of fresh air and the sea, and who felt that the boys were not being properly clothed and cared for. They expected orphans in the care of an American welfare organization to be provided with the finest American clothing and shoes, and the camp idea with its informal dress and domestic arrangements was new and strange to them. After seeing the effects of such a summer on hundreds of boys who had come to the camp living skeletons, with the distended stomachs of the under-nourished, and who left it solid, shapely, and browned by the sun, their opinion changed. The camp was such a success that the idea spread; plans were made for many such camps for the summer of 1920, and several were put in operation, notably one at Soudanie by the Sea, near Constantinople, and others in the vicinity of Smyrna and Adana. It is to be hoped that the idea will grow. Nothing would be more beneficial to the youth of the Near East than the camping habit. The climate is favorable and wholesome contact with out-of-doors can do much to wean boys and young men from the enervating and vicious amusements of the cities.

Mention should also be made of work for Russian refugees both on the Island of Halki and in Constantinople. In the latter place a large house serves as a social center for homeless Russians of all classes. On occasions, such as a concert by refugee artists from the Imperial Opera, many refugees formerly of the nobility would appear in evening dress in an assemblage which reminded one of better days in Petrograd. At another time they might be found behind a canteen counter or in the restaurant thankful to have the opportunity to earn something working for the Y. From the homeless Armenian waif to the Russian nobleman, the Y reached all classes of society in its emergency work in Constantinople.

Work was started in Smyrna during the summer of 1919 when one regular Association center was opened for Allied soldiers and sailors, especially Americans. In addition to this, service to the Greek Army of Occupation in several other centers was administered from Athens. In the summer of 1920 a boys' garden-camp, carried on with the cooperation of the Greek Metropolitan and helpers from the American International College, was operated near Smyrna with a fair degree of success.

The second center in the establishment of Y work in Asia Minor was at Adana, where an exceptionally fine city and refugee program

was carried out eventually in three centers. The daily attendance here totaled 1,500. A boys' camp was also operated with the help of students from St. Paul's College, Tarsus. In February, 1920, during the massacres at Marash a very able piece of refugee work was done for the Armenians through cooperation with the Near East Relief. At Adana at least the full emergency Y program as laid out seemed to be realized. The Y gave real help to a disheartened and demoralized population living in conditions of brutality and bestiality, deprived of all those cultural, recreational and spiritual influences which we have come to accept as indispensable to life itself. The relief agencies were frankly unable to meet these needs, and it remained for the Association to raise their morale by a practical demonstration of American energy and idealism. America is the only popular nation in the Near East, and the Y M C A was often accepted as the embodiment of all that is best in America.

Work was started in Konia late in 1919 but did not make great headway; for Konia is almost entirely a Moslem and Turkish city, and a foreign and Christian organization in the heart of a Moslem country is in an especially difficult position. From the Moslem point of view it is "hard to swallow," as one Turk expressed it. The Association had cooperation, however, from the Mevlevi Dervishes, a very liberal Mohammedan sect, whose interpretation of Islam differs so widely from that of many Moslems, that they are sometimes called "Christian" by their Mohammedan opponents. The son of the Grand Chelebee promised his active support and help in organizing and carrying forward the work in Konia; and it may prove possible for the Association to work successfully in this district if the religious convictions of Moslems continue to be respected and no attempt is made to proselyte.

Work was going well in Aleppo and Aintab in Northern Syria by the beginning of 1920, when on February 1st two workers, James Perry and Frank L. Johnson, were brutally murdered fifteen miles south of Aintab by reputed brigands. These were probably none other than local Turks who either mistook them for Allied military officers, or else were simply bent on plunder. In a very real sense, Mr. Perry and Mr. Johnson were martyrs to the cause. They were both prominent and widely-known Y workers in the Near East, and their untimely loss cast a gloom over the whole American colony. The American sailors of their own volition held a meeting in their club in Constantinople in memory of these men who had served them so

Assassination  
of Y Secretaries

unselfishly and had lost their lives in the line of duty. It may be that again the blood of the martyrs will prove the seed of the Church. In spite of this disaster, in the vicinity of this tragedy the workers felt that the Association should continue its work in the Near East; for it was clear to them that it was laying a bed-rock foundation of inter-religious toleration, inter-racial harmony, and international peace.

## CHAPTER LVII

### IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Welfare work in the Near East presented a series of contrasts stimulating to the imagination. From dugouts on the bullet-swept beaches of Gallipoli, where cakes baked in Imbros were served daily, to palm leaf and mat huts in tropical East Africa, where native porters squatted to watch over and over again the mysterious moving pictures; from oases in the Sahara, when the monotony of endless days under a blazing sun drove men toward madness, to the motley crowds that filled Jerusalem at Christmas, and were guided to the places of holy tradition by Association workers; from the Esbekieh Gardens of Cairo, turned into a great pleasure resort for soldiers, to the muddy banks of Shat-el-Arab; in the desert of Sinai; and Bagdad, the city of the Caliph Haroun al Rashid—wherever the great war machine carried the soldiers of the Allies, the Y M C A accompanied them. Its workers furnished cooling drinks and American ice cream for parched throats, tents where men could find shadow from the heat, a great swimming pool, theaters, hotels, and restaurants, in Egyptian cities. They cleaned out the cesspools of Jerusalem; and combated the vice of Port Said and Alexandria with clean entertainment, sport and the influence of Christian character and teachings. This work was done largely under the auspices of English and Australian organizations, and received special financial backing from the Australian Red Cross in Egypt; but a share fell to the American organization, which contributed a large part of the personnel and funds. Strictly speaking it is a British story, but the participation of Americans was sufficiently extensive to warrant its inclusion in this book.

The attention of America was so concentrated on the Western front and Russia that the significance of operations in the Near East has been little realized. Three outstanding events sum up all that most people can readily recall to mind—the disastrous British campaign in Gallipoli, the surrender of General Townshend's force at Kut-el-Amara, and General Allenby's capture of Jerusalem. But from the beginning to the end of the war Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia were scenes of fighting that had vital influence upon the final outcome.

Significance of  
Near Eastern  
Campaigns

In order to keep open the lines of communication between Britain and her Far Eastern Empire, immense forces were detained in the Near East whose presence on the Western Front would have meant early numerical superiority, and perhaps victory for the Allies. When Turkey and Bulgaria were put out of the fight, October, 1918, the whole German scheme of Mittel Europa collapsed. A brief review of the strategic importance of the Near East and the military operations carried on from 1914 is therefore the necessary preliminary to an account of the welfare work done in those parts of the world.

Turkey in control of the Bosphorus, Palestine, and Mesopotamia separated southern Russia from the western powers, controlled the land route to India, and was in a position, by attacking from the Palestine base, to threaten the sea route from England through the Suez Canal to the Indian Empire, whence Great Britain drew more troops than from all her other overseas dominions put together. Hers was an advantageous situation and she endeavored to improve it by intrigue among the Mohammedans, aiming to incite a holy war, which produced a general uncertainty among the peoples of Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Sudan. The British were bound to protect the Suez Canal and to block the head of the Persian Gulf to prevent egress in that direction. The assault on the Dardanelles was ventured because its success would have cleared the way to Russia, cut the Turk off from his allies, and steadied the whole situation. It would probably have brought in Greece. The campaign against German East Africa was designed to deprive Germany of a valuable asset and remove a barrier between Egypt and the South African Union.

Offensive operations, begun early in Mesopotamia, proceeded with varying fortunes to a complete victory. A British force from India landed on the shores of the Shat-el-Arab, the estuary at the head of the Persian Gulf, in November, 1914, and in the course of a month's fighting, established themselves securely in Basra and Kurna, thus barricading India against attack by the Central Powers, and providing a local base for offensive operations against the Turks. This offensive developed very slowly, received a severe check in the forced surrender of General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara, in April, 1916; but, after a year of preparation, it was renewed, the British recapturing Kut-el-Amara on February 24, 1917, and occupying Bagdad two weeks later. The Russian Revolution, occurring just at this time, prevented the expected cooperation from Erzerum. Fighting was intermittent during the summer, the Turks occupying Russian Armenia and North-

ern Persia and fighting their way to Baku. In October, 1918, General Marshall inaugurated a swift and decisive campaign ending with the capture of the Turkish Army in Mesopotamia and the occupation of Mosul.

The one German colony not seized by the Allies within a few weeks of the beginning of war, was German East Africa, a territory larger than Germany itself, lying between British East Africa to the north and Portuguese East Africa and Northeast Rhodesia to the south. The fact that it lies directly in the path of the Cape to Cairo railroad gives it great strategic significance, and its wealth of tropical products, accessible by 1,100 miles of railway, makes it economically and commercially of enormous value. For three years German troops maintained obstinate resistance to its conquest by British, Colonial, and Belgian forces. During 1915 and 1916, General Smuts drove the Germans from the railroad and principal towns, through the jungle toward the border of Portuguese East Africa. There they took up positions from which they could not be dislodged during the heavy tropical floods of the early months of 1917. Not until the end of 1917 were the gradually reduced German forces driven across the River Rovuma into Portuguese East Africa, and even through most of 1918 a guerilla warfare was carried on. The Allied camps in conquered territory were gradually discontinued, but a large army of occupation remained, scattered over strategic areas.

The Turks, whose active sympathy with Germany was shown in connection with the cruisers Goeben and Breslau, and by a torpedo boat bombardment of Odessa, were forced into open belligerency November 1, 1914. Early in January they launched an ambitious attack from Palestine against Egypt. If successful it would have prevented the use of the Suez Canal by the Allies and effectively cut off support coming to the Eastern Front from India, Australia, and New Zealand. The much desired Egyptian revolt might have followed. Although the Turks advanced to the very bank of the canal, they were outgeneraled and driven back into the desert by British, Australian, and Egyptian troops. Both the military and political hopes of the Central Powers were completely disappointed. It was necessary, of course, for the British to continue guarding Egypt, which served throughout as an intermediate base for supplies and troops. Large bodies of Indian troops were trained there, and Australians and New Zealanders were there in considerable numbers. Egypt was also used as a rest and hospital area.

German  
East Africa

Egypt

**Gallipoli**

Two offensive campaigns were launched from Egypt by the British. The Gallipoli Expedition is too well remembered to require description. It occupied nearly the whole of the year 1915, and its complete failure neutralized the political effect of the repulse of the Turks from Egypt. The heroism and suffering of the men who shared in it marked a high tide of the human spirit in war. That the Y M C A was able to alleviate their suffering in some degree is due to workers who shrank no more from danger and hardship than the soldiers they served.

**Palestine**

The brilliant Allied offensive in Palestine, which thrilled the Christian world by the capture of Jerusalem in December, 1917, was preceded by a long and wearisome preparation. For fifteen months from August, 1916, British forces pushed across the Sinai Desert, building a railroad and water pipe line as they went. The program was to drive the Turks out of well prepared and stoutly defended positions, establish the line and wait for the railroad to catch up; then repeat. Not until November, 1917, did the railroad reach Gaza, and make possible the successful operations in Palestine, signalized by the capture of Jerusalem in December. A series of victories in the late summer of 1918, the Navy cooperating, swept the Turks out of the Syrian seaports. Aleppo, the junction of the railroads from Constantinople and the Mediterranean with that to Bagdad, was taken October 27th. This victory, coinciding with General Marshall's in Mesopotamia, completely destroyed the Turkish military power. An armistice was granted on very severe terms, October 31, 1918.

The Y M C A was everywhere represented in these Oriental campaigns. It is no easy task to picture in a few pages the diversified work which filled a period of five years and stretched from the oases of Sahara to the valleys of Mesopotamia and from sub-tropical East Africa to Syria and Gallipoli. A unifying element, however, is found in the fact that, geographically, activities radiated mainly from two centers. The first was India. Attention has already been called to the large forces contributed by India to the Allied Cause. Indian soldiers were the first to arrive in France from British dominions. They formed an important part of the Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia and in Palestine, helped guard the Suez Canal and shared to some extent in the East African campaigns. Work for all these troops was initiated by the Indian National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, which from its beginning had been under American leadership and liberally aided by contributions of money

and personnel from the American International Committee. The General Secretary was E. C. Carter, who later became Chief Secretary for the A E F. A résumé of the work of the Indian National Council will introduce the reader to the beginning of welfare work in the World War.

Egypt also was the hub of a wheel, whose spokes radiated into the western oases, where the Senussi were met and repulsed, into Gallipoli, across the Sinai Desert into Palestine and Syria, and south to Aden and the Sudan. It was the great rest and recreation center for troops of the Gallipoli and Palestine campaigns. The beginning of the war found William Jessop, British by nationality, but with American Association training, directing a small city YMCA at Cairo under the auspices of the American International Committee. He became Chief Secretary for Egypt and promoted activities in every direction from that base.

From these centers the story of welfare work may now be followed, first from India to Mesopotamia and East Africa, then from Egypt to Gallipoli and Palestine. The reader is reminded that the same period of time must be repeatedly traversed, and that forces were constantly shifting, so that secretaries from India must be followed to France and troops from Britain or Australia found themselves served now by one, and again by another staff of secretaries.

The limitations of this narrative inevitably appear to overemphasize America's part in these services. It is necessary to keep clearly in mind that this work was within the zone of British YMCA responsibility. At the same time, the whole practice of the Association as an international institution is of such a character that there was nothing extraordinary in an extensive cooperation between the American and other national branches. They work together over the whole world at all times.

## INDIA

One of the most illuminating developments of the war politically was the enthusiasm with which citizens of the British dominions sprang to the aid of the Mother Country. It was not surprising in Canada or Australia, the majority of whose people had direct English antecedents. But that South Africa, only recently conquered in war, should have given its notably enthusiastic support, and that India, supposedly still held by military force, should have furnished more than a million native volunteers, while her Maharajahs opened their treasure

Egyptian  
Headquarters

British  
Unity

chests for war loans, is deeply significant. Only ten weeks after the outbreak of war, 47 troop ships sailed from Bombay for France. More than a million and a quarter of native Indians served in various theaters of the war; and when, shortly before the Armistice, the Indian Government called for 700,000 additional, more than 500,000 volunteered from the Punjab province alone.

In preceding years, Y M C A work in India had been limited largely to civilians. Although giving cordial support and valuable privileges to the city Associations, the Government had faithfully adhered to its policy of non-interference with the religious beliefs of the people, and had excluded from the army anything that might furnish an excuse for the charge of religious propaganda or proselytizing. Only when proved by actual demonstration in many fields, that Y M C A service, though springing from a deeply religious motive, was scrupulously respectful of spiritual rights and reserves, was the way opened. Official general permission came late, and only here and there through the favor of troop commanders were beginnings made.

One policy of the Indian National Council was undoubtedly helpful. In the belief that permanent Y M C A service must depend in India upon the ultimate responsibility and leadership of native Indians, the practice of recruiting and training Indian secretaries had been emphasized for some years. In 1915, half the 190 secretaries in service were Indians, as compared with 51 British and 41 Americans; and when in 1916 the General Secretary left India for service on the Western Front, he was able to install an Indian, K. T. Paul, as his successor. These men, knowing the intricacies of Indian social and religious life, were better able to avoid the accidental affronts which might prove harmful or dangerous. Service for British Territorials from England represented, of course, a different type of work.

Starting with four army centers in the summer of 1914, there were more than 50 in 1918 in India, besides the large number in Egypt, East Africa, Mesopotamia, and France. From 190 secretaries in September, 1915, the numbers increased to 295 in 1917 and nearly 400 at the end of 1918. The distribution was roughly: East Africa, 2; Egypt, 15; France, 21; Mesopotamia, 100; India, 260.

A special attempt was made, in addition to typical Y activities, to acquaint the Territorials with the political and racial conditions and problems of India. The Y also served the troops in the lonely hills of India, "back o' beyond," where there was as great a need of keeping up the morale of Englishmen in India as of Indians in France.

The frontiers of India are always well guarded; and occasionally, even in peace time, the wild hill tribesmen have to be quelled by a British expeditionary force. German intrigue extended to the Orient, and it was found necessary to keep a large army in readiness to protect India from invasion. At fifteen different points the Association provided for these men in the monotonous life of garrison duty, besides accompanying them on occasional expeditions and maneuvers, much emphasis being laid upon vocational education.

The work for the Indian Army was one of the most important undertakings of the Association in this area. The northern provinces were more extensively recruited than any other section of the country; and in training depots and practice camps the secretary carried on his ministry of friendship, entertainment, and instruction. Lectures given in the vernacular on "European History and the War" were specially encouraged by the military authorities.

Indian Infantry Divisions arrived in France, September, 1914. <sup>France</sup> The last Indian troops did not leave France until April, 1920. The Y was with them all the time. As soon as war was declared, it seemed to occur to several leaders in the Indian work almost simultaneously that the Indian National Council should immediately offer its services to the Empire. As a result twelve Y secretaries, of whom seven were Europeans and five Indians, left Bombay with the great flotilla of 47 troop ships, two cruisers, and two battleships, that sailed for France on October 16, 1914. At that early period of the war the possibility of soldier huts had scarcely occurred to these secretaries; but they knew that the Indian troops in France would be lonely and homesick, and apt to get into mischief unless some amusements could be provided in their camps and they could be kept in touch with home by means of correspondence. Hence they featured games, the phonograph playing the songs of home, classes, books and letter writing, the burden of which fell on the secretaries as the majority of the troops were illiterate. The great Indian rest camp was at Bordeaux, where there were at one time seven Y centers. There were also some camps and hospitals in Flanders, especially in the vicinity of Boulogne-sur-Mer, where the Indian troops were in the line and saw heavy fighting. It was found, however, that Indian troops could not stand exposure to the climate of northern France; and after one winter of war they were withdrawn to southern France and employed in labor battalions, or returned to India. By 1916 their numbers had been considerably reduced.

In March, 1915, the Y personnel numbered eighteen, and in September thirty. One English colonel addressing his Indian troops in their own language said that two things were necessary in order to be great in battle, a strong body and a stout heart. He explained that the military drill and exercises provided for the first and the Y for the second, and highly praised the Y secretaries.

"They came of their own accord," he said, "without any orders from the *Sircar* (general) to make the *Sipahis* (Sepoys) cheerful and happy. I wonder how they could have got on without them. For forty years I have been in the Indian Army and I have never seen or expected such a *bandobast* (demonstration) as they have made. They have put up this building, they are giving you every night these educational and amusing pictures, they are teaching you French, they are writing your letters, they are doing many things for you that the *Sircar* does not provide. There is nothing you need that you can't find here. I shall write a report to the *Sircar* that these *Sahibtogs* (Y M C A men) have made you all pleased and have produced a good tone in the camp."

Sir Walter Laurence said, "The Y M C A shed is a godsend to the soldiers in Marseilles." In fact, the work was widely appreciated by British officers. One English major said, "The extent to which the Y M C A adds to the efficiency of the Indian reinforcements by keeping the men happy and contented under trying circumstances is incalculable."

What the Indians thought may be indicated by the following translation of a poem in the Urdu dialect, found pinned to the door of a hut:

"Oh God, do good to him who has founded this Association; may it remain established in the world forever.

Every moment those who are in charge give to any of us who need them, paper and envelopes, pen and ink. For those who are ignorant or illiterate and cannot write themselves, they write letters, and this they do without cost.

Lo! on the ground the Sepoys sit around as they listen to the music of the gramophone.

They provide us with much-needed soap and razor and brush and machine with which they cut our hair and clip our beards.

In the evening they all join with us in football and hockey, and at night they show us moving pictures.

The secretaries of this Association are sympathetic because they consider everyone as their brothers.

How can I tell of our praise and admiration for this Association.

And this, too, is the prayer of Maula for this Association, that it may ever abide under God's protection."

The Y was not permitted to work among Indian troops in Egypt <sup>Egypt</sup> for two and a half years after the beginning of the war, for reasons of a religious and political character. In April, 1917, however, permission was granted and toward the end of June the first Indian secretary arrived in the country. Work was started at Suez, the site of the Indian base depot, the Indian hospitals and the first place where new arrivals from India landed. The hut was provided with canteen service and facilities for indoor games and letter writing. From the beginning the place was swamped, as the nearest town was out of bounds because of the plague. The secretary in charge also visited the hospitals. The work increased rapidly in Egypt and filled a long-felt need. Twelve out of 50 of the Egyptian personnel were working for Indians.

In Mesopotamia the work which began for British soldiers was soon extended to Indian soldiers, who eventually were in the vast majority. In 1919 there were 30,000 British and 75,000 Indian troops in Mesopotamia. Y work in Mesopotamia was under the direction of the Indian National Council from which its personnel was in a large part derived. Work was also extended to Indian troops in Palestine and Syria, as well as to the upper reaches of Mesopotamia and into Persia.

The effect of this great extension of the work of the Indian National Council during the war is bound to be far-reaching in India. It is said that as a result of the experiences of Indian soldiers overseas, there has developed among them a new sense of nationality and a new desire for education. There was a new revelation of the appreciation of the true character of Christian service, that spirit of true brotherhood which leads men to minister to real needs without thought of personal dignity and which offers service regardless of race or creed.

Significance of  
Indian Work

## MESOPOTAMIA

A Tommy on leaving England for Mesopotamia said to his pal: <sup>The Garden of Eden</sup> "We're in for it now, Bill. We've left the bloomin' Y in Blighty." One day, as a new draft marched into the largest rest camp, another Tommy, spotting the Red Triangle, was heard to call out: "What! the Y M in this God-forsaken country? This is too good to be true!" A British soldier arriving in Basra was sent to one of the three rest camps, when he was quickly disillusionized of any romantic ideas he might have had about the Garden of Eden or the Arabian Nights. Kurna, situated at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, is the

traditional site of the Garden of Eden. Early one December morning, when it was cold and felt like rain, a Tommy from London, a "pukka Cockney," shivering all over, looking around at the bleak landscape, with nothing but dirt and a little mud to be seen, kicked a chum who was sleeping on the ground at his feet, and gave utterance to this bit of wisdom:

"S'y! Call this the Garden of Heden? If this was the blumin' Garden of Heden, hi don't blame the twelve hapostles for gittin' out of it."<sup>1</sup>

As a contrast, during one fortnight in July, 1917, the daily maximum shade temperature averaged 118.6 degrees in Basra, and at times it passed 125 degrees. A cup of hot tea or a glass of cold lime juice, equally good thirst quenchers in a hot climate, and a little sponge cake, called a "wad," that started the flow of saliva, seemed like salvation to men after a hot march, smothered in dust and parched with a thirst peculiar to the salt desert wastes of Mesopotamia.

On account of causes beyond its control, the Y M C A was unable to start work in Mesopotamia for six months after the first expeditionary force from India landed at the head of the Persian Gulf and fought its way as far as Kurna and Mezera. In June, 1915, one secretary, who had been working in India for the International Committee, arrived in Basra. For the rest of the year the staff consisted of four men, and work was carried on in Basra and Amara for British soldiers exclusively. During the fall, General Townshend made his fruitless expedition against Bagdad, and in December was besieged in Kut. The desperate efforts of the relieving force were vain, and Townshend surrendered at the end of April, 1916. This winter campaign was marked with terrible hardships, from floods, storms, and cold; and inadequate transport on the river prevented supply of all but absolute necessities. By the end of 1916, the military authorities became very much alive to the need and value of welfare work; and influential support and financial aid was given by people in India and elsewhere, which made possible a large expansion. At the end of 1916, there were 48 workers in 47 centers, 21 of which were for Indian troops exclusively.

Going up the river, as the vast majority did, the first port of call was Amara. Here transports tied up for the night and the troops were allowed ashore. Just across from the landing and bearing a huge electric sign was the Y M C A, a big place, well-equipped and

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<sup>1</sup> To Bagdad With the British, A. T. Clark, New York, 1918, p. 36.

furnished, brightly lighted, hospitable, friendly, the center of life for the Amara garrison. On many a night, late-comers could not find even standing room. Further up the river in the vicinity of Sheik-Saad, a city of tents near the seat of operations before Kut, was a marquee on the river bank called the "Lloyd Hut," the contribution of a patriotic business man in India. But in this zone of the advance there was a great difference in the tents; all they had was boxes for tables, sandbags for seats, empty pineapple tins for cups, and so on. Outside on the river bank thousands watched the movies at night; a concert or lecture followed the pictures; after that came informal evening prayers, a fitting close to the day's activities.

Even at the very front amid the heat and dust storms Y outposts were maintained for months almost within sight of the Turkish trenches. Cold lime-juice or hot tea, writing material, reading matter or a sing, anything to make life a little easier, was the informal program in these centers. Work was also carried on among the wounded in clearing stations, on hospital boats going down stream, and base hospitals, twelve of which were visited every week. In all of these places the Y workers were the deputies of many agencies in India and England and of various war gift funds for supplying the troops with comforts. The same services were rendered the Indian Sepoy as the British Tommy. In many cases he needed them more, arriving in Basra, seasick, lonesome, homesick, a stranger in a strange land. The Indian troops suffered just as severely as the British troops from the rigors of the climate and the ravages of disease, and the Indian hospitals were full.

The history of the Y in Mesopotamia in late 1916 and throughout Bagdad 1917 is the history of the victorious army. The recapture of Kut-el-Amara, the great advance up the Tigris, the capture of Bagdad and the occupation of the vilayet of Bagdad constituted the setting of its labors. The "push" began about the middle of December, 1916. With the opening of hostilities the character of the entire Y work changed in the advanced area. When the final advance came toward the end of February, 1917, some Y secretaries in the front lines went right through to Bagdad. Hospital work increased and work for Indians at Sheik-Saad grew enormously.

Bagdad was occupied March 11, 1917. Work was begun immediately in three centers; in the Central, or "Princeton" hut, so called because of the unit of Princeton men who, with Harvard units, had volunteered for service in Mesopotamia long before America entered the

war; in the Karada or "Madras" hut; and in connection with a large Indian hospital. The Princeton Hut was started on a big scale and grew to be one of the largest centers in Mesopotamia. It was housed in a large building with open courts on the river front in the middle of the city and had formerly been, in succession, the British residency, a Turkish hotel, and a Red Crescent Hospital. It was fully equipped with canteen, recreation hall, soda fountain, spacious table accommodations, officers' rest and tea rooms, guest rooms, and housing accommodation for a considerable number of officers and men passing through the city. It proved a haven of refuge for large numbers of men continually coming into the city from outlying points. One innovation in Bagdad and in the British Army was the introduction of ice cream cones by an energetic young American college man. He managed to get cream, freezers, and ice, but found that Bagdad did not afford enough spoons; so he conceived the brilliant idea of getting a local baker to bake something that passed for cones and then posted a sign, "Ice Cream Cones for sale at the Y M." Soon they became as popular as at Coney Island.

After the occupation of Bagdad, troops moved out in four directions and the Y followed each column with the help of a few transport carts and a long train of Arab donkeys. Buildings were provided here and there by the garrisons, and fighting troops were served with refreshing drinks and the ever popular "wads."

At the request of the Inspector General of Communications, work was opened in Kurna in May, 1917, for the benefit of the thousands of troops passing through at that time. At Basra the number of Y centers increased to twenty; and canteens, for which there was a crying need, increased also.

During 1918, the British forces which, by the end of 1917, were fifty or seventy-five miles above Bagdad, pressed on and occupied the Turkish bases at Ana, Tikrit, and Kifri. The road to Persia was thus laid open and outposts were pushed beyond Khanakin to Kirmanshah and subsequently to the Caspian Sea and Baku. The Y pushed on 300 miles with the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force to Hamadhan, whence secretaries made reconnaissance trips to Kasvin, Teheran, Enzeli, and Baku. In October, the remnant of the Turkish Army surrendered to General Marshall and Mosul was occupied. Almost simultaneously, General Allenby cut the main Turkish line of communications by his advance on Aleppo in Northern Syria. On October 30, 1918, an Armistice was signed with the Turks.

Even by the time of the Armistice the British occupation of Mesopotamia had brought great changes in the country. Extensive docks had been built at Basra, roads and bridges had been constructed, telegraphic communications had been established, hundreds of miles of railway had been laid, a fine fleet of river steamers was in operation, and the rivers had been dyked and dammed to prevent further disastrous floods. Extensive work had been done on the irrigation system which some day will equal, if not excel, that of Egypt. Schools and courts were opened, hundreds of tons of grain were distributed, and land, which three years before was a barren desert, bore a bounteous harvest. Modern agricultural science and machinery were being introduced and were working wonders. Fair-minded persons, least sympathetic with the British Imperial idea, were bound to admit that Britain's colossal program of reconstructive, administrative, and humanitarian effort in Mesopotamia was conceived on a magnanimous scale and was a great work of civilization in a country that has suffered the unprogressive rule of the Turk.

During the year, the Y M C A accompanying the troops that made all this possible increased its work among them, helping to maintain good spirits, offsetting the evils of idleness and boredom, and seeking to keep the men cheerful, contented and clean. Thus it could be said that the Y and its supporters have had no mean share in the liberation of Mesopotamia. In October, 1917, there was a total staff of 52. A year later, at the time of the Armistice, there were 100. While the work of the lines of communication was greatly consolidated and intensified, the expansion was chiefly in the brigades in the zone of the advance and among Indian troops. By the middle of the year, 1918, there were centers in every British brigade and ten Indian secretaries were attached to as many Indian brigades. During this year at the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, the Y M C A took over the supervision and management of the Soldiers' Recreation Clubs that were being established and equipped by the several Comfort Funds in India. The attitude of the military toward the Association had changed noticeably since 1915, when the institution was just tolerated.

There was a great increase in canteen service, entertainment, educational, and religious work as the troops settled down in advanced positions after the Armistice; and although it was supposed to close down late in 1919, an American secretary was still in charge in 1920. As the centers in the north, such as Mosul, Kirkut, Makina, and Hillsh, were occupied, and the men settled down to the humdrum of garrison

After the  
Fighting Period

life, activities were increased. Educational classes attended by hundreds, athletic entertainments (especially Oriental jugglers), movies, plays, boat trips on the Tigris, varied the monotony of existence for thousands. Up to the middle of 1919, 269 secretaries had been working in Mesopotamia and there were still 80 there working in 65 centers in June, 1919, with 100,000 troops, two-thirds of them Indians. The work even extended into Persia, where there were six centers in 1919.

It was not without good reason that the British workers claimed a real if modest part in maintaining the spirit of those who accomplished these great things.

#### GERMAN EAST AFRICA

A Tropical Campaign

The campaign in German East Africa was conducted under most trying circumstances, both men and horses suffering greatly from tropical diseases peculiar to the country. Several mounted regiments lost all their horses through the deadly tsetse fly pest, and the British lost more men through malaria, dysentery, and black-water fever than by enemy bullets. During 1916 the British learned by bitter experience that white men suffered excessively from the hardships of campaigning in this climate; and the Army shortly became composed largely of natives, except for the forces from the Union of South Africa, several regiments of Indian Sepoys and the white personnel of departmental services such as Supply, Transport, Medical, and Aviation.

Thirty battalions of the King's African Rifles were raised in British East Africa and native regiments were gathered from Nigeria, Somaliland, Zanzibar, Mpaland, Cameroon, South Africa, the Gold Coast of West Africa, and even the British West Indies. Besides the fighting units, nearly 200,000 porters or carriers were employed in manual labor in camps, railway construction, and as carriers in swampy country, inaccessible to motor and animal transport, where troops were absolutely dependent on them for food and munitions. The mobilization of these hordes of African natives who had never been out of the jungle was unique in the history of the world and fraught with far-reaching consequences. Before the war the military value of such men was not realized. With proper discipline and training they have become a very great adjunct in the hands of European powers controlling Africa and conceivably might take their future into their own hands and prove a serious menace to the Union of South Africa. On the other hand, the natives, through mobilization,

came into contact with civilization such as it was. They learned something of order and discipline, and saw some of the wonders of the world. Fortunately the Y could give them certain contacts with European civilization that the Army alone could not.

So far as Y work for natives was concerned the emphasis was put on work for East Africans in the hope that permanent work might result. An important consideration was that Christian colored students from the United States were available for the work. Five colored American secretaries were on the field in 1917 and did excellent service. Provided with portable cinemas, lantern slides, and phonographs, these secretaries opened the minds of thousands of African natives to new things. One learned Swahili, which enabled him to talk directly to the natives in their own language. Another developed night schools. One secretary stated that it was almost pitiful to see the eagerness of these African carriers who after a hard day's work were anxious to learn the rudiments of the white man's speech or arithmetic. A good deal was done with the "boss boys" or interpreters, who had already enjoyed the advantage of a mission education, by teaching them business correspondence and arithmetic of a simple character, thus making them more efficient in their handling and checking of supplies and in their relations with white officers. The reading feature of the ordinary hut found a substitute in pictures from the illustrated magazines, which the secretaries cut out and fastened on the walls, where the natives never tired of gathering in groups to point out and discuss the strange things represented. Athletics, too, had a place, and the native sports of spear throwing, tree climbing, as well as foot races and jumping, were promoted and organized by the Y men.

In a former German beer garden in Dar-es-Salaam, an Association center was established for educated Indian troops of the medical, telegraph, and other departmental services. Indian civilians in East Africa, who form ninety per cent of the foreign population, requested a similar service after the close of the war. An interesting feature of this situation was the willingness of educated Indians, both Hindu and Mohammedan, to help their less fortunate fellow countrymen. Caste was overlooked; volunteer Indian workers visited hospitals, distributed gifts, and wrote letters for illiterate and wounded Sepoys. In almost every camp there were settlers, officials and missionaries who were ready to do something for the natives; and the Y provided the natural outlet for their efforts. Native mission boys acted as

Work for  
East Africans

Work for  
Indians

assistants and teachers, and the opportunities were limited only by the inadequacy of the staff. It was the hope of those concerned that this work might be carried on by the Indian National Council after the war to tone up this Indian community on the East Coast of Africa and keep it in touch with its homeland and traditions.

A regular Y program was put on in the camps for British soldiers. A senior officer of a South African regiment said:

"During the long trek back to the railway, many of our poorly fed, fever-stricken men would never have been able to do the march only that we were able to assure them that the YMCA was waiting for them."

Y huts served the troops in every way possible and were occasionally under fire. At the request of the military authorities, the Association undertook the supervision of the army canteens, the expenditure involved in the construction of huts and providing recreation for the troops being chargeable against profits. In this way the National Council of India was saved considerable outlay and the Association had practically unlimited resources upon which to draw for the management of the canteens. Every possible facility was given, and the Association used Government transport ships, railways, motors, and telegraphs, free of charge. Supplies of canned goods were indispensable in this climate; and sales of fruit, fish, biscuits, chocolate, and lime juice, considerably lessened the hardships of campaigning. The total receipts amounted to more than a million dollars, which represented a considerable business when it is remembered that purchases in the field were made in small quantities. A staff of 63 accountants, inspectors, and clerks was employed, many of whom had been selected from military units for the Association work because of their social and business qualifications.

The Y work in general was necessarily of a very mobile character and followed the troops with marquees and stores in order to alleviate the hardships of campaigning. It had the cooperation of the military authorities, missionary societies, chaplains, and medical officers. It included centers in the training camps of the King's African Rifles in the British Protectorate at Nairobi, carriers' depots in Dar-es-Salaam in German East Africa, and centers for Indians and British. There were some thirty centers in all in which the regular Y program of entertainment, educational, athletic, and—in cases where circumstances permitted—religious features was carried

on. Religious work was always possible among British troops and the English-speaking West Indians and colored Cape Corps.

From all concerned directly or indirectly came expressions of appreciation of the Y work. The military authorities placed the highest valuation on the general plan and methods of carrying out the Association's message and ministry to the troops. When the two International secretaries in the field were compelled to leave their work temporarily because of the prevalent fever, a cable was sent from Headquarters to the Commander-in-Chief in India as follows:

"Y M C A recreational and canteen work in this force is in imminent danger of collapse owing to sickness amongst the staff. I request that you make urgent representations to the Y M C A Council to despatch immediately four secretaries, and thus enable this excellent work to be continued."

The senior secretary, Major C. R. Webster, was mentioned in despatches to the War Office, and General Smuts stated:

"I am particularly indebted to the representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association in India and South Africa who have not only been untiring in their efforts for the welfare of the troops, but have also worked the field force canteens which have been of so much value to them."

As a result of the withdrawal of troops in 1918 the Association work was considerably reduced, and the National Council of South Africa became responsible for the branches in Portuguese East Africa. The fine, large hut at Port Amelia and two other branches, therefore, were taken over by South African secretaries early in 1918, the Indian National Council maintaining the work in German East Africa and the British Protectorate. The British troops were greatly reduced in number and those who remained were chiefly in the medical, railway, telegraph and other department services. They formed a more permanent constituency than men in fighting units, and the opportunities for constructive Y work were greater. The men were almost entirely dependent on the Association for the use of their leisure time and in no theater of war were men more appreciative of what was done in their behalf. The Indian work was also considerably reduced by the departure of most of the Indian troops, Indians as well as native British bearing climatic conditions with difficulty.

The feature of the work in East Africa was the efforts in behalf of native troops and carriers. There were seven colored secretaries

Transfer to  
Peace Basis

A Significant  
Service

sent from America. Of the seven two were drowned, two were shipwrecked, but saved, and one was permanently shaken by the African fever. Only two of them, in fact, came back but little the worse in health. Toward the end of 1918 at the request of the Railway Department, the Association assumed control of an industrial school, and here the beginning of permanent work for African natives was made with the help of several colored secretaries from the United States. The aim was to train clerks, typists, telegraphists, signalers, and station masters. The railways provided school buildings, quarters, and the budget of two secretaries, besides assigning several of their own employes as instructors in the more technical subjects. The Director of Railways stated that while his department could provide a course of instruction and the necessary material equipment, it could not provide for the moral safeguards of the boys, nor profitably occupy their leisure time, and that he knew of no organization which could do this so well as the Young Men's Christian Association. A significant feature of this scheme was the field provided for educational work for the colored Christian students of North America. The picture of the patient, persevering students, seventy in number, sitting at the feet of their American Negro teachers, removed from them by one hundred years of civilization, certainly gives food for thought. It is quite possible that East Africa like so many other portions of the Oriental world is to be wakened from its lethargy by the shock of the war, and the educational and morale-building activities of the Association may play an important rôle in the development of African civilization.

### EGYPT

For a short time, just before the war, there had been in Egypt a single city Y M C A, at Cairo, under William Jessop, acting for the American International Committee. Shortly after the beginning of the war, there was a great influx of troops into Egypt. Twenty thousand territorials reached Egypt in the latter part of September, 1914, and were stationed in Cairo. All the barracks were overflowing; about five thousand men had to encamp in the desert near Heliopolis, with no place to go for amusement. Emergency work was undertaken by Mr. Jessop in addition to his other work without any regular Y personnel or funds. Within four days the Y erected a large marquee which was filled with men seated on the ground writing letters, before tables and benches could be procured. A cir-

culating library was collected, games were provided, and a piano installed. Public-spirited persons rose to the occasion, funds were raised by private subscription, and a few workers arrived from England. During the first month £120 was contributed in Cairo and £40 came from England in response to a letter written for the Lancashire papers by a Lancashire woman resident in Cairo. Later a grant was made by the English National Council. Money also came from America, New Zealand, and other sources. By January 1915, 30,000 troops came from Australia and New Zealand. Four Australian secretaries arrived with these troops but the New Zealanders had no secretaries with them. Work was opened in their camp. Later more Australians arrived who were served by the Egyptian Y and work kept increasing.

The work soon fell into several distinct classes: the regular Hut or Soldiers' Club work, in marquees or Egyptian mat huts; work in the training camp where the general social, athletic, and religious program was carried out with more emphasis, it would seem, on the religious side than was the case among the Americans in France; and work in rest camps among convalescents and men on leave.

During the spring of 1915, Egypt was swamped with the wounded <sup>Cairo</sup> from Gallipoli. Men incapacitated or convalescent were concentrated in rest camps where the great enemy was boredom. Here the work of the secretary was to invigorate and cheer. Under the circumstances there was a tendency to hard drinking and sexual indulgence with disastrous results to the health and efficiency of the men. The bulk of the troops passed through the port of Alexandria and were quartered in and about Cairo, one of the most vicious cities in the Orient. The majority of the men were Australians or New Zealanders, vigorous, undisciplined men of the frontier, for the first time in contact with a degenerate Oriental civilization. The venereal problem developed at an alarming rate.

A conference of military officers, Y M C A workers, and Australian Red Cross representatives decided on the establishment of soldiers' clubs. The management was entrusted to the Y M C A, whose funds were supplemented by grants from the Government and British and Australian Red Cross. A soldiers' club was built on the quay at Alexandria; and the beautiful Esbekieh Gardens, a park in the very center of Cairo, were leased. Here were an open air theater, a restaurant, and later, an outdoor swimming pool, a gift from America. Cinema, concerts, plays, billiards, roller skating, and a variety of games made this spot the gathering place of soldiers in Cairo. Eng-

lish women presided at the tea counter. The Esbekieh became famous throughout the East.

As an Australian journalist expressed it, describing the months of idleness on return from Gallipoli to Cairo:

"There were our troops in the perfection of physical fitness, well-fed, and stout of limb, the very pick of the manhood of our young countries. The sign of the Red Triangle became the rallying point for the young men who had a grip upon themselves, and would not let go."

Referring to the Alexandria Club and the Esbekieh Gardens, Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Barrett, Assistant Director of the Medical Service, Australian Force in Egypt, wrote, "They were both immediately successful and have played a most important part in the further limitation of the amount of venereal disease."<sup>1</sup> "The exact extent to which these clubs have contributed to the limitation of venereal disease cannot be accurately measured, but there is no doubt whatever in the mind of anyone acquainted with the facts, respecting their salutary and healthy influence."<sup>2</sup> The Esbekieh Gardens have been made a permanent center for soldiers' work by the government.

The other great Y institution of Cairo was the Anzac Hostel which opened in March, 1916. This house could normally accommodate some three or four hundred men a night but as many as seven hundred were taken care of on occasions. It was formerly the building of the Cairo Bourse. Its use as a hotel where men on leave could get a clean bed and good food in wholesome surroundings was a great success. The Anzac Hostel was open day and night for three and a half years, not closing until late in 1919. Beside work in training and rest camps of the character indicated above in the vicinity of Cairo and Alexandria and later in the Suez region, the Y undertook a great deal of hospital work at the Citadel, Bulac Dacrour, the hospitals, and other centers where the wounded and convalescents were gathered. Y work increased in Egypt by leaps and bounds. At Alexandria there were nine centers when the war ended, at Kantara on the the Suez Canal, and at every point where large numbers of troops were concentrated for training, rest and reorganization.

Later a very significant piece of physical reconstruction work was done by an American, Dr. Gilbert Deaver, and his assistants at Hel-

<sup>1</sup> Australian Army Medical Corps in Egypt, Barrett and Deane, London, 1918, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> The same, p. 168.

ouan and other centers in Egypt. This scientific plan for rehabilitating the wounded was also extended to other countries, and proved to be a great constructive service. The problem was one of improving the condition of convalescents whose bodies had become soft from long inaction, and the suppling of joints and muscles stiffened from wounds and disease. This American scientist adapted calisthenic drills of the type of the Swedish and Roberts systems, modifying them to meet the immediate need. The drills were given to selected classes and were set to music. Games, social dancing, and other means were used to get the men limbered up. Both the immediate and permanent benefits were so decided that this work received considerable attention from medical authorities throughout the armies, and Dr. Deaver was put at their disposal. It is estimated that 150,000 men passed through this system of restoration. The work continued into 1920.

The extent of the work in Egypt cannot easily be recorded because it was so fluctuating. Starting in 1914 without money, men or equipment, it was firmly established in 1915. Twenty-five centers were opened in the first twelve months. Two years later only four of these original service points were operating. During 1916, the influx of troops from Gallipoli, for reorganization and rest filled up huge camps where service was given. Attacks by the Senussi on the west and the Turks from the east spread the troops over a large area, occupying all strategic points from the Oasis of Kharga to the sea and along the canal. Wherever there was a camp of any size, the Red Triangle was displayed. Canteen rights were assigned to the Association along the Canal. More than 50 new centers were opened during the second year, and as many as 70 were operated at one time. The next year, 1917, brought many changes. Camps sprang up like mushrooms and as suddenly disappeared. Of the 50 new centers opened in 1916, only 15 remained, but 37 new ones had been added. During the three years, 120 centers had been opened, 56 of which were operated during the third year by as many secretaries, most of them British, with 19 Australians. Centering in Cairo for the first year, the work spread to the Canal Zone, crossed Sinai to Southern Palestine and in the fourth year the trail wound north well into Syria.

In 1915 the Senussi, a Mohammedan tribe living in the Western Desert and Tripoli, attacked Egypt. Accordingly small detached units were placed in the oases, and men stationed in the towns of Upper Egypt. The enemy was completely defeated and dispersed in Novem-

The Extent of  
Work in  
Egypt

On the  
Western Desert

ber, 1915. The occupation was limited to Sollam, Mersa Matruh, Shenka, and Siwa. About 150 miles west of Alexandria, on the shores of the Mediterranean, and among the sand of the Lybian Desert, lies Mersa Matruh where there was a British garrison. The nearest city was over a hundred miles away. For the soldier there was nothing visible but the sea before him, the desert behind him, and above a pitiless sun. The mail came only once a week—and not always then. No wonder that each successive garrison sank into a state of dull apathy. Here the Y played the good Samaritan. Potent factors in relieving this dreariness were cinema films, mostly comic, and phonograph records, mostly ragtime. The canteen proved a popular resort; it was near the beach and the men dropped in for refreshments after bathing. One of the Y secretaries toured the camps along the coast from Alexandria to the Tripoli frontier. He made no addresses, sold no refreshments, distributed no gifts, yet everywhere he brought good cheer and enjoyment. Charlie Chaplin did most of it, and other film favorites did the rest. A compact portable projector, a storage battery for light and some 12,000 feet of film comprised the means.

### SUDAN

The  
Centers of Work

Work was started among British troops in the Sudan during 1917, and proved such a boon to the men that since the war the Government has sponsored the continuation of it. For eight or nine months during the year, the Sudan has perhaps the worst climate in the world. There are practically no military duties for troops stationed there except the necessary guard and fatigues. Moral standards tend to be extremely lax in tropical countries where white meets black. The combination of a trying climate, lack of occupation, and a low standard of morality is enough to break the morale of the finest troops. It was absolutely essential that the men should be provided with bodily comforts and some wholesome occupation for mind and body if they were to be kept from the demoralizing influences of the native quarters of these towns. There were four main centers of work in the Sudan: Khartoum, Port Sudan, Atbara, Gebeit, with a Summer Hill station opened part of the year. These places were hundreds of miles apart; a secretary making the rounds had to travel a thousand miles or more. The characteristic phases of work were stressed. The canteens specialized in cooling drinks, the cinema proved a counter attraction to the dives, and incentive and power were added by strong emphasis on the religious life.

"The Soldiers' Clubs," wrote Lieutenant Colonel Barrett, "were rendered possible by an alliance between the Y M C A and the Australian Branch British Red Cross. To the Y M C A who managed them, the best thanks of Australia should be given, for Australians will never fully know what they owe to Mr. Jessop and his assistants."<sup>1</sup>

### GALLIPOLI

The Gallipoli campaign will go down as one of the most murderous in the history of warfare. That it was disastrous does not make it the less heroic on the part of the men who found themselves on the firing line before they left their transports. They landed under fire, amid barbed-wire entanglements under water and were cut down by the thousands before they reached the shore. Once landed they were constantly under fire on the beaches, which they held for months, although never able to dislodge the Turks from the heights and effectively to cooperate with the fleet in forcing the Dardanelles. To the continuous rain of shells and bullets were added almost unbearable climatic conditions. Blazing heat and dust, with no drinking water except what was brought by ship from Imbros and distributed by carriers, alternated with cold at night so severe that frost bites were common. For ten months the troops maintained their foothold, expecting reinforcements. Late in the summer it was decided to withdraw the expedition.

During the spring and early summer of 1915, the wounded and disabled from Gallipoli had been pouring into Egypt, swamping all the hospital facilities and straining to the breaking point the energy of the various Red Cross agencies and the Association. In August, Mr. Jessop himself went with supplies to the island of Lemnos, on to Imbros, to Cape Helles, Suvla Bay, and Anzac at the very height of the fighting. As a result of his visit and recommendation, a shipload of provisions, especially pickles, sauces, and tinned citrus fruit, was sent from England to Gallipoli to assuage the terrible craving of the men for something that would take the curse off their monotonous meat rations in that almost tropical climate. Unfortunately this ship did not arrive before the expedition was withdrawn; and its stock was diverted to Egypt. A secretary who was stationed at Kephalos, however, opened a bakery and served cakes and coffee—when he could get the water—on the beaches at Gallipoli. The arrival

A Disastrous Campaign

<sup>1</sup> Australian Army Medical Corps in Egypt, Barrett and Deane, London, 1919, p. 133.

of a trawler bearing the day's baking was the event of the day on the beaches. Late in August, Imbros became a Y center with its bakery and marquee, fitted out with a piano brought from Egypt, crowded with men en repos from the beaches. By September another hut was going full swing in Mudros and crowded night after night with men coming back for a "spell" from the terrible fighting of August. The work was not confined to the base island but was extended during the fall to Anzac and Cape Helles. At Anzac, where one stepped out of the boat into the firing line and where bullets were the most prominent feature of the landscape, there were 40,000 men. The "hut" was located in a gulley, as well protected as any place on the beaches could be, in a shack built of sand bags, wood, and corrugated iron picked up here and there on nearby Egean Islands. The little bakery at Imbros was the only base of supply for the comforts which were in tremendous demand. There was great difficulty in getting coffee, cocoa, or even fuel with which to cook them. The shack was constantly under fire and some military authorities opposed the Y's being there. Higher authority permitted, however, so the secretaries went on baking their cakes, transporting them thirteen miles by trawler and serving them under fire on the beaches to men of all ranks, including Lord Kitchener, then on a visit of inspection.

In November a secretary with 130 cases of equipment arrived at Cape Helles where three marquees were eventually set up. These tents were hit several times and one destroyed by an eight inch high explosive, fortunately without loss of life. Coffee and buns were served the evening of the explosion, another tent was procured, and everything went on as usual. Here again the secretaries were under daily shell fire, and one of the orderlies was wounded. Thirty thousand men were served at Cape Helles. The religious side of the work seemed to make a great appeal; there were daily evening prayers and services Wednesday and Sunday. After a month's preparation for a winter program, the Y was ordered to leave December 15, 1915. The expedition was withdrawn shortly afterward.

#### PALESTINE

In sharp contrast to the Gallipoli disaster was the outcome of the Palestine campaign, one of the most absolute victories in the history of war, a battle without a morrow. Many of the troops were Australians and New Zealanders who had been at Gallipoli. As in that campaign, they fought thirst as well as shells. "Water," wrote Gen-

eral Allenby, "is the determining factor in fighting here. You fight for water, then develop the supply; then, based on that, fight for water again. We drag a pipe line from Egypt for our main supply; but that is not mobile, though it follows on bravely behind us."<sup>1</sup>

This advance was strenuously resisted by the Turks, and the constant desultory fighting was punctuated by several fierce battles. The mainstay was the Australian lighthorseman, a sort of modern Centaur. The Y served these magnificent men all the way. Eighteen out of 30 centers were in dugouts in the sand among the advanced troops. Marquees were riddled with bullets; in one case the Turks advanced within twenty yards of the Red Triangle; in another the canvas was left hanging in ribbons after an aeroplane attack. Each month about £400 worth of cocoa was served free.

The second phase was the push to Jaffa and Jerusalem late in <sup>Into the</sup> <sup>Holy City</sup> 1917. Here the chief business of the Y at General Allenby's request was to look after the wounded and disabled and give them what comforts were possible. The fighting was very heavy and there were thousands of men needing attention. Sixty soldiers were detailed for duty with 30 Y men at clearing stations in the Palestinian advance. At Christmas, 1917, the Dinkums (Australians) were given each one tin of sausage, three mince pies, two boxes of locoum (Turkish delight), and four cigars. As the Australians said, in their own peculiar army slang. "It was dinkum, square dinkum, and dinkum again." They felt that they were being treated like "blinking' kings" and expressed their appreciation in such phrases as "Thanks, Cobber, that was bonzer," "Good old Y M, we score. This excels excelsior." All of which means that they were pleased with what was done for them.

The Y entered Jerusalem with General Allenby where it was called upon by the military authorities to help clean up the disease-breeding cesspools of the city. It imported pumps, hose, and sealed cars from Egypt, and gave the town the first flushing out it has had in centuries. Work on a large scale was opened in a three-story building in Jerusalem. A special feature was accompanying the men on visits to the holy places. So much fraud has been practised and so many superstitions have gathered around these places that a reaction of violent disgust is very common, which in many men even shakes the foundations of religious faith. In guiding the men, there was always an effort to help them distinguish between the real and the

<sup>1</sup> The First World War, 1914-1918. Lieut. Col. C. à C. Repington, Boston, 1920. Vol. II, p. 117.

superficial, so that the trips would be not merely sightseeing but have a religious value. Jerusalem became the center for an Association work in Palestine that eventually included twenty centers.

The third phase of the work was the advance across Jordan to the east of Jericho. It was warfare of movement in the largest sense, detachments going out in every direction to dislodge and capture Turkish and German units. Lorries pushed along bearing cigarettes, chocolate, and various comforts. Never did the ever-desired lime juice taste better than in the Dead Sea region, a thousand feet below sea level, with a climate not unlike that of the Imperial Valley. The men hardly expected the Y to follow them on these "stunts," as they called their expeditions, and expressions of surprise and appreciation in the picturesque Australian slang were numerous.

Finally, late in 1918, came the last fighting phase. The troops advanced up the coast from Jaffa and Jerusalem to Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo, over the Plain of Sharon where Richard Coeur de Lion defeated Saladin in 1191. It was the victorious reaping of the results of the long, wearisome preparation. Secretaries moved with their brigades, generally attached to the ambulance sections. Supplies were distributed free. Service to the walking wounded and in the casualty clearing stations was emphasized, but no less effort was expended for the fighting men—to keep fit and to help the disabled. In 1918, there were several service points in each of the principal military centers—Jaffa, Jerusalem, Ludd, and Jericho, and 21 mobile outfits attached to troop units.

After the Armistice the work continued with occupying troops. An unprecedented emergency came in February, 1920, when a blizzard brought thirty inches of snow in Jerusalem. Buildings collapsed under the weight, and the inhabitants were paralyzed with terror and cold. Soldiers and civilians whose quarters were wrecked crowded into the Y buildings, when for several days the secretaries worked night and day, serving hot drinks, and doing everything possible to relieve the suffering. It was a specimen of the practical service for which western energy and resourcefulness are needed among these peoples whose long repression has bred apathetic resignation rather than resistance to conditions that take heavy toll of life and efficiency. As in Mesopotamia, the new era opening before the peoples of Palestine calls for help and leadership, and in that birthland of Christianity, there is a large place for an institution which has learned the principle of service that gives practical expression to Christian faith.

## CHAPTER LVIII

### WARTIME ACTIVITIES IN RUSSIA

The story of the Association's wartime activities in Russia reflects the social maelstrom in which it had its setting. It is an epic of individuals laboring under adverse political, economic, and military conditions in the breakdown and smashup of that once mighty empire.

Always the immense geographical extent of European and Asiatic Russia must be kept in mind. Service points were scattered from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, from Roumania to the Pacific. Limitations of narrative space force the grouping in a single paragraph of Tashkent and Irkutsk, cities farther apart than New York and Denver. Secretaries accompanied the Czechoslovaks in their anabasis from Kiev to Vladivostok, a distance of more than 6,000 miles, and then recrossed Siberia three or four times with those enthusiastic pro-Allies fighting to keep open the Trans-Siberian Railway. Frequent reference to the map is essential, therefore, to comprehension of the story.

Political events made a kaleidoscopic background. The Russian Revolution occurred March 11, 1917. Less than a month later, the United States entered the war. The first effect of this was the forced withdrawal, at Germany's insistence, of Americans working with prisoners of war in the Russian camps. These secretaries then started a short-lived work for Russian soldiers at widely separated points. Revolutionary Conditions

After recognition of the Kerensky Government, the United States, in June 1917, sent a mission to Russia headed by Elihu Root. Dr. John R. Mott was a member. Through his activity, arrangements were made to start welfare work on a large scale with the Russian Army. By successive acts the Kerensky Government granted larger privileges than any other Government had afforded to the Association. Strenuous efforts were made to recruit more workers in America.

When some 50 of these arrived the next fall they found that the Bolshevik Revolution of November 7th had seriously altered the situation. The Soviet Government was anxious for a general peace and was about to make a separate peace with the Central Powers. Soldiers had abandoned the front in great numbers. Workers stayed

with the troops on sufferance and the position of Americans intent on war work was almost untenable. Some went home, others entered the service of the U. S. Government. The rest retired to Samara for conference. Army work was out of the question for the time being. Those who remained engaged in civilian relief work, city or rural, or in service for prisoners. This condition continued from March until September, 1918.

Meanwhile a great change was preparing. In July and August, 1918, Allied troops, including an American force, were sent to Murmansk and Archangel. In August, the United States Government announced its intention of cooperating with Japan in military support of the Czechoslovaks, in keeping open the Trans-Siberian Railway, and in protection of war materials at Vladivostok. This intervention constituted an international complication which forced the ultimate withdrawal of all Americans from Soviet Russia. Thenceforward the work was with the various Allied units and with civilians in Siberia and North Russia.

Seldom, if ever, has the Association found itself in a more difficult position. It was, of course, enthusiastically loyal to the Allied cause yet, on principle, desired to abstain from all partisanship in the midst of a welter of parties. This very non-partisanship made all partisans suspicious, and it is remarkable that the secretaries suffered no more than they did from the inevitable resentment aroused in many Russians by Allied intervention.

The story thus divides itself into periods corresponding to the successive political situations. First came scattered and short-lived attempts under the provisional government; then vigorous but quickly frustrated efforts, extending into the Soviet régime, to sustain the morale of the Revolutionary Army; then an interlude of civilian and relief work; finally, Allied intervention set a new task with distinct fields of work.

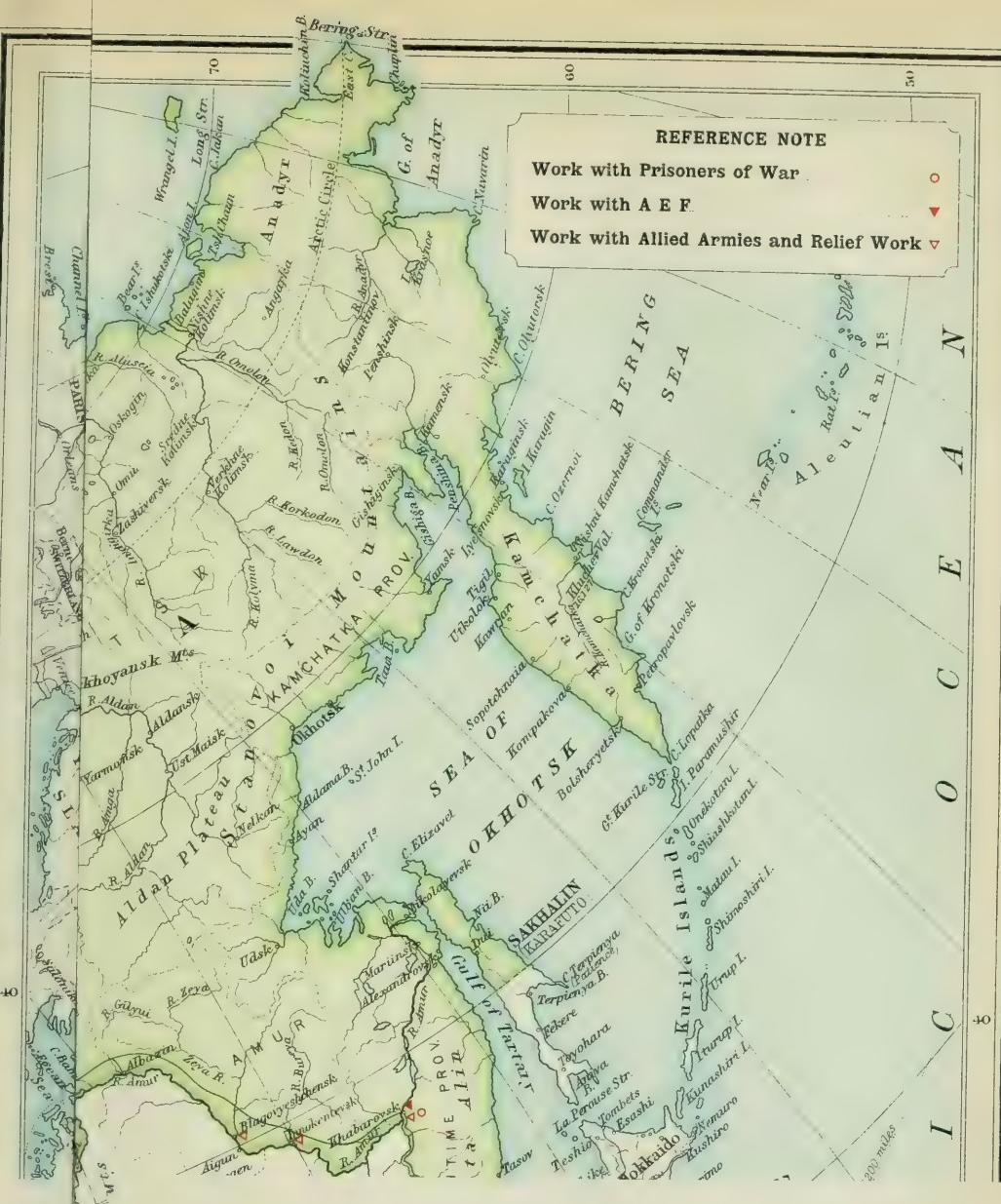
Measured by the huge bulk of seething Russia, the total achievement was not large. Considering the conditions, and comparing the number of workers to the millions to be served, the efforts appear as substantial achievements. The first aim—to help Russian fighting men in the war—could not be attained. The second—to make easier the hard life of thousands of soldiers in Arctic snows and on Siberian steppes and to relieve civilian distress—was successful so far as conditions permitted. The ultimate hope awaits fulfilment—that a demonstration of human fellowship and American helpfulness might restore

## REFERENCE NOTE

## **Work with Prisoners of War**

### Work with A E F

## **Work with Allied Armies and Relief Work**



MAP OF EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC RUSSIA  
SHOWING WAR ACTIVITIES OF THE  
AMERICAN YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

#### REFERENCE NOTE

### **Work with Prisoners of War**

Work with A E

#### **Work with Allied Armies and Relief Work**



or inspire in some Russians a faith now submerged by the hates, fears, ambitions and cruelties of war, and so aid them in finding the way to an ordered peaceful life.

### WELFARE WORK BEFORE THE SUMMER OF 1917

In 1900 there had been founded in Petrograd, the Mayak, or <sup>The "Lighthouse"</sup> "Lighthouse," under the direction of Franklin A. Gaylord, with the aid of some other American secretaries, generously supported by James Stokes of New York. This was virtually a city Association on the American model with a membership of several thousand. It was a local organization, which did not adopt the Paris basis and become officially a Young Men's Christian Association until the winter of 1917.

The only other group of American secretaries in Russia was an organization of ten or fifteen men especially recruited in the United States for the work of the War Prisoners' Aid.<sup>1</sup> Their headquarters were in Petrograd, but their service points were at the prisoner camps in places as widely separated as Petrograd, Kazan, Orenburg, Tashkent, Omsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, and Chita. In these towns they promoted, in addition to work for prisoners, the organization of soldiers' clubs on a small scale, cooperating with committees of Russian officers and men, or with civilian committees of the Zemstvos. In the spring of 1917, requests came from several regiments for the establishment of clubs. When the United States became a belligerent, Germany insisted that Americans should cease work among prisoners of the Central Powers. Then the secretaries gave their whole attention to Russian soldiers' clubs. The undertakings ended with the recall of all secretaries to Moscow in the summer of 1917.

The American secretary of the War Prisoners' Aid in Turkestan shortly after his arrival perceived the possibility of Y M C A work for Russian soldiers. After a period of unsuccessful effort on January 15, 1917, General Kuropatkin, Governor-General of Turkestan, gave permission to start specimen work in the Second Siberian Regiment at Tashkent.

Very shortly a large barrack was secured for moving pictures, lectures, and concerts. Movies were given three evenings a week with an attendance of over a thousand, a balalaika orchestra was organized and instruments provided. There were amateur theatri-

<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter XLVIII.

cals, officers and soldiers working together. Special entertainments were given for units leaving for the front. On the first Sunday in April a reading and tea room was opened officially in the presence of representatives of the Army and the Church. This little club had a daily attendance of several hundred. Athletic and educational work was started and religious work was conducted in cooperation with the Orthodox chaplain of the regiment. Gifts of musical instruments, books, and writing materials were made to regiments going to the front. This work had the full cooperation of Russian soldier committees and the general public.

Shortly afterwards permission was granted to work with the First Siberian Regiment at Troitzkoe, an isolated spot some thirty miles from the railroad. Even before the revolution, a moving picture machine was installed there, and classes in reading and writing and other activities were started. Later a reading and tea room was opened and the educational and athletic activities increased.

This work was on the way to a large expansion when the Y secretary was called to Petrograd in June, 1917. The work left in the hands of the Russian committees did not last long. Especially interesting and significant is the enthusiasm that these activities stimulated in Russian officers and soldiers, who cooperated in it even before the revolution of March 11, 1917. Compared with the difficulties encountered later, the accounts of these short-lived attempts read like the record of an earlier, happier time, a period of great hopes—destined, however, to cruel disappointment.

About the same time, work of a similar character was being started for the garrison of the Fortress of Peter and Paul, Petrograd, the Mayak secretaries cooperating with the Prisoners' Aid workers. On March 5, 1917, permission was granted to open a tea room. Classes and lectures were started then, and after Easter were well organized. Later a library of several thousand books was collected and frequent lectures were given. In May, 1917, 69 classes were in session, meeting three times a week for two hours each. Lectures on agricultural subjects were well attended and the daily count in the tea room was several hundred. When the Americans left Petrograd in the fall of 1918, this work was continued by Russian secretaries. After August, it was reported that the Mayak had been nationalized by the new officials, with the same Russian staff in charge.

Work of a similar character was undertaken in the Kazan military district. An American secretary arrived in Kazan April 27,

Peter and Paul  
Fortress,  
Petrograd

Extension of  
Service

1917, and tried to secure permits for the work, which was hardly started when the secretary was recalled to Moscow. Another secretary arrived in Orenburg in the spring of 1917 to start work of the same character. By June he had ten tents established for letter writing, and an athletic field and schools in operation. Further east along the line of the Trans-Siberian Railway were found early attempts at the same sort of work. A Y secretary in charge of war prisoners' work in Tomsk, found local Russians interested and started work for soldiers in April and May, 1917. After much persistence in overcoming the idea that he might be engaged in anti-socialistic propaganda, he won their confidence and was able to direct activities. There was an auditorium and an athletic field. On June 4, 1917, the first baseball game was played. The secretary got a Russian carpenter to turn out some bats and bases. The bats resembled canoe paddles, and the bases milking stools; but by shortening the legs of the bases and driving them into the ground, they were made to serve, and some novel, if not strictly official, games of baseball followed.

In June, 1917, the secretary of the War Prisoners' Aid in the <sup>Official Attitude</sup> Omsk military district found great interest in the work for Russian soldiers, but there is no record of activities getting started under his direction at this time. The essential point in reference to this matter is the kindly attitude of official classes towards the work of the YMCA and the general desire and willingness of various groups to cooperate. Still further east in Irkutsk and Chita, service to Russian soldiers was undertaken somewhat earlier and with better results, under the direction of the secretary of the War Prisoners' Aid for the Transbaikalia Military district. Unlike the instances reviewed above, this kept on during the summer of 1917 and was only interrupted by the Bolshevik movement of the fall and winter. Much of the most successful work here was of an athletic character. A large area for athletics had been provided in the main square of the city and American sports became very popular. The Cossacks did not always understand American ways. Their idea of playing volley ball was to slash at the ball with their swords. When a difference of opinion arose in football, instead of resorting to slugging, they chased each other around the field, brandishing their trusty swords. The populace invaded the field and held a political meeting which for a time broke up the athletic meet. They were especially nonchalant about the bicycle races, and many of them were bowled over by the cyclists on the track.

By May, 1917, soldiers at the Voenni-Gorodok and other military centers near Irkutsk were trying to start schools and clubs for themselves. By summer this movement was well under way, organized by the Association in three centers, the 22d Battery, the 718th Regiment, and the 715th Regiment. Here and there officers were starting clubs for soldiers; there was a large gymnasium in the city, widely patronized by civilians, especially the youngsters, by the soldiers, and by the military staff. The work was very popular; and on one occasion an American secretary heard a Russian priest, while preaching on a revival of the moral and religious life of the city, strongly commend the Y M C A and prophesy better days for the city because of it. But, by September, 1917, the Bolshevik agitation began to appear along with anarchistic propaganda in the form of leaflets and speeches to soldiers. Russian officers who had helped the Association became marked men. The Bolsheviks tried to get the Y committees under their control; the schools were discontinued, the library was closed. The workers on the building began to demand more pay and agitators induced the men to refuse to work. Y officials were accused of being bourgeois. The clouds gathered till the revolution broke in December, 1917. Activities then ceased and the secretary and his family escaped from Irkutsk as best they could.

#### Y WORK IN GARRISON CITIES AND ON THE FRONTS

When the American Mission to Russia arrived in Petrograd in June, 1917, therefore, the Y M C A had already made several practical demonstrations of successful activity among Russian soldiers. After several conferences with Prince Lvoff, the former Premier, Kerensky, then Minister of War, Terestchenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other Russian leaders, it was evident that Russians of all classes would unite in welcoming a widespread activity among soldiers of the Russian Army by representatives of the American Y M C A. Messages were cabled to America calling upon the Association to put forth a special effort to assist.

It was decided to undertake the work without delay. To that end all the available Y M C A secretaries in Russia were summoned to Petrograd to receive new assignments and instructions. In June and July, 1917, two men were sent to Minsk, the principal base behind the West Front in Russia, two to Moscow, two to Odessa, one to Kazan, one to Irkutsk, and one was assigned to Petrograd. These men had at their disposal nothing but their own personality and goodwill, for

the Association had no suitable supplies. Moreover, official endorsements and recommendations had not then been obtained from the Provisional Government. Official permits came in the course of the summer and fall; but by the time they were received they were worthless in many cases, because the authority that issued them was no longer actually functioning. Kerensky became premier July 20, 1917. From the very first his authority was questioned by the soldiers' and workmen's deputies, and by November 6th his government was definitely overthrown. These political and social changes hampered the secretaries severely, while the army that they were supposed to serve was rapidly vanishing as a result of enemy and Bolshevik propaganda. During the early days of 1918 Russia was negotiating a separate peace with Germany. The Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed in March. This eventually put an end to Y work for the Russian Army. Such is the political background of the work now to be described.

The first Red Triangle Hut was set in operation at the Hodinka Camp, near Moscow, on July 28, 1917, just a day and a half after the building had been turned over to the Association representatives. Thousands of Russian recruits passing through this camp preparatory to their dispatch to the various fronts used the facilities of the Y M C A during the months of August and September, 1917. As each regiment went to the front from its encampment, the Y had a special meeting for them, and sent them musical instruments, books and a quantity of writing paper and pencils; sometimes a football or two. The secretary gave them a message of encouragement and friendship from America in his broken Russian, and his appearance was nearly always greeted by cheers from the soldiers who showed their appreciation by tossing him on their shoulders in true Russian style. This "Soldatsky Dom" or Soldier's House, as it was called, went along quietly and successfully until the middle of February when an American Bolshevik broke loose in a tirade against it. Somewhat later the Army melted away and the Soldatsky Dom became a thing of the past.

The Hodinka  
Hut, Moscow

After the conference for reassignment in July, 1917, the secretaries faced the hard situation courageously and went to their various posts. Out on the field a silent tragedy was enacted; there day by day, these few workers, helpless to stem the current, watched the Russian forces melt away.

The Dissolving  
Army

Three different workers in succession struggled in Kazan but very little could be accomplished. In October, 1917, a soldiers' club and a

Hampered  
Conditions

tea room were started in Kiev. A new group of soldiers came in and commandeered the center for an unending series of Bolshevik meetings. A second building was secured at Peterchsky Barracks but the whole enterprise, hampered at every point, had to be abandoned in February, 1918, on the approach of the German and Ukrainian Armies. When an attempt to open at Kharkov was made in October, the Bolsheviks were practically in power; and there was no settled authority with which to deal. The secretary managed to promote a few activities till March, 1918; when he left, some Russian helpers tried to continue but without success. On the western front, a fairly extensive service, centering in Minsk, was begun amid great enthusiasm: a Minsk club and a Polish club in the city and five huts near the lines at Salescia, Ponesia, Emovshezma, and Bloc Post. After heartrending delays these centers were opened in December and January; but, of course, the process of disintegration had gone far and deep, and by February, 1918, they were all evacuated. The Russian front had ceased to exist. In the Caucasus a group of six workers, entering Tiflis January 1, 1918, found the only opportunity was in connection with a proposed National Army in process of formation. A club was opened in Erivan on February 15, 1918, but was closed soon after on the advice of the American Consul. Finally, on April 16th, the Caucasian enterprise was abandoned. Two secretaries remained to carry on a remarkable piece of relief work among the Armenians.<sup>1</sup> Things were no better in the north. Three clubs were started at Dwinsk, but the hut at Pvov was closed by the Bolsheviks almost at once. Two men in the Don region and one man with cavalry regiments on the southern front made little headway. At Odessa, some progress was made. A large building, opened October 6, 1917, operated with a full program in the heart of the soldier community, while a second center—formerly the gayest and most luxurious “café chantant” in the city—opened on February 22d, reached the sailors as well, very effectively. A feeding train operated from March 7 to April 4, 1918, on the northern front serving 10,000 men, including war prisoners and invalids. This ended the activity of the Y with the Russian Army on the fighting fronts and in the garrisons.

The service was not without achievement, for the files of the YMCA are full of messages of heartfelt appreciation from Russian soldiers, but it was a losing game. Some secretaries withdrew from

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Chapter LVI, pp. 388-392.

their posts, others were recalled, still others on the earnest appeal of the Acting Senior Secretary stuck it out till the positions were untenable. All in actual touch with the situation knew with certainty that there was only one end possible.

#### FROM THE SAMARA CONFERENCE TO THE PERIOD OF ALLIED INTERVENTION

As will be seen from the foregoing account, by February, 1918, work for the Russian Army had broken down for the simple reason that the Army ceased to exist as a fighting unit. The Association had to change its policy to meet a new situation. This was done at a conference at Samara, early in March, 1918. One of the most interesting dramas played on this Russian stage was that of the conflict of interests and ideals on the part of the men who were responsible for the work in Russia. In the first place the great political and military events which were affecting the work of the Association so adversely happened during what might be called an interregnum in administrative authority. A. C. Harte, who had the supervision of the War Prisoners' Aid in Russia as well as in other countries of Europe, was originally responsible for the Russian Army work. He left Russia in the summer of 1917, delegating his authority to an acting Senior Secretary, Jerome Davis, with whom was associated Crawford Wheeler, until his proposed return in October, 1917. He could not return to Russia, however, and his successor, E. T. Colton, who was appointed on December 5, 1917, did not actually arrive in Russia until March, 1918. Thus, during this entire critical period the administration was in the hands of men whose tenure of office was temporary and who did not feel themselves in a position to make decisions of the most vital importance. In the meanwhile the most fundamental issues were clamoring for a settlement.

In the Association group, as in all groups, were men of the most diverse temperaments. When events did not bear out high hopes and expectations and the work collapsed, the reactions of the different types of men were characteristic. Some moved on to the next practical consideration, which for most of the younger men of military age was to get out of Russia and into the Allied Armies as soon as possible. Others felt that the Allied cause might be served better by their remaining in Russia and engaging in non-military welfare work. To others, conceivably, international and humanitarian ideals loomed larger than national considerations of any character whatsoever. On

Reactions on  
Different  
Temperaments

the basis of these temperamental differences and conceptions of moral obligation individuals made decisions and acted. Their actions and the consequences can be traced to these differences of personality, which really lie at the foundation of all action and all history.

A conference between Association leaders was held in the Winter Palace, Petrograd, June 27, 1917. It was hoped at that time that the contemplated plan for Russian soldiers would serve as the basis for a permanent piece of Association work, and that societies similar to the Mayak would be established throughout Russia. Consequently in July, 1917, Dr. Harte called on the Chief of Staff of the Russian Armies asking permission to start work on a large scale. This request was referred to Mr. Kerensky.

On July 13, 1917, the Soldiers' Deputies granted the Y M C A permission to organize a soldiers' club in Moscow. On August 13, 1917, the Military Staff authorized the Association to work in the central cities of Russia but prohibited it from working in the armies near the front. On August 29, 1917, the Military Governor of Moscow, Mr. Verhovsky, later Minister of War under the Kerensky Government, wrote a public testimonial to the high value of the Association activities in Moscow and asked all authorities to help the Association establish its work on the broadest possible scale. On September 5, 1917, following a personal interview with Kerensky, permission was granted to start the regular Association activities along all the fronts of the Russian Army. On October 12, 1917, the political department of the temporary government issued a document asking that all organizations help the Association and that the railroads grant all requests for shipment of supplies and railroad tickets.

On October 20, 1917, following conferences with the Minister of Justice, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of War, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies and Premier, the Kerensky Cabinet unanimously passed the following resolution:

The spreading of the Young Men's Christian Association activities both at the front of our active army and in the rear, as well as in France and Saloniki, is considered desirable and deserving of encouragement in every way. In order to assist the Association to do this, the said Association is hereby granted the following privileges:

I. Transportation of all goods belonging to the Association free of charge and immediately without waiting turn on all the railroads.

II. Selling of railroad tickets to the employees of the Association without delay or hindrance.

III. Sending of soldiers' letters written in the Club and provided with the Association mark, free of charge.

IV. Exempting of all goods coming from abroad for the necessities of the Y M C A from custom duties and all other taxes.

At that time Dr. Harte was expected to be in Russia to take up the responsibility for the work. In October and November the new recruits for the Russian work, over 50 in all, arrived in three groups, and were assigned to their posts, but the Bolshevik revolution broke and chaos set in.

Early in December the Association men who could be gathered in Moscow held a conference in regard to their course of action. Should Association work still be carried on by Americans who were sent to Russia to keep the Army at the front? Some had decided to return. American and Russian officials urged their remaining, and the following cablegram was sent to New York:

"A Conference of forty secretaries from the field and in training reveals the fact that there are now few places of contact with the Army and that existing conditions make work of direct military value impossible on Russian fronts. There are no signs of early improvement.

"A wire received through the embassy urges the Association to fullest effort, but we question here whether it was sent with knowledge of recent events. Some men are ready to stay so long as work of any kind remains, others recruited in New York on war basis are disposed to seek service elsewhere. The Conference (1) recommends that authority be wired to Russian executive committee to act regarding transfer of such individuals to other Allied fronts or their release; (2) requests advice whether it is justified in spending war money in civil and permanent work; (3) advises that it has constituted following executive committee, including war work secretary, financial secretary, Christy, Story, Halsey, Wheeler; (4) urges that above committee be recognized, made permanent and wired full authorization to deal with Russian war work. Meanwhile action is imperative and committee will go ahead."

By action of this "distinctly revolutionary gathering," as one secretary termed it, the Association decided to continue with its work for the time being until authority could be turned over to persons delegated by the National War Work Council to receive it.

When the secretaries were all called together for conference at Samara in March, 1918, on the arrival of Mr. Colton, Senior Secretary, there were 73 representatives of the American Y M C A in dif-

Samara Conference

ferent parts of Russia. About 20 had arrived only recently from America after a long-delayed passage through England, Sweden, Finland and Arctic ports into Central Russia. Many of them wished to leave Russia and return to America to join the Army. Some desired to go direct by sea to France. Some of those who had long been in Russia felt that they could be of more service by staying. The following cable message from Dr. John R. Mott was read in the conference:

"I urge secretaries to remain in Russia. In my recent personal conference with President Wilson he strongly approved of all men remaining who were already in Russia when America entered the war; also other men who were not subject to draft before they left America; for purposes helping in friendly Association work for men of all parties and classes in every possible way, demonstrating the unselfish interest of America in Russian people. Other members of our Government consulted by me concur in this advice. The twelve men delayed in England are going forward. I will send more secretaries for extension of work when you request same."

Action of  
Individual  
Secretaries

After considerable open debate, every man stated his decision. Eleven men felt that they must leave Russia in order to make themselves available for military service in the United States forces. Six others were compelled to start homeward because of health or other personal reasons. The remaining 56 men stated preference for various types of service with people in Russia.

Those who remained in the Y M C A were assigned by the Senior Secretary to various fields of work. Sixteen went to Moscow, of whom seven were to be engaged in relief service among returning Russian prisoners of war, three in carrying on a civilian program among the people of Moscow, and six others in executive and financial capacities. Five men were assigned to Samara, four to Kazan and two to Nizhni-Novgorod, cities along the Volga River. One man was sent to Petrograd, and two started for Archangel and Murmansk. The two men in Erivan continued operations and three secretaries from the Mayak in Petrograd began a civilian program in Vladivostok. Six sturdy-hearted individuals expressed their determination to share with the Czechoslovak divisions whatever fate might be in store for them. Two others undertook to convoy a trainload of Serbian refugees across Siberia, and one attached himself to a battalion of Serbian soldiers en route to France via the Arctic ports. Three rural specialists set out to investigate possibilities for work among the peasants along the Volga River. The six remaining men entered the American

Consular service. Thus the personnel was reassigned on the basis of the new work and a fresh start was made. Of course, the whole situation changed fundamentally a few months later as a result of the military intervention of the Allies.

After the Samara Conference the attention of the Association was devoted primarily to city work, while standing ready to serve any military organizations which might exist or be created. Already the Czechoslovaks were becoming the center of military interest, and new anti-Bolshevik armies among which the Association was destined to cast its lot were about to be organized.

Civil and Military  
Work in Samara,  
Summer of 1918

At Samara, the Association took over all sorts of civilian and relief work. Most of the Red Cross workers had left Russia, on advice of the American Ambassador, when the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was concluded. Red Cross funds, however, were put at the disposal of the Association. Immediately after the Samara Conference early in March, it assumed responsibility for a maternity home. A company of 700 Boy Scouts was also discovered, which had been organized by the boys themselves, without adult leadership, on the basis of some translations of Scout documents. An athletic director took hold of this work and made it very successful. There were some educational lectures and later a conference on the entire lecture program of the Association in Russia. A group of Serbian refugees was discovered and cared for. A feeding point and later a hospital were opened for all refugees near the station and hundreds were fed daily. Groups of Jewish and Polish refugees were helped and a large number of students of both sexes who were quite without support were given employment. There was a school for physical directors and a large and successful playground program.

On the military side there were three Soldiers' Clubs—one on the main street, Dvoryanskaya, centrally located, for the soldiers of the new Russian National Army; one for the Czechoslovaks near the station where these troops were quartered in cars; and one in the artillery barrack where the new recruits for the Russian Army were sent. There were also club-cars, or wagon-huts as they were called—large American box cars remodeled into canteens which traveled up and down the front giving "movies" under a rain of shrapnel. On one occasion three men were wounded as the others sat quietly under their steel helmets and enjoyed the show. Other cars were prepared and sent out along the Trans-Siberian Railway with the Czechoslovaks, where they became an essential part of the Y service.

Nizhni  
Novgorod

The Association in Nizhni secured fine rooms in the center of the city and conducted classes in gymnastics and English during the evening. Preparations had already been made for other activities and for close cooperation with the rural department in its work from this center, when all plans were interrupted by the exodus from Soviet Russia of all American secretaries.

When the Russian armies disbanded, the Moscow soldiers' club was opened by all young men. Work for boys in cooperation with the Boy Scout movement, was carried on in a separate building. The Association also participated with the Student Christian Movement in evangelistic work. An attempt was made to do athletic work with the unstable Red Army, but this was unsuccessful.

Aided by the local government who granted the use of a large river boat with fuel and crew, and with the wholehearted support of the American Red Cross and American business firms, Russian Cooperative Societies, and other rural organizations, the Rural Department of the Y M C A organized the Volga Agricultural Expedition during the summer of 1918, for the purpose of educating the people in rural work and interests. The equipment included exhibits illustrating improved methods in dairying, stock raising, bee keeping, field crops, horticulture, poultry, principles of cooperation, care of children, care of the home, sanitation, farm machinery and the like. A staff of 31 Russian experts, who understood the peasant problems and needs, aided with films, slides and charts. During the interval from June until about mid-August this expedition visited 44 towns along the Volga River in the heart of Russia, presenting their material before more than 30,000 men and women, a service commended by the clergy through Patriarch Tichon of Moscow who wrote:

"The Y M C A is undertaking the support of a series of movements having for their object the improvement of the moral atmosphere of Russian life; the preaching of God's word; and, abstaining from politics, cooperating with Russian educational and economic improvement societies. Sympathizing with everything which may be helpful materially or morally, to our Russian people, we hereby confer our blessing upon the organizers of this good work, praying God's aid for its successful accomplishment."

Nothing could have been a more unmistakable witness to the goodwill of the American people toward Russia than this civilian work. As in so much of its work during the war, the Association became the channel through which the humanitarian impulse of America found

City Work  
in Moscow,  
Summer of 1918

Volga  
Agricultural  
Exhibition

Summary of  
Civilian Work,  
1918

free expression. Practically all the Association workers had gone to Russia to do war work. Their disappointment was great when this became impossible. The Russian people sadly needed help. The Association forces constituted the only available agency by which America could reach them. Though this work which centered in Samara seemed at the time but an interlude between two great military episodes, it marked the beginning of relations which may prove the most permanent and significant result of the Russian enterprise. Although brought to an end in Soviet Russia, it was continued in the larger cities of Siberia during the next year and is still thriving in Vladivostok and Harbin. Its effect was a profound impression upon thousands of Russians that America was generously and efficiently concerned in promoting the welfare of their people.

#### PERIOD OF ALLIED INTERVENTION

Military intervention in Russia was determined upon by the Supreme War Council at Versailles in the spring of 1918 as a strategic measure. The idea was to reestablish an eastern front on the Volga River in order to divert the German forces by bringing Russia back into the war and to prevent the Germans from taking the extensive munition works in the industrial cities of that region. Military action in Siberia also seemed necessary for the protection of Allied supplies in Vladivostok and to combat those German and Austro-Hungarian war prisoners who were at large supporting the Bolsheviks, and incidentally endangering our Allies, the Czechoslovaks, en route through Siberia to the western front in France.

In European Russia, intervention took the form of an international force, containing some American engineers and infantry, which was sent to North Russia to prevent the German penetration of Finland, to retain control of the Murmansk railway leading to the only open port in Northern Russia, and to prevent Allied stores in Archangel and along the Vologda Railroad from falling into the hands of the Germans. Support was also given to the North Russian Government, and Americans shared with British troops in the severe fighting with Bolsheviks. This brigading of Americans with British troops and their operations under British command against Bolshevik forces, without a formal declaration of war on our part, caused a great deal of criticism and misunderstanding in this country, partly because the men were forced to undergo extreme hardships in an Arctic climate without sufficient food and protection, and partly because many per-

North  
Russia

sons were not in sympathy with what were supposed to be British aims in North Russia. The expedition was criticised most severely by those Americans that took part in it. But, though ill-fated, it was an integral part of the Allied policy of the time, and, with the Siberian expedition, attempted to check the Allied loss caused by Russia's peace with Germany in March, 1918. The American Government defined its attitude August 4, 1918:

"Military action is admissible in Russia only to render help and protection to the Czechoslovaks against armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them and to steady any effort at self-government or self-defense in which Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance—the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may subsequently be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their self-defense."

The Japanese and American Governments agreed to send a joint military expedition of a few thousand troops each, "with the purpose of cooperating as a single force in the occupation of Vladivostok and in safe-guarding, insofar as it may, the country to the rear of the westward moving Czechoslovaks." There shall be no "interference with the political sovereignty of Russia," no "intervention in internal affairs 'not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which our military force may be obliged to occupy,'" the single object being "to render such aid as shall be acceptable to the Russian people themselves to gain control of their own affairs, their own territory, their own destiny."

To aid in this undertaking, the United States Government proposed to send a commission of merchants, agricultural experts, labor advisers, representatives of the Red Cross and of the Y M C A, to engage in humanitarian, educational, and economic work for the rehabilitation of Russia.

A necessary consequence of this intervention was the withdrawal of the American Embassy and all official representatives of the United States from Soviet Russia or areas controlled by Soviet Government. It became unsafe for Americans to remain in territory where they could receive no protection from their own Government. Activities of any sort were out of the question. Under advice or orders from the Embassy, practically all the secretaries withdrew from Russia. At Novgorod they were arrested at the instance of a German commandant, but were soon released and returned to Moscow whence they made their way out of the country through Finland or the Archangel

front. There were left just the secretaries with the Czechoslovaks and a few who had been working in Siberia, out of the Soviet territory.

The entire civilian and relief program initiated by the Samara Conference in March was thus perforce abandoned in October. When the Allied forces made their entry into the country, however, there appeared for the first time a possibility of war work on a large scale. With this political and military situation as a background, the story may now be told of the two largest phases of the Y work in Russia.

During the winter and spring of 1918, the Y M C A was represented at the two Arctic ports of Archangel and Murmansk by one or more secretaries. At Murmansk preparations were started for what later became a very important field. Y M C A efforts on behalf of the Allied naval units as well as in the relief of Russian refugees, were recognized in several reports made by Allied officials to their Governments.

At Archangel  
and Murmansk

The two Red Triangle workers stationed at Archangel during the spring of 1918 to receive a cargo of supplies then expected from England, met the advance guard of the Allied troops upon their arrival at Archangel on August 3d. Within a few days after the Bolsheviks had left the city, the two buildings which had been their headquarters were turned into centers for Y M C A activities. The Y had only this one service point established in the Archangel area, however, when American troops to the number of 5,000 landed in the fall; and it was not until the arrival of a party of 25 American workers from Central Russia on October 1st, that real activities for the American and Allied forces were undertaken. These new arrivals were distributed at the base and front points where American troops were stationed, and by early November ten huts were in operation. More secretaries arrived from England during December, and during January, 1919, service in both Murmansk and Archangel reached the maximum, maintained, with occasional changes in the location and number of huts, until the Allied forces departed in the summer of 1919. Eight railroad cars were fitted up as portable Y's for canteen and library service along the railroad line towards Vologda. An average of 24 huts was operated by the Association in the Archangel area, all but eight of these being located upon the various fronts. Along the Murmansk railroad, six supply cars were kept busy serving the soldiers guarding the lines of communication, and, at four or five points, old buildings were converted into huts to serve garrisons of Allied soldiers. The personnel

included nearly a hundred American, Canadian, and British secretaries, besides Russian assistants.

An extensive program of activities was carried on for the American soldiers in Arctic Russia, although the secretaries were hampered in their efforts by the lack of supplies and equipment. Nevertheless, cinema machines were operated in a circuit of huts along the five hundred mile line of communications around the fronts and American films were shown on an average of three nights a week, even at the points most distantly located from Headquarters.

Secretarial  
Experiences

Four American Y men were captured while carrying on their work at the front among the Allied troops. Four others were decorated—one with the French Croix de Guerre and three with the Cross of St. George of the Russian Army. Two of the captured secretaries were released from their imprisonment in Moscow, together with six American soldiers who had suffered a similar fate, through the efforts of the Y M C A representative at Copenhagen, who went into Soviet Russia to secure their release.

When the American troops were mobilized at an embarkation camp near Archangel preparatory to their departure for France, the Y established a large hut in the middle of the camp. Here a canteen was operated, cinema shows and concerts given, a baseball league organized and equipped, and meals served to transient officers and many incoming and departing units of troops. On each transport went a Red Triangle secretary with a moderate supply of candies, cigarettes, and the ingredients for cocoa, all of which were supplied to the American soldiers free of charge.

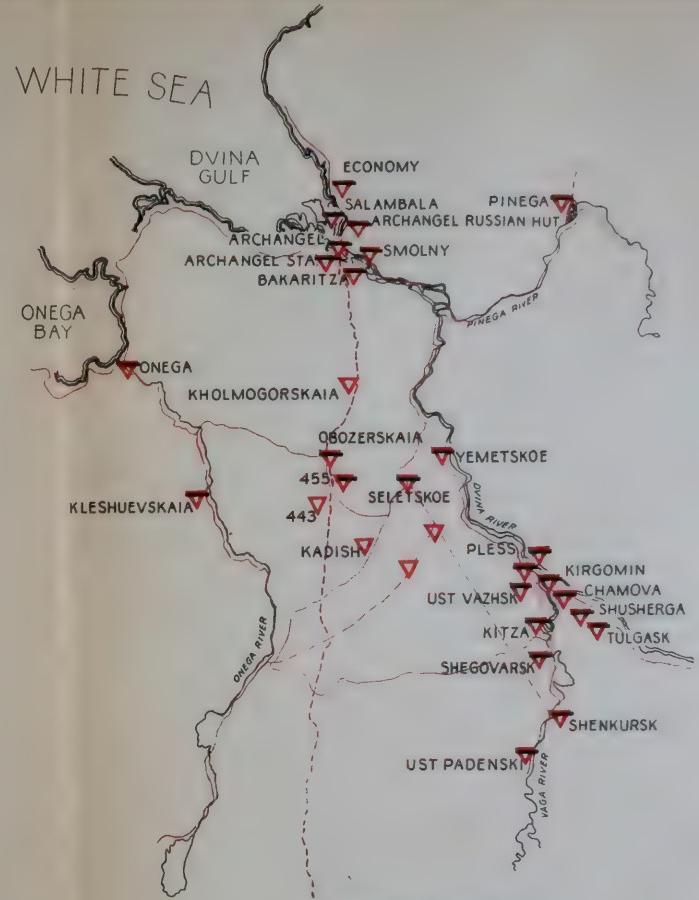
In June, 1919, the Allied Y M C A in North Russia found itself faced with the problems of readjustment due to the withdrawal of the majority of the American forces from that section. This withdrawal left the North Russian Army predominantly British and Russian. The Y M C A was, however, predominantly American. Obviously the only course was to relieve the American secretaries as soon as sailings could be arranged and British replacements secured. While the majority of American secretaries were relieved in July, a small group of Americans remained to continue work for the Russian troops and to salvage supplies.

Withdrawal of  
Americans

About August 15th, instructions came from the American Embassy for all Americans to withdraw from this sector. This meant that the Association work, so far as the Americans were concerned, must be closed at once. All secretaries with the exception of an audi-

ALICE

ARCHIBALD  
OLIVER



## ACTIVITIES OF THE YMCA

KEY
▼ LOCATION OF HUTS
▽ OTHER POINTS VISITED BY SEC'YS
- - RAILROADS
- - ROADS
- - TEMPORARY ROADS

tor left North Russia by September 2, 1919. This ended the American YMCA's work in North Russia.

There was in North Russia some difficulty in relationships with the British, reflecting in a sense the confusion that seemed inherent in this rather ill-fated enterprise. The details are of no particular interest now but there was at first considerable misunderstanding as to whether the American or the British Y was primarily responsible. The difficulty was solved by an arrangement which made the American, Crawford Wheeler, Senior Secretary of the work and the American Y, furnished the operating capital for canteen service. There were about 30 British secretaries; and the supplies were secured almost entirely from the British YMCA, the British Quartermaster, and the British Army and Navy Canteen Board, since no American supplies arrived till the spring of 1919. A British secretary took charge in the Murmansk area, under Mr. Wheeler's direction, in order to facilitate dealings with the British military authorities. These difficulties and misunderstandings did not prevent cordial personal cooperation; and in spite of the many elements of friction in the whole situation, an excellent piece of cooperative service was achieved. By agreement the British Y assumed entire responsibility in June, 1919.

The Archangel expedition, in which there were some 5,000 American troops, mostly of the 339th Infantry, shares with the Siberian expedition the reputation of being the most romantic, as well as the most ill-fated, in which American troops were engaged. In the popular mind, the expeditions are easily confused. There was ice and snow in both places. But, strictly speaking, our troops in Siberia were operating under winter conditions, not differing greatly from those of Northern Minnesota or Saskatchewan. In fact, they were not operating at all in the military sense, whereas our troops in Northern Russia were actually fighting for the greater part of the winter in the North Frigid Zone and well within the Arctic Circle. They suffered from real hardships, intense cold, insufficient food, disease, and a treacherous guerilla warfare. A few first-hand descriptions of the activity of Y men under these conditions follow.

Railroad and  
River Fronts  
South of  
Archangel

Christmas time in such a country and under such conditions is apt to make anyone think rather longingly of home. At that time especially it was the Y man's duty to make things as pleasant as possible. Here is the Christmas story of one worker who, incidentally, received the Croix de Guerre for his activity among French troops on the railroad front south of Archangel:

"I left for the front at 7.30 a. m., going first as far as verst 448 (the Russian milestones), where I stopped for two hours, till the next train. There I found ten American signal men as blue as a Wisconsin sky. I had breakfast with them, and left them three dozen candles, candy and cigarettes. They responded well. Then I went to the new barracks. There were 50 King's Liverpools. Poor boys!—for they are scarcely more. They had just done six days at the front and had expected to be at their company banquet, and the movie at No. 445. Then, too, their breakfast ration was short; some getting half, some more, and their special Christmas ration had failed to come. Well, I had candy, candles, and cigarettes, and also called them together for a little service. By the time I had finished the Second Chapter of Luke, some were sniffing, and before I got through a short prayer, about half of the poor fellows were sobbing. I felt a bit that way myself!"

In describing the work of this secretary, another Y man wrote:

"He carries about 60 pounds of stuff along in knapsacks, and distributes from dugout to dugout and trench to trench around the entire front. Sometimes it's cigarettes, sometimes confectionery, of which we have precious little, sometimes it is sweet crackers or gum. Then once a week he holds a brief service in each of the dugouts as he visits the men; and old Major Moody, the Scotch evangelist, goes the rounds with him occasionally to make a most effective little address. I heard one a few days ago. Here in a clearing, dotted with woodpiles, which have been broken and twisted into the weirdest heaps and lines by breaking shells, are a few log houses which serve as base front headquarters for the men. As we finished our rounds that afternoon, the Captain called all the men who were not needed at the front line into one of these houses for a talk. Back they plodded through the snow, weighed down with rifles, cartridge belts and steel helmets. It was an American company. As the Major told some of his touching stories in his rich Scotch brogue, commenting on them briefly by way of a lesson sermon, tears ran unchecked down the cheeks of many of these rough Michigan boys."

The Allied Y M C A was called upon by the General Headquarters Staff of the North Russia Expeditionary Force to render emergency service to a column of troops being moved overland from the Murmansk peninsula to the Archangel military area. The distance was 250 miles through forests and snow in twenty below-zero weather. The points at which canteens and rest stations were to be erected were in Nuchka, at a point half way between Onega and Sorokoe; Onega, where three days' rest enabled the Y to furnish cinema and other entertainment; Checkueva, half way to Obozorskaya, and Chi-

nova, half way between the two latter points. Cocoa and biscuits were to be the chief items furnished in the canteens at all points, but in addition, groceries and cigarettes were provided so that purchases could be made. The other items were given free of charge in all cases. Of this service one Tommy said:

"Well, we have had a good slice of luck in a way which we never expected. Three Y M C A fellows have come here (200 miles from their depot) and set up a fine Y M for us with all sorts of comforts, and are going back when we have moved off again. That is jolly fine, don't you think so? It is, I can assure you, far more than any of us expected and it is fully appreciated by us all."

Another said:

"We found a fine American Y M C A at this place. The Yankee secretaries gave us a most hearty welcome and led us at once to a counter where cocoa and biscuits were served and they would not let us pay for it. It was fine of them."

Work was started on the river front early in the fall of 1918, serving the so-called Vaga River column, a mixed force of Americans and Canadians—about 2,000 in number—which formed the line furthest South. Huts were opened in various centers, those at Shenkurst and Oust Padenga being nearest the front.

Shenkurst was inhabited by the better class of Russian people and many refugees from Soviet Russia. There were good schools and flourishing cooperative societies here and the inhabitants were very glad to have Allied troops with them, although skeptical of their ability to hold the town against the Bolsheviks. Their scepticism later was justified. The Y was very popular in Shenkurst and performed all kinds of service. It ran a laundry, supplied hospitals, gave Christmas parties for the children, helped to reopen schools, performed regular Y functions, and acted as Army chaplain.

Several secretaries mention the cordial relations of the Y with various classes of society in Shenkurst and especially the very characteristic episode of the kindness of a certain aged abbess to the Y representatives and to the troops. It is a typical example of the Russian character. One secretary writes as follows:

"In the center of the town stands a beautiful convent. On our arrival the abbess sent a message to say that a Russian bath would be ready for us on the following day and she gave instructions to send to the boat for our luggage. We called by appointment to see the old lady, presenting a letter from the patriarch. The abbess, who had

been at the monastery for 56 years and was still very active in mind and body, was interested to know which of us undertook the religious side of the work and why we did not wear black robes and long hair. She was a pleasing old soul, full of vitality in spite of her great age. There were three hundred nuns in the convent. They held services in the crypt, fearing that the Bolsheviks would come and loot the costly Ikons in the church. The abbess and those living in the convent did their utmost to make the work of the military officers in the place simpler by rendering all kinds of small services. Nothing seemed to be too much trouble for them in the interests of the troops at Shenkurst. On Christmas Day, for instance, she placed at our disposal one of the churches, providing seating accommodations and an organ, crowning her efforts on our behalf by attending herself with a number of nuns."

Conditions  
During the  
Retreat

There were several Y huts in Shenkurst, and at Oust Padenga there was a very fine, large hut with a huge fireplace. It was near the front line, however, and in constant danger. In January, 1919, it had to be evacuated as a result of a Bolshevik advance which threw the Vaga column back on Shenkurst, which was also evacuated, and on Kitza. The Y reached its maximum of service during this retreat and evacuation, providing hot drinks for the exhausted soldiers and civilians, giving aid to the wounded and burying the dead. One of the British Y men was decorated for his valor.

This retreat lasted for several days, as the men in an exhausted condition fell back on Kitza. A Y secretary in charge of a convoy of 90 sleds on the way to Shenkurst, contrary to orders, established a feeding station at Kitza. As the towns were evacuated or captured they were burned and thousands of refugees beat a retreat in the snow. The rear guard action was very severe.

One of the most touching tributes to American activity in this entire unfortunate venture in North Russia was an editorial in a Russian newspaper, "The Northern Morning," on the occasion of Memorial Day, 1919. Even in its rather quaint translation it expresses perhaps better than anything else the characteristic reactions of the "Russian Soul" and its essentially poetic trend. After referring to the origin of Memorial Day, the writer continued:

"This year our American friends have to pass this day far from their country, in our cold Northland, among the graves of the brave heroes who gave their lives for the humanitarian cause of liberation—graves that are henceforth sacred and dear to Russians as well as to Americans. Honor to the fallen! Blessing and eternal rest to these protectors of humanity who gave their lives for the achievement of

justice and right. You are dead, but still live, because you defeated darkness and brought light to the living. Sleep quietly, sons of liberty and light. You won from the world never-fading honor and eternal glory. May the cold tundra of Northern Russia, which took you in its arms, not be too heavy for you. With you are your friends; with you are those who will never forget your sacrifice; with you is Russia, long-suffering and martyred Russia, with whom you formed an alliance through your blood. Sleep quietly, fighting eagles!"

There were several phases of Y activity in Siberia, one concern-<sup>In</sup><sub>Siberia</sub> ing work with American and Allied troops, another with Russian civilian and army work, and still another with the romantic events connected with the movements of the Czechoslovak forces, eastward across Siberia, back to the Ural front, and eventually eastward again to their final evacuation from Vladivostok. Geographical considerations play a large part in the story of this work and the map should constantly be consulted in following it back and forth over the four thousand miles of Siberian steppes between the Urals and the Pacific.

When the first American troops arrived in Vladivostok in the <sup>With American  
and Allied  
Troops</sup> autumn of 1918, there were altogether less than a dozen Y M C A secretaries in Eastern Siberia; and all of them were over-burdened with work for Czech and Russian forces at the front, or guarding lines of communication. The American troops arrived unexpectedly, without Red Triangle workers or welfare equipment, having come from the Philippine Islands as well as from the United States. Not only Americans, but British, French, Japanese, Serbian, Chinese, and Polish contingents claimed the right to use the several small huts maintained for the Czechs in Vladivostok.

The Y did everything in its power to facilitate the establishment of an adequate program of service to the American forces. American secretaries were recruited from among the missionaries and business men of China and Japan on short-time contracts. Urgent cables were sent to the Headquarters in New York, asking for large staff reinforcements, supplies, and equipment. Meanwhile, representatives were sent all over the Far East to gather supplies and equipment and rush them to Vladivostok. The Association opened a biscuit factory, a sausage factory, and absorbed the product of two chocolate and candy factories, practically all there was in Eastern Siberia. In February, 1919, there were five Association huts running full blast for the A E F men near Vladivostok. Huts were also in operation at Roskalnye, the Chuchan mines, Spaskoe, Harbin and Habarovsk.

Films were difficult to obtain. Shipments from the United States were long coming on account of transport difficulties; Major General Graves, commanding the A E F, loaned the Y 100 reels of films from the Signal Corps supply. The Association had another hundred, and cooperation with representatives of the Committee on Public Information secured the use of still further films. Lectures illustrated by stereopticon slides were given at many points. The secretaries who had been in European Russia through the revolution and had crossed Siberia with the refugees and Czech troops made splendid lecturers. In the words of one of the doughboys "they had some stories to tell." At Vladivostok and Harbin, the American Y M C A fitted up athletic fields and playgrounds. Athletics were promoted and the necessary supplies furnished.

Difficulties in  
Obtaining  
Supplies

Shortage of equipment and supplies hampered this service very seriously. Ill-fortune kept on the heels of Y shipments from America. The first two shipments got as far as Yokohama, Japan, in November, 1918, where they remained until April, 1919, because of the absence of shipping facilities for the last short lap of the journey. The next shipment, \$80,000 worth of athletic goods, piled up on a reef. Another load of 1,000 cases of Y goods was jettisoned in order to float a grounded vessel. Until, through General Graves' good offices, space was secured on transports the Association could not get necessary materials through from America.

To conduct the canteen for the A E F, it was, therefore, necessary to purchase supplies in the open market of the Far East. All canteen supplies were sold to soldiers and sailors at cost, though the expense involved in trans-Pacific freight or shipment from Far Eastern ports made the prices somewhat higher than in the United States. As compared, however, with the prices of mercantile and other establishments in Siberia, a country already suffering a famine of manufactured products of all kinds, the Association scale of charges was low. In addition to the foregoing, the Association saved the American soldiers in Siberia thousands of dollars by conducting an exchange, without profit, at a time when there were no banks in operation and when small change was very difficult to secure. The exchange operations with all of the Allied troops in the winter of 1918 and 1919 involved some fifteen or sixteen currencies and a total sum of almost \$100,000 per month.

In June, 1919, the 102 American secretaries in Siberia were distributed as follows: Seventeen among the American Expeditionary

Forces, fifteen in the Czech Army, twenty for Russian work, both army and civilian, ten to the International Hut and other Allied units, seven to the executive bureau, twelve to the lecture bureau (including eight cinema experts), eight to finance, four to supply, two to the railway and seven to the rural departments. The work among the American Expeditionary Forces was carried on in ten separate huts and fourteen isolated posts as extension service from hut centers. In the Czech Army fifteen clubs and eighteen canteen cars were maintained along the line of 1,800 miles of railroad guarded by the Czech troops. Huts or canteen cars were also maintained for the Italians, the Roumanians, the French, the British, the Poles, the Serbian units, and the Chinese troops.

During the rest of the year, 1919, every effort was made to increase the service of the Association for the American troops in Siberia with an average personnel of 90 secretaries. Not only were huts maintained in all the centers where any considerable detachment of American soldiers were established, but traveling "movie" cars and canteen cars served the isolated men, with instructions to stop wherever there were even five or six men. In the early fall of 1919 the New York office sent out experienced entertainment units who had made good with the A E F in France, besides other units which went out from Japan. Experienced and tried men went out as lecturers and as religious work leaders, together with a male quartet, practically all of whom were also specialists in the leading of mass singing. The Association shipped monthly from the New York office 100,000 feet of film, 60,000 pounds of chocolate and 1,000,000 cigarettes, the last two items for free distribution to the American troops alone. A special corps of workers kept in circulation and repair the 600,000 feet of film that went out in monthly installments and took many thousands of feet of local scenes for use among the troops.

Christmas, 1919, a year and more after the Armistice, still found the A E F in Siberia and the Y still standing by, providing every man with a Christmas present and a little Christmas cheer. The expedition was not finally withdrawn until the next spring (1920). The Y stayed in Siberia until the end of 1920 and did its largest work in connection with the evacuation of the American troops, the Czechoslovaks, and the Allies.

In accordance with the decisions of the Samara conference, those secretaries who were interested primarily in constructive work in Russia began to look for fields of activity in various Russian and

Work with  
Russian Civilians  
in the Far East

Siberian cities. After September, 1918, this work was necessarily confined to non-Bolshevik Russia.

In the spring of 1918, there were eight men in Vladivostok engaged in city work, in addition to service for American marines in cooperation with officers and chaplains. These men were engaged in such specialties as refugee relief, education, and boys' work. In Harbin there was also instituted both railroad and Russian community work. This effort included physical education in several of the largest Russian schools, very successfully handled by Russian secretaries. There was also a city gymnasium and educational movies. Relations with the Church were cordial and one priest cooperated actively. The railroad work was conducted primarily for the American Engineers, who were located in Harbin and along the Chinese Eastern Railway and for their Russian employees, and consisted of a very popular club at the Engineers' barrack near the station.

In Habarovsk there was both soldier and civilian work after May, 1919, when civilian work which was called the Mayak, as it had been years earlier in Petrograd, was opened. There was a successful athletic program and other typical city features and the work made a good impression on the people of the city, which is one of the most enterprising in the Far East.

During the fall of 1918 and all through 1919 both army and civilian work was carried on in Irkutsk. The civilian work included, besides regular city work, several large and successful playgrounds and boy scout activities. The total attendance at all activities operated by the Association for the month of November, 1919, was 16,170. The work had the cooperation and sympathy of the best elements in the population of Irkutsk and enthusiastic testimonials were received from Russian welfare societies.

A secretary who had done successful civilian work in Samara during the summer of 1918, and later had operated several soldiers' clubs in Ekaterinburg, went to Tomsk in March, 1919, and carried on successful civilian work for the rest of the year. Seven playgrounds were in operation throughout the summer, carried on with the aid of twenty Russian assistants, and a school for 300 refugee children. During the fall, up to the evacuation of Tomsk by anti-Bolshevik forces, a buffet was operated at cost prices for the daily benefit of a thousand students in the University. This was a great saving to students not only in money but in time. A language school was offered on lines not given by the University but necessary for the students in taking certain

courses. This work not only had the hearty endorsement of the student body and the leading members of the Faculty, but the Minister of Education from Omsk personally commended it upon his visit to the University in October, 1919.

In Novo-Nikolaevsk, three playgrounds were operated during the summer of 1919 for the children of the community, and for the railway employees. Over 900 people were enrolled in educational classes. At the invitation of the garrison general, regular moving picture shows were given to the military hospitals and the soldiers in the city, and supplies of cigarettes and chocolate were distributed weekly to the invalids. The work in Novo-Nikolaevsk was one of the finest examples of the community type of work that has been done by the Y M C A. The military, church, educational and city authorities all gave splendid support, and courteously expressed their thanks in letters when the work had to be closed as a result of the Bolshevik advance of the fall of 1919.

There was city work in Omsk, but in the spring of 1919 the Y forces retired to Irkutsk as headquarters, and soon after the military situation made Y work in Western Siberia impossible.

The retreat of the Kolchak Army in the summer and fall of 1919 <sup>Rural Work</sup> forced the closing of work for Russian civilians in a number of cities. By December, 1919, these had been reduced to Irkutsk, Harbin, and Vladivostok. Permission had been granted for the Y M C A to develop its work for the rural communities. The plan presented, modeled on rural work carried on in America by the Y M C A, met with the whole-hearted approval of the Zemstvos, Cooperatives, and other conservative rural leaders. Unfortunately conditions did not permit the long continuation of this work.

In the city work emphasis had been placed on the development of physical, educational, and social activities. In every way possible the Y tried to aid local Russian institutions. The development of the playgrounds in the several centers mentioned materially influenced the children and was greatly appreciated by the parents. Moving pictures were used primarily as an educational feature. English classes, athletics, such as volley ball and basket ball, summer camps for boys, cooperation with scouts, adoption and development of the Christian Citizenship Training Program for Russians, school for illiterate children, movies in schools and school children brought in as a body to the Y for special lectures on health and other subjects, teacher training classes, financial campaigns among Russians conducted by Rus-

sian Y M C A secretaries to secure money to help refugees, training class for workers with girls and boys, were a few of the Y activities for civilians. This civilian work had the support of the Orthodox Church, and there is undoubtedly a great future for it in Russia. The Russians are essentially a sociable people who have given expression to their social interest in such institutions as the Narodny Dom (People's House) and the social (including the athletic and educational) features of Y work make a great appeal to them. The religious approach is more difficult, as in religion the Russians incline more to mystical than to practical, applied Christianity. But it can safely be assumed that the future will see a great development in social and welfare work in Russia. There is certainly great need for it in connection with the tremendous enterprise of Russian reconstruction.

Russian Army  
Work: The  
Omsk Government

Before the period of Allied intervention in Russia and during the beginnings of the civilian work just described, local Soviets were in control in practically all of the cities of Siberia. This control was broken during the spring and summer of 1918 by the Czechoslovaks. In their effort to get out of Siberia by way of Vladivostok to fight on the French front, they were detained by the Soviets, came into conflict with them and finished by taking all the important towns on the railway. Opportunity to establish themselves was thus given to other elements in Russian society. On July 4, 1918, the Provisional Siberian Duma, meeting at Tomsk, put the affairs of Siberia into the hands of a government, sometimes called the Autonomous Siberian Government. Later, this government joined a group from Ufa, formerly connected with the Constituent Assembly in Russia that had been broken up by the Bolsheviks in January, 1919. This "All-Russian Government" under the head of Mr. Akvsentiev, could not enforce law and order, and after the Armistice and the voluntary withdrawal of the Czechoslovaks from the Ural front, the ministry put the government into the hands of Admiral Kolchak, November 18, 1918.

The obvious task of the new government was to raise an army that could take the place of the Czechoslovak forces. Heroic efforts were made and with the help of British equipment material, several thousand men were put in the field within a few months. The Y was requested by the Omsk government to furnish this new Siberian army its accustomed service for the sustaining and upbuilding of military morale.

Consul General Harris, the American representative in Omsk, notified Washington of this important request in these words:

"The Foreign Department of the Russian Government at Omsk, on February first, appealed officially to the Y M C A organization to extend its operations to the new Russian Army. This was done after the Government had satisfied itself that the Y M C A carried on no political propaganda. The Government further requested that the Y M C A refrain from the employment of Russian Jews in connection with work in Russia. It desires that all the work in connection with the Russian Army be conducted exclusively by American secretaries. The Government is arranging for the appointment of an officer from the General Staff to act in connection with Y M C A in working out the details of a program and to assist in all matters of practical cooperation. The Government has under favorable consideration special legislation which will continue the privileges of free transportation and will assist in all matters of practical cooperation, and free customs which was granted Y M C A by former Kerensky Government. It appears, however, that these privileges have been enjoyed by them in Siberia until present time, but Government wishes to confirm it by special act. The Cossacks have also made an appeal to Y M C A to extend operation to their soldiers and people in the Orenburg and Semipalatinsk districts. They are offering every possible facility in connection with the work.

"Those in charge of Y M C A work here are planning extensions of their activity to the Siberian Army, Czechs, Roumanians, Serbians and Poles on a large scale. A request has been made for two hundred secretaries. I do not consider the demand excessive. I believe in doing the work well, and the organization thus got together in Siberia can be moved into European Russia when the proper time comes. I recommend the plan and hope it will be carried out."

Before this request could be definitely acted upon by Y authorities in Vladivostok, President Wilson made his proposal of a conference of all Russian factions at Princes' Island. This altered the attitude of the Omsk Government to Americans for a time at least, and made Russians far less cordial to American participation in their affairs. The Acting Foreign Minister was still favorable, and Y secretaries on the front looked forward to work with the new Russian Army.

Suddenly the whole situation changed during the latter half of March, and the Y was requested by the Russian General Staff to cease work on the front, on the ground that the Government was afraid to risk any outside influence there during the extremely critical period. The "outside influence" feared was that of Russian Jewish interpreters in the employ of the Y who were supposed to be engaged in Bolshevik propaganda. This seems to be a moot point. Y officials disclaimed having any such persons in their employ at that time, and the whole

Effect of  
President  
Wilson's  
Conference  
Proposal

affair may have been a misunderstanding. The Allied General Staff reported, however, to American military officials in Omsk at the time, that a car bearing the inscription "American Mission" (by which title the Y was known there) was circulating at the front, distributing Bolshevik propaganda to the Siberian Army and arms to the enemy. This rumor or fact, whichever it might have been, coupled with the confusion of the Red Triangle (when double) with the Hebrew six-pointed star, and other misapprehensions too ludicrous to mention, were too much for the nervous officials of the Omsk Government, who were staking all on the army. The misunderstanding might have been avoided had Y officials in Vladivostok really appreciated the situation in Omsk, especially the effect of certain rulings in regard to canteen service, which affected the Russian officer class adversely, or had the Omsk representatives been seasoned diplomats. It is not clear from the records available just what secret influence, if any, was behind the whole matter. As a result of the request of the Omsk Government, the Y recalled the seven secretaries west of Omsk and shortly removed its headquarters to Irkutsk. That town subsequently became the center of opposition to the Omsk Government and was the place where Kolchak was put to death, February 7, 1920, by the Social Revolutionary Government that held sway there at the time. The whole story of this period is not yet clear but apparently Kolchak and those he represented were caught between the Monarchists and the Social Revolutionists.

With the  
Czechoslovak  
Forces

After the Russian revolution, 1917, the former Czechoslovak war prisoners in South Russia were permitted by the Russian authorities to recruit and organize an army from the Czech prisoners of war. By July, 1917, three regiments of infantry had been formed, and these regiments took an active part in the "Kerensky" offensive of that month. The Czechs, unaided, and lacking much in the way of equipment, captured six of the enemy lines, and pressed on to within striking distance of Lvov. Russian and even German officers who witnessed their charge at Zborov testify that they never saw its like for rapidity and ferocity. They were also able to render heroic service in covering the retreat upon Tarnopol, and it is due to their efforts that much material and many men were saved from the enemy. During this period of fighting the Czechs won a great name for themselves.

This acted as a great stimulus to recruiting, and within two months an entire army corps had been formed, and was ready for further fighting. But the Czechs were condemned to long months of

waiting—watchful and very nervous waiting. All about them were signs of disorganization and anarchy. Each week that passed brought news of further internal strife. It was a situation full of dangers to the discipline and morale of the men. Yet the Czechoslovak Army maintained its discipline and its morale, and came through the winter of 1917 the only organized and disciplined fighting force in Russia. In the internal dissensions within Russia the Czechs took absolutely no part. They were organized to fight against the Central Powers until the freedom of Bohemia was won, and nothing could swerve them from that course. They would have preferred to fight in Russia on the side of Russia and they lingered in Russia until they saw that nothing could be looked for there in the way of a strong army. Then they decided to go where they could be of some use.

The only way out of Russia that was open to them was that across Siberia. That meant the transportation of an entire army corps some 6,000 miles to Vladivostok, thence by boat to France. Most people would have been staggered by the magnitude of the task, but not the Czechs. They secured the support of the French Government, had themselves recognized as a part of the independent Czechoslovak Army in France, secured some 60 troop trains and set out on their way. It was with these intrepid Bohemian nationalists that the Y had already cast its fortunes.

The story has two parts. One concerns the extreme western part of Siberia, where the Czechoslovak National Council and Military Staff were located; the other, the extreme eastern part of Siberia, at Vladivostok, where some 15,000 of the 67,000 Czechoslovaks had arrived in May, 1918, and were awaiting transportation to France.<sup>1</sup>

Division of the  
Czechoslovak  
Forces

Trouble between the Czechs and the Bolsheviks arose at Chelyabinsk and along the line in May, 1918. Aided by Austrian and German prisoners, the Bolsheviks held up the Czechoslovaks at various points and closed the tunnels south of Lake Baikal, thus cutting communications between the two parts of the force. News of this reached the Czechs at Vladivostok, who proceeded to occupy the city and sent forces to the aid of their comrades. In September, the tunnels at Lake Baikal were seized, and the entire force drew gradually eastward. Through all this, Association workers were constantly with both sections, accompanying them back and forth between Vladivostok and the Ural front.

<sup>1</sup>The political headquarters were at Ekaterinburg and the military staff was located at Chelyabinsk.

Perhaps the best approach to this intricate but romantic story is the personal account of a Y secretary who was in charge of the work for the Czechs from the start. The following are excerpts:

"I arrived at Kiev in the midst of the Bolshevik revolution, and the disorders that followed did much to delay the opening of our work with the Czechs and to hamper it after it was going. Probably the world has seen few scenes of more riotous disorder than those accompanying the return of the Russian 'comrades' from the front in the last months of 1917. I was obliged to ride on the roofs of cars, or perched out on the step in order to make the journey from Kiev to the front. But it was inspiring to find the little band of Czechoslovaks calmly proceeding with the organization of their revolutionary army while Russia was going to pieces around them.

"Finally, near the end of December, our equipment arrived, consisting of a number of portable buildings and the usual supplies for equipping the same with Y hut features. We opened the first hut on Christmas Eve Old Style, January 6th New Style, at the Staff Headquarters of the First Division at Polonnoe, 270 versts west of Kiev and about 100 versts back of the actual front. The men were billeted around the little Ukrainian villages, sleeping on the dirt floor, and they often had no candles in the evening, and nowhere to go except out in the muddy street, so that they welcomed our hut with great enthusiasm, and crowded it every day and every evening to its utmost capacity.

"A few days later, Mr. Atherton, who was with me, opened up a larger plant at the Second Regiment, and a week or so after I opened another small hut at the Third Regiment, occupying an old thatched covered cottage. In addition, we were able to supply every regiment of the army with a good-sized library of Russian books, for use in the regimental and company libraries that they had already founded. We also cooperated with the men in the arrangement of a number of theatrical performances, concerts and dances, generally using an old barn for the purpose. The opportunities for service there with the men quartered throughout the villages were tremendous, and we were just beginning to really get hold of the situation when the order came to move. Our huts had been in operation just three weeks, but there was nothing to do but to pack up our equipment, and move along. The faithful Czechs not only took our property with them, but guarded it carefully through all vicissitudes of their journey during the next few months, and a good part of it is now set up and in daily operation on the plains of Siberia, three thousand versts away from our original location."

Each Y man fitted out a car for himself, and as the Czech troop trains came along the cars were attached and the men started on their

way to Vladivostok, with a good supply of reading matter, games, and athletic equipment to keep the men occupied at the stops. Two men reached Vladivostok, others were detained in the region of Chelyabinsk, and still others in Central Siberia.

At this point (May, 1918) actual hostilities broke out between the Czechs and the Bolsheviks. It soon became plain that the lines were blocked east and west, so the Y opened on June 9th a hut at the railroad station in Chelyabinsk. There were some 8,000 men in this locality. A first-rate program was inaugurated; and though there was no communication with the outside world, the Y was able to secure supplies locally. A bakery and a sausage factory were established so the men could secure the kind of rolls and sausage to which they were accustomed. Butter and cheese were plentiful. Every week a refrigerator car was despatched to one or another of the fronts with cold drinks, sausage, cheese, and butter. As the Czech forces proceeded with the clearing of the Urals, the fronts developed at a distance from Chelyabinsk and besides its welfare work, the efforts of the Y, in the absence of any Red Cross organization, were devoted to the wounded.

A little later, an extensive service was opened in Ekaterinburg, still within the zone of the Czechoslovaks, where all privileges were accorded the YMCA. At this point there were several thousand Russians in addition to the Czechs. Three clubs were opened in the city and one outside for the outposts, a soldiers' store was established at the station, and work was carried on in two hospitals and an invalid home. On some days 10,000 men were served. In the Czech Club there was an orchestra and a Bohemian coffee room managed by six women who spoke the Czech language. The people of the city helped to furnish the club rooms. The little store sometimes handled 500 pounds of bread and 400 pounds of sausage in a single day. In the Russian Club there was a lecture, concert, vaudeville, or moving picture show every night. A bureau for returning Russian prisoners completed a round of activities possibly the most extensive carried on in the course of this whole work.

The YMCA progressed eastward with the Czechoslovaks as the <sup>The Exodus</sup> line was opened in the fall of 1918. The Allies were in Central Siberia in 1919, but in the spring of that year there was much sharp fighting along the line.

Some vivid glimpses of the work in Irkutsk in 1919 are typical of the service in this period:

Recently the great body of the Czechoslovak Army has been concentrated in Western Siberia between Irkutsk and Omsk, and it is in this section that the Y has put forth its greatest efforts. At Irkutsk nearly the entire First Division has been concentrated as well as the General Staff and Government Offices, and for the past three months the Czech work has been directed from that point. A large hall in the center of the city has been used in conjunction with the Czech Cultural Committee for lectures, concerts, plays, and cinema, while adjoining, the Y operated a small but attractive coffee house for the men. An orchestra of German prisoners of war, all professional musicians, was engaged for the various points about the city, and their concerts were especially appreciated by the patients in the large Czech hospital there.

## Irkutsk

At Irkutsk also a most successful beginning was made this spring and summer at distinctly religious work. The ground had been prepared previously by Mr. Miller in a series of lectures, delivered to practically all the regiments, on the Association and its point of view, but it was a most pleasant surprise to have the direct religious work so heartily welcomed by the men, most of whom are out of sympathy with religious ideas and institutions, when not directly opposed to them. . . .

Athletic work was much stimulated by the visit of the American doughboys to Irkutsk. The Americans came on for a three days' stay, and brought with them about 150 officers and men, including two baseball teams, one football team, exhibition boxers, and the 27th Infantry Band.

During the spring the Czechs who were stationed on the line between Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk had a most busy time with their enemies who were doing their best to tear up the road, wreck trains, riddle them with bullets and generally make themselves disagreeable. It took three months to clear out their nest, and the Czechs had to go back over a hundred versts into the steppe after them. It was a most trying sort of work, as the men were mostly stationed at small stations and sidings absolutely cut off from the outside world and liable to be ambushed at any time by the Bolshevik bandits. Here our secretaries were indeed a friend in need. Our traveling cinema cars also rendered an enormous service to the men of this region as well as to those further on. The secretaries were instructed to stop at every station, no matter if there were no more than a dozen soldiers there, and stay at least a day and where possible two or three days, to mix with the men in the day time, get them playing football or volley ball, and in the evening to have the cinema performance in the open air.

Reviewing our work with the Czechs as a whole, one can of course see mistakes, failures, shortcomings. But taken all in all we have reason to believe that the Association has made good with the Czechs.

Certainly they have been most appreciative of our feeble attempts to render them service commensurate to the service they have rendered the world by their deeds here in Siberia. The Association has no better friend in Siberia today than the Czechoslovak soldier, and let us hope that that friendship will continue long after he has stopped soldiering, and stay by him in the early days of his new Republic.

Four thousand miles away at the very eastern gateway of Siberia <sup>Work in Vladivostok</sup> the same kind of service for the Czechs was going on. The comparatively few Y secretaries who were in Vladivostok worked heroically and enthusiastically for these new allies. They were aided by several others recalled from China and Japan where they were on their way home. After their previous disappointments in European Russia they found spring and summer in Vladivostok with the Czechs a most exhilarating and soul-satisfying experience. They had the sensation of being partners in romantic and heroic events and received a very ready response from the Czechs who always spoke of them by the familiar and affectionate term of "Strychek" (uncle).

The immediate problem in May and June, 1918, when it was assumed that the Czechs were on their way to France, was to make their long wait for transportation as bearable as possible and keep their spirits high. To this end the well-known Y recreational activities were employed. Movies were given out doors, the men sitting by thousands on the hillsides. There were outdoor pavilions. The artistic instinct of the Czechs was utilized in landscape gardening about their barracks and clubs and interior decorations.

Every evening at sundown the troops would gather on a high promontory overlooking the magnificent harbor of Vladivostok, "the Queen of the East," and sing with ringing voices and deep emotion their national anthem, formerly forbidden in Austria: "Where is my home, Where is my home?"

By the end of June, ten barracks clubs were in operation and Y secretaries were ably assisting the officers in the difficult problems of preserving the morale and discipline of the troops from the demoralizing influence of an Oriental city. The soldiers became restless when they discovered that they were not going to France immediately. That the army was able to preserve a high state of morale through all this, with an astonishingly low venereal record, speaks volumes for the natural restraint and character of the Czechs as well as for the effectiveness of the program provided by the Association. One of the fre-

quent comments of the soldiers at the clubs and movie shows was—"Now there is no need of going to the city."

This peaceful period suddenly came to a close. As already narrated, conflict with the Bolsheviks broke out. The spirit of the Czechs changed at once. They wanted to go back and help their brothers. Relations with the Soviet became strained, and on Saturday, June 29, 1918, the Czechs attacked and captured the city. The Y secretaries saw at once that barracks work was ended and that they must follow the Czechs on cars—if at all. Eight cars were placed on a siding for the use of the workers. On Monday, carpenters fitted them up and on Tuesday the first Y club car left for the West. By the end of the week four more were in operation.

Manufacturing Activities

Only a few days later, a train came back bearing 200 wounded Czechs. There were no Red Cross representatives in Siberia at that time, so the Y advanced the necessary funds to meet the needs of the wounded. Immediately there was a demand for canteen work at the front and the business turnover increased from 12,000 roubles in June to 2,000,000 in October, 1918. This service necessitated increased transportation facilities and imposed labor beyond the resources of the few secretaries available. Czech invalids were pressed into the supply service. With great difficulty, by taking over a biscuit factory and the increased production of several chocolate factories as well as by recourse to the markets of China, Japan, Korea and the Philippines, supplies were obtained. On the Ussuri Front north of Vladivostok, where the Czechs were fighting, the Y provided weekly on an average over 10,000 loaves of bread, two tons of chocolate, 10 tons of biscuits, and 1,000,000 cigarettes.

In the meantime there had been an enormous territorial expansion in the work. The first front had been only a few hundred miles north of Vladivostok. Now Y cars were running out a thousand miles across Manchuria. This fact created a new problem of supply. The American railroad engineers were able to aid in its solution, and by September the line was opened beyond Irkutsk into Western Siberia. New recruits began to arrive for the work, but not before several secretaries, who had been working at top speed night and day all summer, broke down under the strain. The first supply train got through to the Urals about the middle of September. By that time Allied forces had arrived in large numbers and the Y had the added responsibility of American and Allied troops.

### EVACUATION

The work of late 1919, and all of 1920, falls into three divisions, war prisoners' work, city work, and service with the Allied Armies. Some time after the Armistice, work with war prisoners in Siberia was resumed by the Y; and after the greater part of the American Allied forces were evacuated, these Germans, Austrians, Turks and others were cared for at the International Hut in Vladivostok. Supplies were furnished for their voyage to their homes, and secretaries accompanied some of them. The city work, reduced by 1920 to Vladivostok and Harbin, continued along the same lines followed for several years, but increased in membership and effectiveness. The great work of this period was that of the Army and Navy department.

For the first time in the history of Y work in Siberia conditions were favorable to really effective work. In the earlier period troops had been scattered in echelons over four or five thousand miles of railway track. Now they were being concentrated in large numbers in and around Vladivostok, and although it was a constantly changing body, the Y work remained the same until the Allied military population of Vladivostok faded away across the seas.

The character of this work is best typified by the International <sup>The International</sup> <sub>Hut at Vladivostok</sub> Hut at Vladivostok, centrally located and open continuously to soldiers representing some ten or fifteen national armies. The Hut itself was spacious and compared very favorably with the biggest and best in France or England. The huge open fire did not go out once between October and May, 1919-20. There were daily music, movies, buffet and canteen service and a special program every evening, staged by one of the many nationalities served, or by some special entertainers. Athletic contests played a large part in these programs and educational work was carried on continually. A very conservative record shows that some 700,000 persons enjoyed the facilities of this Hut during eight months of 1920, which would indicate that in the entire period of its activity, it served over 1,000,000. This does not mean a million distinct individuals, as there were never more than a few hundred thousand soldiers of all nationalities put together in Siberia at that time. On the other hand, it means that many a soldier made a visit to the Hut every day and enjoyed its warmth and hospitality and the spirit of friendliness that permeated it. In the whole history of the International Hut there is no record of the slightest disorder among the various nationalities, many of them unfriendly and all armed.

They left their national hatreds and animosities outside. Had the International Hut done nothing else but stand for the ideal of international brotherhood it would have justified its existence. How much more it accomplished in giving comfort of body and mind to tens of thousands of patient and war weary soldiers and prisoners of war cannot be measured.

Successful  
Repatriation  
Activities

The Y was able, thanks to adequate supplies and personnel, to provide a secretary with necessary equipment of all kinds, including cigarettes and chocolate for free distribution for each transport leaving Vladivostok. The evacuation of the A E F began in January and ended in April. The 67,217 Czechoslovaks were not finally evacuated until September, 1920, and in January, 1921, 2,000 Roumanians and other small scattered units and war prisoners were still there.

It is a pleasure to record that after so many difficulties and discouragements the Y ended its Army work in Siberia on a full tide of success and won the sincere esteem of the many nationalities which it served.

#### CONCLUSION

At the moment of America's entry into the war, Allied hopes of Russia were high. The anomaly of an autocratic imperialism among the democratic Allied nations had been removed by the revolution. Russian soldiers had shown fighting characteristics warranting belief that their defeats were due more to treachery and intrigue in their own Government than to the superiority of their opponents. Relieved of the bureaucratic incubus, it was expected that the long suppressed but never quiescent spirit of liberty in the Russian people would make them a valuable factor in the Allied ranks. Although these hopes were disappointed, there was no question at the time as to the wisdom and importance of efforts to secure their fulfilment. Their direct bearing on American interests, clearly foreseen, was confirmed by events.

The Russian problem was but one of many with which the National War Work Council was struggling. In spite of the feeling of isolation and even of neglect which sometimes affected secretaries working in Russia, earnest thought and effort were, in America, continually devoted to their support. Nearly \$8,000,000 were spent. The fortunes of war and rapidly changing political conditions, were responsible for the lessened amounts that, in the form of supplies, reached their destination in the lives of soldiers. At one time and another the services of 442 men were furnished.

The direct results have been indicated—they cannot be measured—in the preceding pages. All the influences brought to bear by the Allied nations failed to keep Russia in the war. Probably the task was an impossible one. Successful Y service was rendered, in North Russia and Siberia, to some hundreds of thousands of soldiers of a dozen nations, including our own. Most striking were the services to the Czechoslovaks, whose profound gratitude was won, and that to evacuating troops in Eastern Siberia. Relief work, in cooperation with and at times substitution for the American Red Cross, was done for civilians and refugees.

Of this work the results are still to be harvested. The world <sup>A Future Harvest</sup> cannot remain in the chaos of recent years. It must return to the ways of peace. Seeds of opportunity for permanent civilian work have been planted. The soldiers whom the Association especially sought to serve, will constitute a major part of the citizenship of the Russia which is to be. The millions of civilians ministered to by the Y and the Red Cross have learned the reality of American sympathy.

When the day of Russian reconstruction for which the whole world anxiously looks, shall arrive, with its need of every possible character and morale building agency, the stock of goodwill accumulated through Association service to the Russian people will open wide opportunities for American helpfulness.

## CHAPTER LIX

### POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The liberation of former subject peoples from Hapsburg, Hohenzollern, and Romanov rule was a result of the war and the Treaty of Versailles, of which the far-reaching consequences are beyond calculation or prophecy. Five new nations, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Finland, besides the Baltic provinces of Russia, were launched into the troubled sea of international politics. Two of these states possessed a special appeal to the sympathy and interest of the world. The arbitrary partitions of Poland by Prussia, Austria and Russia, in the eighteenth century, trod ruthlessly upon a spirit of nationality rooted in a history made glorious by brilliant achievement even though marred by internal folly and strife. It was the Polish Army of John Sobieski that stopped the triumphantly advancing Turks before Vienna in 1683 and by its victory saved Western Europe from the blight that has rested on the Balkans and Asia Minor for the past four centuries. Service of Polish patriots in the American Revolution has always been gratefully remembered in this country, and the assurance, early made, that Allied victory would mean the restoration of Polish independence met a hearty response in America, as well as in France, whose sympathies with liberty-seekers have never failed.

The aspirations of Bohemia were perhaps less understood, but few are unfamiliar with the name of John Huss, hero of religious liberty. Bohemia, a great independent kingdom in the Middle Ages, fell under Hapsburg rule in the seventeenth century, but her traditions survived in the minds of the Czechs in spite of all measures of suppression. As the war progressed, the policy of the Allies was directed to encourage these peoples in resistance to the Central Powers. The Polish Autonomous Army, chiefly recruited in the United States from Poles not eligible to the American Army, was given military and financial support and recognition by the Allied Governments as an independent force fighting for the liberation of Poland. The Czechoslovak Legion in Russia also received military support from the Allies and the Czechoslovak National Council was recognized as a de facto government. The Versailles Treaty confirmed the intentions thus forecasted. That these new states might be of great value as buffers

against the unpredictable aggressions of Bolshevik Russia did not detract from the act of justice thus performed.

The American Y M C A found itself in contact with the fighting forces of these nationalities in Russia, France, and Italy, and rendered service already described in preceding chapters. As a result, it was warmly urged to accompany the troops on their return to their own lands, and to continue and extend service. For them the war did not end with the Armistice.

The Poles found themselves still fighting with the Russians and the Czechs with Magyars. Plebiscites ordered by the Versailles Treaty for Silesia and other regions of great economic importance, left boundaries and ultimate control undetermined. The Czechs and Poles made hostile gestures at each other over Teschen and its mines, establishing confronting army lines. The Y M C A had a difficult path to tread; but, whatever the sympathies of secretaries on the ground, it kept scrupulously to its principle of service without partisanship.

Yet the worst difficulties of the new nations were internal. Apart from the general economic demoralization of Europe, in which these countries shared, both Poland and Czechoslovakia found themselves forced to construct a republican government and a social and economic order out of elements inexperienced and ill-prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship. The most acute problem was the creation of a national morale. Both countries had been under alien domination for generations, during which every nationalistic or patriotic impulse had been repressed. Only by the method of tradition could the ancient glories of the nation, forbidden utterance in school, in pulpit or press, be taught to the children and youth, that somehow national aspirations might be kept alive. Set free, these national ideals had to compete for control of the popular mind and will with the brutal facts of hunger, poverty and disease. To the ordinary man, government had been something to be hated, circumvented, cheated if possible. Conscripted into Austrian or Russian armies, he maledictated, evaded service, gave as little as possible without incurring disciplinary penalties, deserted if opportunity offered. Patriotic jubilation and enthusiasm were universal when independence came, but it tended to expend itself in partisan political disputes rather than in the transformation of old habits into the patient day to day loyalty indispensable to the construction of the new states. A great educational and inspirational task confronted the leaders, doubly difficult because mere physical living from day to day constituted an ever-present problem for the

people—a condition that played into the hands of Bolshevik propagandists, foreign and native, who worked untiringly for a communist revolution.

Civilian  
Work

Although the Y M C A went to Poland and Czechoslovakia to serve soldiers, and by far the greater portion of its work was with the troops, the relation of that work to the deeper problem was felt both by the Association workers and the national leaders. Through its activities directed to the comfort and entertainment of fighting men, it reached the citizen with stimulus to self respect, honesty, loyalty, and patriotism. Entertainment gained added significance when Poland's national drama, music, and literature were the medium adopted in Y theaters, concerts, and hut libraries; while the games and athletic activities, liberally stressed, helped to build up not only physique but the spirit of fair play and cooperation, as well as the sporting temper that takes as well as gives hard knocks without animosity. Seeds, at least, were sown of permanent civilian work in Czechoslovakia, in the form of a student movement, public playgrounds, a railroad Y M C A, training schools for welfare workers, and barracks for emigrants. These were significant both for the possibilities they forecasted and for actual accomplishment. The characteristic viewpoint for consideration of this work is that of the introduction of a constructive factor in the life of a new nation, and its probable influence for permanent cultural advancement.

#### POLAND

On the invitation of General Haller, Commanding the Polish Legion in France, five American Y secretaries, accompanying the second section of the Polish General Staff, arrived in Warsaw April 21, 1919. Planning to work with the first three divisions of the Polish Army, they opened the first hut at Lublin, May 18, 1919, General Haller and staff attending. A second hut was opened at Modlin on Memorial Day; and following the exercises, the first American baseball game on Polish soil was played, Ambassador Gibson pitching the first ball. By July there were thirteen centers in operation with a personnel of seventeen Americans and many more Polish workers. An official request had been received from the Vice-Minister of War that the service should be extended to the entire Polish forces. A budget had been prepared calling for \$150,000 for the second half of 1919, all to be supplied by the American Association. D. A. Davis, Senior Secretary for Europe, wrote:

"Work ought to be carried on till at least the first of July, 1920. The dangers that threaten Poland from the Germans on the one side and from the Bolsheviks on the other, make it extremely improbable that the Army will be greatly reduced during the coming year."

When July came, the Association was at the height of its activity, operating at 40 points, with eight rolling canteens serving mobile troops.

Although the aim was to make canteen service secondary, more <sup>A Constructive Program</sup> than was intended proved necessary. In many places soldiers were scantily fed, especially near the front. They went without food for days, because of lack of organization and transport. The wholesome drinks and food that the Y canteens furnished at low prices went far to supplement the insufficient rations, and thereby made a basic contribution to morale. But in the city huts, the canteen was conducted rather as a social feature and aid in building character and citizenship. Through the theater and concert, effort was made to acquaint the men with the best works by Polish authors and composers, and to let them hear their own language spoken in its purity by trained actors and singers. The printing of simple programs, containing in brief the story of the play and the lessons the author sought to teach, with a sketch of his life, developed, because of the interest shown, into a sort of periodical with a circulation of 10,000 weekly. Great interest also was taken in mass singing, and in some huts choirs of trained singers were formed. Educational work included teaching of illiterates, in which the Y cooperated closely with the Education Department of the new government, classes in English and French languages, and in Polish history and literature. A newspaper exchange, by which papers from different localities were circulated throughout the country, facilitated a truly national interchange of information and understanding of local conditions and points of view, a thing impossible while the nation was divided under three alien dominations. By the end of the first year some 20,000 library books were in circulation and half a million booklets had been distributed, many of them translations especially made, on moral, patriotic and social subjects calculated to inform and stimulate soldiers as to cleanliness, order, good living and good citizenship. The cinema was used not only for entertainment but for educational purposes, especially to help in the anti-typhus campaign—a method particularly useful among a people with a high rate of illiteracy.

## Recreation

The physical recreation program met with enthusiastic response among soldiers, students, and women. In April, 1920, 40,000 participants in athletic events were recorded. The work was varied, including reconstruction exercises for convalescent wounded, drills and mass games for recruits, boy scout training and games, and exercises for women mobilized as guards for railroad and public property.

Evidently the work demanded a much larger personnel than could be furnished from America. This coincided with the Association policy which aimed to transplant American welfare ideas into Poland and make them indigenous. Some were ambitious to establish training courses, and a summer school was conducted for a few weeks at Modlin, followed in January by a short course in physical training for officers. Caution and tact were necessary, however, and the method of gradual practical training of selected assistants in the huts, though slower, was deemed wise under existing conditions. The atmosphere in which Association work was carried on is indicated in a report of A. S. Taylor, Senior Secretary, in May, 1920:

"To understand clearly what progress has been made, it is necessary to bear in mind the conditions under which, from the start, the work was carried on. When a year ago the Association commenced activities, it was entirely unknown in the country, except to the Haller troops, with whom they had come from France. Poland at that time was in a very disorganized state. Living conditions and transportation facilities were very bad. The people on the whole were very suspicious of foreigners, as a result of their experience with them in the past, and the deep-rooted feelings on political, social and religious matters and the intense passion shown for everything Polish, made it necessary to work with the greatest tact and care, so as to avoid the mistakes which might easily ruin any future chances of success. The people were also suffering, as they still are, from lack of food and clothing; they were ravaged by disease and continually threatened, as result of these conditions and the work of agitators, with an outbreak of Bolshevism within their borders. At the same time they have been fighting all along this enemy without. As a result the country has been on a war footing, which has made the work which we are doing especially difficult, due to the continual movement of troops and changes in plans. These conditions, in fact, do not improve with time. Of late they have even become worse as a result of the fighting along the front, and many of our important points have had to be closed and new points quickly opened up. Notwithstanding these conditions, as can be seen from the foregoing reports, the activities have not only been kept up, but have spread over the country until today we are operating in more than forty places, and had we the means and per-

sonnel, it would be very easy to operate in forty more, for invitations come to us almost daily to start work in new places.

"Speaking generally, the chief aim during the first year has been to conduct our activities in such a way as to bring the Association into the confidence of the whole Polish people. That we have succeeded in doing this is shown, not only by the expressions of opinion coming to us from various quarters and the number of newspaper articles written about us, though no effort has been made by ourselves to have this done, but also by the number of requests that are coming to us to take up civilian work."

No problem was more difficult than that of religious activities.<sup>Religious Work</sup> On one side were Roman Catholics, naturally suspicious of any Protestant organization; on the other were the Socialists, frankly anti-religious. Both types were watchful and ready to protest against the first sign of proselytizing propaganda. The solution as embodied in a "Spiritual Betterment Department," may best be stated by a further extract from Mr. Taylor's report:

"So far we have had no definite religious program, though from time to time addresses have been delivered in our buildings by priests and Protestant pastors and other inspirational speakers. Yet it is evident that if the Y M C A is to justify its existence in Poland it must have a definite contribution to make along Christian lines. What should that contribution be? To attempt to proselytize by turning Roman Catholics into Protestants, or to endeavor to root out old ideals, sucked in as it were with their mothers' milk, or to change practices that have been the custom of centuries is certainly not the work of the Association. For this organization there is a far greater task. The Roman Catholic churches filled to the doors on Sundays and Holy Days show the strong hold that religion has on these people. To come to know them and to read their literature also convinces one that they are great idealists, even though it is true that up to the present their idealism has been chiefly of a national character. Yet the fact that they are capable of such idealism and of suffering to the utmost for it as they have done indicates that they have the capacity for a higher idealism still. If, therefore, by working along the lines of this religious temperament and idealistic tendency we can point them to the highest ideal of all—the Christ ideal as it is symbolized in the cross, to the sign of which they are so strongly attached, and show how it is meant to affect the whole life of the individual, and how through this same ideal their own national idealism can find its highest expression, we should be pointing out to them a way which, as a result of their national characteristics and training they should not only be prepared to tread but in which they may even be a guide to others. In other words, not to proselytize but to vitalize should be the work of the Y M C A."

The wisdom both of the policy and its execution appeared in the fall of 1920 when an Officers' Club was inaugurated amid much enthusiasm at Krakow. Some of the priests of the city were much concerned at the numbers and character of the audience, and at the reception given an address by the Senior Secretary outlining the Christian character of the Association. A few days later one of the secretaries began a special course of lectures on the philosophy and psychology of the Y M C A, at the express request of the University. In the discussions following the lectures, charges of proselytizing were made. They were met by the voluntary declarations of women workers in the Y huts, themselves Catholics and members of families of high standing, that no proselytizing word had been spoken in the huts, to them or in their hearing. "I have never," said one, "felt such a good Roman Catholic as I do now when working for our soldiers and for our people."

Later, at an ecclesiastical conference on the subject at the Palace of the Prince Bishop of Krakow, the discussion was concluded by the Bishop, who remarked that he had observed the work of the Y M C A and that the Church saw no reason to oppose it but every reason to let it continue its work without interference.

That Premier Witos, a Socialist, should at about the same time have sent an official letter expressing the appreciation of the Government, which he confirmed in a personal interview, was satisfying evidence that the work had spoken for itself with no uncertain voice.

Meanwhile a serious interruption had occurred. It is not the function of this history to pass judgment on the territorial ambitions of Poles, but a glance at the map will show that in pressing into the Ukraine as far as Kiev, in the spring of 1920, they far exceeded the boundaries assigned by the Treaty of Versailles. Although cooperating with the Ukrainians, their operations gave the Soviet Government an obvious excuse for a counter attack. So successful was this undertaking that not only was Kiev taken, but the Poles retreated until Warsaw was on the point of falling into the hands of the Russians.

The Association workers had accompanied the Polish advance and were carrying on a full program in Kiev, having opened a fine building in the center of the town, which had become the rendezvous of all the Poles stationed there. When the troops entered Minsk, a droshky driver conducted the Y men to the hut abandoned by Y workers in Russia, February, 1918, when the Germans advanced into Russia. This now became headquarters for work extending along

the fighting line. The story of the next two months was one of desperate endeavors. The retreat of the Poles was rapid, and the Y men spent themselves to the utmost, serving bread and hot drinks to the hungry and tired soldiers. At point after point, service was continued until evacuation was completed, the Y stores being loaded ready for removal only an hour or two before the Russians entered the town. Railroad cars not being always available, the secretary secured farmers' wagons and drove with the marching troops, distributing food at every pause for rest. Canteens were run day and night. Learning that a battalion north of Minsk had been without food for six days, 36 wagons were sent out to find them, literally saving them from starvation. The reports of this period are full of memorable experiences of secretaries. At Borysov, for example, the little white house where Napoleon slept the night before his defeat on the Berezina, became a Y canteen for a few days until the Russians crossed the river and made it untenable.

In the meantime the Y headquarters was a very busy place. The <sup>Conditions in Warsaw</sup> breaking up of so many centers and the opening of new ones caused a great rush of work. At this period the general impression was that Warsaw would fall. All the foreign legations moved out, as well as private citizens who had the means. In order to safeguard its supplies the Y emptied its warehouse, the bulk of the material being moved to Danzig, whither women secretaries and the wives of American secretaries were sent for safety. The business department removed to Lodz with all important papers. However, activities in Warsaw were extended rather than decreased. New canteens were opened and considerable hospital work was carried on, as the hospitals were overflowing with wounded men who, for lack of adequate medical staff and supplies, were receiving scant attention. By this time Warsaw was in the very center of the front line operations. At one railway junction east of Warsaw the Chief Secretary reported that over a considerable period upwards of 60,000 men were served daily by the Association. At this time there were 25 rolling canteens serving the Polish Army along the lines at the front. The most critical days of the summer were the 13th and 14th of August when everyone expected to see Warsaw fall. The Y secretaries had taken every precaution to meet this emergency if it arose. Fortunately, however, the Bolshevik advance was suddenly held up fifteen kilometers from Warsaw. Once again the Y had to reorganize its work and again go forward with the Poles as in the spring advance into the Ukraine. As

they reached towns where they had previously been operating they reopened the old buildings.

During the summer a second training school for Y workers was opened at Modlin with 45 students, but its work was naturally curtailed by the military situation. After the crisis was past another training course was started at Lodz. During July a center for students which had been running over six months with success had to be closed, all the students being called to the front. While the experience of these two months entirely upset plans and caused the loss of many buildings, on the whole it helped rather than hindered the work of the Association. It brought the Association to the attention of many people who had not previously heard of it. One prominent Pole said that the Bolshevik advance had tested the mettle of the Y and he was generous enough to add that it had won its spurs.

In spite of the difficulties and strain resulting from the experiences of the summer the Association went ahead increasing its work and becoming better known and more appreciated in Poland. The Army even had a marching song about the Y, spoken of affectionately as a kindly relative from America.

By October, 1920, activities began coming back to normal after the changes of the previous months. But a new discouragement fell upon the work of the Y in Poland. As a result of the necessary reduction in the budget for 1921 the work in Poland was cut down by more than half. Work in small centers, canteens in general and all entertainment activities entailing expense were entirely stopped and the work and personnel in the larger centers reduced to a minimum. Eleven secretaries left in November, fifteen in December, and the Y work was reduced to five localities with several centers in Warsaw and Krakow still under the leadership of A. S. Taylor.

It is deeply to be regretted that financial conditions forced the major withdrawal of American support at this time. The confidence of the Polish people and authorities had been won, and the practical benefits of Association work had made them eager for its continuance. The demonstration of American efficiency in quick organization under difficulties and in adaptation of unfavorable resources, had made a deep impression, as shown by numerous exhortations by officers and others to the people to learn from the Association achievements how to solve their own problems. Into an atmosphere of factional strife had been injected an example of friendly, disinterested cooperation, and among the pressing demands of every day living the ideals of

character, patriotism and service had been kept bright. Beyond the ministry of material things to needy men and women, itself no small or unnecessary service, there was an increasing contribution to good citizenship and constructive national spirit. How far Poland will be able to carry forward the work thus begun is problematical, on account of lack both of leadership and funds. But the record shows clearly the kind of service that all Central Europe needs in the coming years, and points the way to America's opportunity.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

While the Austrian Army was crumbling before the Italians at Vittorio Veneto, in the last days of October, 1918, a bloodless revolution at Prague resulted in the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak Republic. Two weeks later the Armistice was signed, and the leaders of the new nation were free to undertake the great constructive task of organization. Conditions were far from peaceful. No boundaries had been settled, and hostile forces of Magyars were still active. The mixture of races which constituted the population, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars, and Jews, to mention no others, presented possibilities of serious internal disorders. No longer needed to fight the general enemies of the Allied cause, the Czechoslovak legionaries in France and Italy were hurried home where there was much for them to do. With the troops from Italy went Ludwig Burian, an American of Moravian birth, who had been engaged in Y work with Czech legionaries. The YMCA authorities in Italy planned to support him with supplies and secretaries as soon as he should be able to report on the situation and needs.

Meanwhile, the Czech soldiers in France, who had been served <sup>The</sup>  
by YMCA workers, especially at Cognac (Chanute) and Darney, <sup>"American  
Uncles"</sup> the Czech headquarters in the Vosges, were insistent that their "uncles from America" should accompany them to Czechoslovakia. Early in November, the Foyers du Soldat had cooperated in a great fête at Cognac in celebration of the recovery of Czechoslovakian independence, which was attended by Mr. Boginoff, representing the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris.

The active interest shown by the American regional director of the Foyers at Bordeaux, and the results of the work done for the Czechs, led Mr. Boginoff, after several conferences, to address to Messrs. Coffin and Davis, American directors of the Union Franco-Américaine YMCA, a formal request for a continuation of service

with the troops in their own country, promising government facilities. At about the same time a similar request was addressed to the International Committee at New York by the Czech delegation at Washington. The International Committee gave its approval, and in January, 1919, four secretaries arrived on the field.

In view of the fact that the Y M C A was grappling in France with the problems of readjustment and increased service imposed by post-Armistice conditions, the rapid development of work in Czechoslovakia was impressive. By April, nine huts or social centers for soldiers were in operation and by the end of 1919, 190 Czechs were detailed as assistants and the American personnel had increased to 39. From the beginning, the appreciation and response of Czech assistants to American and Association ideas and ideals indicated the possibility of a real transplanting of the organization. In fact, of all the work of the Y M C A with Allied Armies, no result is more significant for the future than the whole-hearted adoption by the Czechs of the Association program and method, which has made it an important factor in their social and national regeneration. Such a demonstration of the morale-building power of welfare work, for citizens as well as soldiers, could not have been foreseen. President Masaryk, and M. Klofac, Minister of National Defense, who was responsible for the well-being of the Army, secured privileges and facilities for the work not surpassed in any country. General Pelle, French Chief of Staff, was interested, and French and Italian officers in general were sympathetic. There was some difficulty with old-fashioned Austrian officers, who thought it foolish to furnish comforts to soldiers and considered elevating influences unnecessary. Delicate situations arose, and tact was always necessary. The population, who did not know the Y as did the soldiers who had fought on the Western front, needed information as to its nature and purposes before they could accept it. But demonstration in action produced conviction. As the work progressed, it was watched with the closest interest, and more and more the disposition has grown in Government and people to make it their own. The American Y M C A cooperated in close liaison with the Y W C A in recreational activities and work for students and emigrants, with special attention to women and girls. Extensions to civilian service with Government and private agencies are expanding on Association lines far beyond the scope possible to the organizations which initiated them. At the beginning of 1921, definite plans had been formulated for the creation of a Czech National Y M C A Council

which, under the guidance of the World's Committee should assume full direction and financial responsibility for the work.

In the beginning the work was exclusively for soldiers. When the first secretaries arrived, two fronts were active—one against the Magyars on the Hungarian border, the other against the Poles in the Teschen coal region. The first Y installations were on the former front. In the course of two months, eight centers were put in operation without formality; and on April 3, 1919, there was a formal opening of a center in Prague. The day was made a military holiday, and participation by the commandant gave strong endorsement to all parts of the program. In all these centers, libraries, cinemas, games, and the canteen were the leading features, but direct as well as indirect effort was given to stiffening morale. One secretary wrote:

"Except for the legionaries from France and Italy the morale of the troops is very low, especially these who were in the Austrian Army where it was their patriotic duty to do as little as possible, cheat and lie, steal from the Government, play sick, etc.—until it has become so much a habit that they are likely to do the same thing to their own new government. We are looked to as a strong force to fight this condition and of course must make good on it, as it is exactly the kind of work a real YMCA should be successfully putting across."

In June, 1919, there was an attack on Slovakia by the Hungarian Bolsheviks. Eight Y buildings had to be abandoned on account of the retreat. There had been a great deal of Hungarian propaganda in Slovakia; and at Komarno, while the Czech forces were thwarting the invasion of Bela Kun, they were fired on from the rear by townspeople. The YMCA secretaries did their best to keep the Slovak troops free from the mutinous spirit instigated by Magyars which led them to desert. As a matter of fact the Y stood as a moral bulwark against an ever-imminent anarchism, and was highly praised by President Masaryk and his ministers who stated that the Association was a large factor in keeping unrest out of the Army.

In May, conferences with the head of the Government Department of Physical Education, led to an agreement for an athletic training course for army officers. One man was to be chosen from each regiment of the Czechoslovak Army for instruction in American games, sports, and athletics. These men were to return to their regiments as physical directors. The school was opened for the first and second groups at Zilina on June 1st, and for the third at Prague on June

20th. Secretarial courses were added for Czech Y workers. In the first session, 24 men reported for athletic work and 21 for secretarial. At about this time a new agreement was made with the Government in which the religious character of the Y M C A was fully recognized, with stipulations that it would not engage in proselytizing.

Attractive  
Buildings

At the beginning work was started in the best quarters immediately available, but as time passed the buildings provided for the soldiers were, in many cases, extraordinarily attractive. Sometimes they were former clubs of Austrian and Hungarian officers, beautifully decorated and furnished. The reversal of the old rule, "Everything for officers, nothing for men," impressively symbolized the character of the new régime. Interesting experiments were made, such as leaving to the men the decoration of new quarters, and the holding of a sort of forum in which the men discussed and adopted rules for the conduct of the hut. The army authorities were most eager for the fullest success of the work, and assigned buildings almost as requested, or ordered buildings torn down to supply material for new ones.

Space does not permit the following of the work in detail. The effect upon the nation may be suggested by remarks made by a high official of the Government at a luncheon in honor of Dr. Mott, during his visit to Czechoslovakia in June, 1920:

Effects of  
Y Work

"What impressed me first about the Y M C A was that they went right to work and did not ask any unnecessary questions. They began their work against great odds, and before we knew it the work was established and we did not know how it happened. When I see the work of the Americans, how they worked intensively by themselves, in a land of which they did not know the language, I am sure that if they went to Africa for a month they would establish their work there. The history of the Y M C A is very short; they came, they started, and they finished. Before we ever had any agreement with the Y M C A, and before we knew it, they were already at work, doing good. They never asked what they could expect from us in return. They came to help us and we know that the Y M C A has won its way into the hearts of our men. I hope that the Y M C A will continue its work for some time. Those who are not informed about the work of the Y M C A are very few, and it is certain that soldiers would easily become discouraged if it were not for the work of the Y M C A.

Our nation has no great faith in anything religious because our history is full of strife for religious beliefs, and we are afraid that we would again lose our liberty through mixing with religious affairs, but when we saw the loyalty of the Y M C A and its freedom from politics and religion we knew that our fears were unfounded. The

word 'Christian' in the case of the Y M C A means an humble ideal which bears out Masaryk's career, which is the greatest Christianity. We see in the Y M C A the undying effort to serve humanity like that of the apostles.

"Something that we seem to forget at times is that we grow from small beginnings. We did not have enough bread, and we fought with each other, so that we could not understand that America could live to serve humanity. We thought that America was all materialism. We did not think that they could attempt such altruism. We did not make a difference between business America and the America which has humanity at heart. The Y M C A has done this wonderful work for the Army because it came when it was needed most. The Army destroyed all decent things about the soldiers, when it was under the control of the Austrians. The Revolution overthrew the Austrian rule but could not re-organize the Army at once. And at this time came the Y M C A. They started their work and restored the soldier's peace of mind, lifted up his ideals and made a better man of him. We could not do this because we did not have the means. The Y M C A did this, and it did it in the most practical way. We all know that it develops body, mind and spirit, and is carrying its work into all lands, no matter how far away."

During 1920 the work increased in volume and efficiency, reaching its highest point during the summer. Shortly after, there was a gradual reduction of American personnel in anticipation of the cutting down of the budget in October. These men were replaced by Czechs who had been in the Y training schools. There was also a general demobilization of the old Army and new recruits of the class of 1920 came in in October. They very soon began to appreciate the Y, but the change in personnel both in the Y and the Army made the work of the fall of 1920 difficult. It went on, however, practically uninterrupted, under the direction of W. W. Gethmann, who had been appointed National Secretary, February 26, 1920, and the transition was made to a much smaller budget and practically a Czechoslovak personnel for 1921 without a serious loss of efficiency.

There were several distinctive features of the work in Czechoslovakia, for example, the translating and publishing of useful books; a series of training schools for Czech workers which provided a much needed personnel when Americans were withdrawn as a result of the cut in the budget; a vigorous student department which included a good deal of welfare and religious work for needy students; the operation of hostels and cafeterias; and the formation of a National Student Movement; a railroad department, which erected a large perma-

Later Developments

Distinctive Features

nent building, the first railroad Y M C A on the continent and first civilian Y in Czechoslovakia; playground work on a large scale; and aid to emigrants coming to America.<sup>1</sup> More recently still, rural work and boys' work at at least one regular city Y have been started. The Y participated in great national events, training athletics for the Olympic Games, providing a great rest tent at the Slet or national meeting of the Sokols, or national gymnastic societies, conducting demonstrations of its work at the Prague Fair, and joining in celebrations in commemoration of John Huss, the national hero. The great Sokol movement that has fostered among the Czechs and Moravians an almost Attic pride in clean, healthy, well-formed bodies, never penetrated into Slovakia until after the Revolution. Hence the Y ministry on the athletic side was of great value to the Slovaks. It brought physical exercise in the guise of play. The Slovaks looked on and became interested, they joined in and grew enthusiastic. Enthusiasm in the Slovak was practically unknown under Magyar rule, and the Y work attracted a large element in the population.

The student of history will recognize certain strong resemblances between the situation in Czechoslovakia and that in the American colonies after the Revolution, in what Fiske has called the critical

<sup>1</sup>A statistical review of the work of the American Y M C A in Czechoslovakia for 1920 showed the extent of Y activity (so far as it can be expressed in figures) as follows:

Standard Army Centers.....	54
(Centers having reading room, writing room, game rooms, auditorium, canteen, etc.)	
Branch Army Centers.....	25
(Centers having only reading room, writing room and, in some cases, canteens.)	
Centers served at regular intervals by mobile units.....	62
Student centers .....	4
(Prague, Brno, Bratislava and Pribram.)	
Recreation Centers .....	2
(Playgrounds at Prague and Bratislava.)	
Railway Center .....	1
(Temporary center in operation, permanent building under construction in Bratislava.)	
Emigrant Center .....	1
(A housing center with accommodations for 150 in Prague.)	
Boys' Work .....	1
	150
<hr/>	
The Maximum Personnel in Service at any one period during the year was:	
American Y M C A Secretaries.....	89
Czechoslovak Secretaries .....	467
	<hr/>
Total .....	556
The cost of service provided by the Y M C A in Czechoslovakia during 1920 totaled krs. 36,288,354.07.	

period of American history. All the problems of organization were present as well as of transfer from a discarded authority to self-government in which means of discovering and expressing in action the popular will had yet to be devised. There was even less of the habit of democratic citizenship. But the soldiers constituted a very large proportion of the new citizens, and in the promotion of wholesome social life in the huts, with due attention to body, mind and spirit, an influence was set to work which penetrated far beyond the Army. As the old forces demobilized, the men carried with them to their homes the desire for a continuation of the benefits they had enjoyed and, from their observation of methods, a more or less definite idea of ways of providing them for themselves. As the youth of the nation come into the Army, they are quickly initiated. The stimulation of moral and patriotic idealism, by word and example, is a steady and elevating force most necessary to the development of the nation, and is so recognized by the Government which has not only supported the work of the Y M C A but provided for its adoption and extension in various ways.

Czechoslovakia has men who by training and temperament will quickly become propagators of the principles which, found effective in the world-wide experience of the Association, have had such effective demonstration in their own country. With such a beginning, it is not difficult to believe that the vitalizing and stabilizing influence will spread far and wide among the youth of the New Europe.

A noteworthy feature of the progress of Y M C A work in Czechoslovakia was the unfailing and effective support of the honored President of the Republic. This support was given on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the history, principles, and practices of the Association and a firm belief in their applicability to the needs of his own country. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, scholar, sociologist, statesman, sterling patriot, was the heroic leader to whom the whole country turned as by a common impulse as the one man in all respects fitted to become the first President of the new born nation. The Constitution exempted him from the provision, "He who has been elected President twice in succession cannot again be elected until the expiration of seven years from his last term of office," thus practically making him President for life. He had achieved a world-wide reputation as a champion of the freedom of small nations. He was the originator of the Czechoslovak legions in Russia. He was a student of world affairs and had an intimate knowledge of American institutions. It

The President  
of Czechoslovakia

was therefore with conviction firmly established in knowledge that this great leader committed himself without reserve to the program of the Y M C A. To his influence may be traced many of the unusual opportunities afforded the Association in Czechoslovakia.

Cordial Relationships

Another cause for grateful acknowledgement was the mutual helpfulness of the relationships with other American agencies political and humanitarian. There was constant and cordial cooperation with the American Embassy and the American Consulate. From Ambassador Richard Crane and Consul Charles S. Winans and their staffs much help was derived in facing the problems confronting the executive department of the Y M C A. These were frequent occasions also for an exchange of services between the Y and the Red Cross, the American Relief Administration and other bodies, Czech and American, engaged in social service. These friendly relationships were a source of great satisfaction to all and bore results of great value.

Vital Factors

In conclusion, the student of history and applied sociology will be impressed by two facts of vital import and permanent interest. One is the inspiring example afforded by Czechoslovakia of the ever abiding love of liberty and devotion to the ideals of advancing democracy on the part of these leaders in the march of Slavonic progress. This they nourished through 300 years of foreign domination. The rebirth of the nation was one of the great rewards of the War. Since the bloodless Revolution of October 28, 1918, Czechoslovakia has been the brightest spot on the continent of Europe. The corresponding fact is the identification of American ideals and methods with the history of the early struggle of the new Republic as revealed in the ministrations of the Y M C A. The presence of the 89 American secretaries meant something more fundamental than propaganda and more vital even than charity. The Americans with the traditions of a similar period in their own history haunting their imagination were actually engaged in helping the Czechs to lay securely the foundations upon which they are to build for centuries to come. They were hailed as Americans rather than as members of an association. In the Army they were addressed as captains and were greeted by the soldiers with the military salute which they returned with the customary formula "Na Zdu." That much of the language was quickly acquired. They traveled first class on all the railroads of the country on orders issued by the Government. They figured prominently on public occasions with the highest national, municipal, and military dignitaries. They extended their operations into all corners of the country.

In addition to establishments in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia they pushed the enterprise into Ruthenia and Geschen Silesia, and went beyond the boundary into Upper Silesia. Ruthenia, or Pod-Karpatska Rus, lies to the east of Slovakia, between Poland on the north and Hungary and Roumania on the south, joining Ukrainia on the east; 600,000 of the population are Ruthenians or Little Russians living in small villages in the mountains. The remaining 75,000 people live in a few large towns and consist mainly of Orthodox Jews and Hungarians. The language of the street is Magyar, German, Russian, Polish, and Czech. Several huts were opened in this region and the American message of common brotherhood and service was carried to the Czech soldiers quartered in these polyglot communities. Silesia was for months under the rule of a plebiscite commission on which the United States was not represented. Because of the presence of an American secretary, however, the 4th of July, 1919, was celebrated in something like American style and the Stars and Stripes were flung out upon the balcony of the official headquarters of the commission. The flag thus displayed taught an eloquent lesson on the progress of liberty. The work done for the Italian troops in Upper Silesia was directed from the Moravian headquarters at Brno. A camp for Ukrainian interns was established in Bohemia, where officers and men who hope to contribute to the rearing of a new Ukrainia caught the swing of the modern movement toward democracy and were strongly impressed by the American spirit of universal goodwill and helpfulness. More than 50,000 Czech legionaries returning from Siberia were accompanied by American secretaries, some of whom remained in Czechoslovakia for continued service. The enthusiasm of the legionaries for their "Uncles from America" was real and unrestrained.

Outside of the military organization the Y M C A established official contact with practically all the departments of the National Government and cooperated with the authorities along all lines of progress. Large groups of citizens were the beneficiaries of the activities of the Association—students, railroad men, and postal employees in particular. Entire communities were awakened to new conceptions of civic responsibilities through the work of the playgrounds and other community features. The history of the activities of the Y M C A in Czechoslovakia thus far is an essential part of the history of the beginnings of this miracle nation, a wonderful promise issuing from out the wreckage of war.

The Y in  
Ruthenia and  
Upper Silesia

## CHAPTER LX

### THE LARGER HORIZON

The essential features of civilian welfare work for fighting men have been illustrated by this review of the work of the American Y M C A in the World War.

In the midst of all the new and ingenious horrors devised in the course of this struggle, there grew up a beneficent civilian service for the fighters developed on a scale so far surpassing all previous efforts that it may well be regarded as a new enterprise. The uniqueness of the experience rests not alone upon the significance of huge totals. Even more striking than the volume of service was the fact of the recognition of welfare work as an essential part of modern military organization. This recognition marks a new understanding of the fundamental principles of human efficiency and a new attitude toward the men who take up arms in the service of the nation.

*The Lessons of  
Experience*

The community received its welfare work from the same source as it received its schools, its hospitals, and its benevolent organizations. All these were originated within the circle of organized Christianity and were fostered under directly religious auspices. The incorporation of welfare work into the very structure of the American Army and Navy indicates here, as in the case of the school and the hospital, the final acceptance by the community of constructive social activities nurtured to maturity by the Christian churches. Those whose zeal has been directed toward "freeing popular institutions from sectarian control" need to be reminded that history gives one unvarying account of the origin of these beneficent enterprises. Religious institutions have blazed the way in making the spirit of divine compassion effective in human life. Welfare service came into the armies of the British Empire and the United States through a civilian religious society, the Young Men's Christian Association, for the simple reason that this was the only agency that had developed an organized work for soldiers, sailors, and marines on a basis broad enough to secure an effective program and adequate support.

The conditions under which welfare work was carried on in a war-confused world have been dealt with in detail in this book. An

attempt has been made to picture truly the development of service through a hundred complex phases in the experience of the American Army. Some idea has also been presented of the problems that faced the Y M C A in the snows of the north, on the sands of the desert, and amid the baffling situations incident to social revolution and social reconstruction.

Through this wide experience the main lessons of welfare have been learned.

The essential program has been proved by the severest tests, and the order of importance of the various features under different conditions has been fairly well established. Equipment has been perfected to a very large degree; in another war there need be very little guessing in the matter of material supplies. Where the work is to be conducted by civilian agencies, it will be possible in the future to set up at the start an effective working organization. The type of worker required for each situation is now understood; and the problems incident to their supervision, while they will always be serious, are no longer dark enigmas. The value of women workers is established beyond the question of controversy.

While it cannot be said that the intricate problem of relationship with the military and naval authorities has been solved, much progress has been made in this direction. Certainly there is a full apprehension of the fact that no welfare work of the future can reach the full height of success unless it is coordinated with the fighting program much more closely. Certain necessary steps are made quite clear by the Y M C A experience. Where the Army and Navy have assumed the complete responsibility for welfare work, this coordination will be a problem of internal organization. Yet even here one problem will inevitably arise. The religious needs of men are real, and the home community will never permit a citizen fighting force to fare forth without full provision for religious ministrations. The chaplains, indispensable as is their function, can never supply the deficiency; because the essence of true religion is its voluntary character. If, as in the case of the school, the government disclaims all responsibility, some provision satisfactory to the strong religious agencies of such countries as the United States and Canada, and in the British Empire generally, will have to find a place in the program.

Similarly, where the government authorities or the national establishments take over the work a new means must be devised to bring the home community into close touch with it. Like the Red

The  
Essential  
Program  
Established

Relationships  
With the  
Army and  
Navy

Cross, the welfare agencies were a channel for the expression of the interest and affection of the people. Welfare work gains a large part of its effectiveness by reason of this fact. It forms a vital link between the folks at home and the boy at the front. It is a very grave question whether the home community will ever be willing to be cut off from a very direct and definite share in ministering to the human needs of its own sons and brothers.

The service of women for fighting men is nothing new. The sisterhoods have been on the battlefield for centuries and these pages record that all organized relief and welfare work owes its origin to a woman. Since Florence Nightingale's day, trained nurses have taken their place in the service by supreme right. In the World War, however, women participated generally in every activity of the national service except actual combat; and in certain cases, as in the "Battalion of Death," it is understood that they even fought valiantly in the lines.

In welfare service, they had established themselves long before America entered the World War; and while they never appeared in American welfare service in such numbers as in the British agencies, thousands of the best type of American womanhood were enlisted. They were accepted largely for overseas service. Little need be said of the result; it is known to everyone. They conducted all phases of the work except strictly front-line service and they were actually under fire on many occasions. If welfare work means in any sense an effort to surround the soldier with normal conditions of life, it is difficult to see how women can be left out. It is true that the use of women frees more men for active service, it is true that women are accepted by the fighting men with less question than able-bodied men; but these are not determining reasons. Women have won their place in welfare work primarily because they bring to the service what no man can ever bring. They are the real representatives of the American home; they sum up in their persons and in their service that which above all else keeps the balance of a normal life. Those who had most to do with the direct management of personnel are practically at one in predicting that future welfare service will make use of a far larger number of women workers than of men.

The World War was an agent of destruction and we have no disposition to attempt to palliate the indictment. But it is true that incident to the work of destruction the progress of knowledge was enormously advanced in certain fields. For example, it has been

pointed out frequently that the airplane has reached a point of perfection that it could not have attained in 50 years of normal life.

In an entirely different field, welfare work for fighting men dis-<sup>The International Spirit</sup> closed a whole new range of international service. It became, as it were, a conveyer of social ideas from one nation to another. This may be illustrated particularly by reference to the American work.

In America and in Great Britain models of welfare work were in existence before the World War. To many other countries, it came as a startling revelation. Even in France there was very little general apprehension of its possibilities until the Foyers du Soldat were strengthened in time of most urgent need and made themselves indispensable. In such nations as Greece and Roumania, the very limited efforts of the Y M C A met with a tremendous response. Wherever the service appeared it attracted the attention not only of the soldier but of the civilian population as well. It appeared as something new under the sun—something new and truly wonderful.

Welfare work as conducted by the American Y M C A was not simply a "stunt"; it represented some of the best social forces in American life. It was a vehicle bearing the results of a very wide experience and of the peculiar genius of our conglomerate nation for social experimentation. The American Y M C A itself is a product of our soil; and in the war, it added to its own resources the riches of a hundred other lines of humanitarian effort. As it spread out over the world, on a scale large enough to be truly impressive, it carried far and wide the knowledge of the results of American effort. It showed that what the other nations call our "passion for uplift" is not so dangerous as they were inclined to believe, that service does not necessarily mean patronage or coddling. It exhibited the conception of a Christianity of practical effort, dissipating many fears generated by oppressive religious systems of the Old World. While we may have nothing to teach many of our distant neighbors about sheer muscle-building, we have really discovered at least the first elements of the meaning of play. In physical training we have developed a trained profession taught to regard athletics as a character-building force. Education of the under-privileged has been our specialty. It makes no difference that this has sometimes been too superficial; it is a start on the right road. Then, American welfare work shared to a certain extent American prosperity and with its greater resources was able to extend its service beyond those suffering under war conditions and with limited means at their command.

International  
Goodwill

The welfare work of the American Y M C A has opened up new channels through which the goodwill of the American people may flow to other nations now sorely in need. International cooperation cannot live on eloquent speeches. The international spirit is not something with which we can endow ourselves by a process of strenuous wishing. It is only by working together that the peoples of the world can come to understand each other. There is nothing that holds more promise for the future than the fact that there exist all over Europe today activities of a humanizing character originated and in some cases still carried on by the American Y M C A. The nations are using our forms of recreation, our methods of education; they are establishing boys' camps and social centers like ours. They have had our help in the times of need; they will not soon forget us.

Our greatest gain will unquestionably come in the course of our giving. But it will not all go in that direction. These nations whom we have befriended have much to teach us. Their friendship in the years to come may mean more to us than ours has ever meant to them. Some of them are more experienced than others in "giving till it hurts." What little we have sacrificed of our surplus may be but a tithe of what they may be able to give to us in return.

Increased  
Experience

The finest reward of all service is increased ability to serve. The experience of the welfare workers of America has taught them far more than they ever knew before of the actual needs of the young men of America under a variety of circumstances. They have also learned something of the means by which these needs may be satisfied and, perhaps, from bitter experience, the attitude one must take toward his fellows when he wishes to offer the helping hand. The welfare experience has also brought within our range of vision the actual conditions under which men and women in other nations must carry on the fight for life and freedom from tyranny, and how and where American aid may be applied most effectively. Throughout the harrowing experiences of the years of desperate battle, humanity has appeared at its best and at its worst. We have seen to what depths man can descend; we have seen to what heights he can rise.

As the war fades slowly out of the vivid consciousness of mankind its lessons are one by one forgotten. The purpose of this book will have been fulfilled if it succeeds in recalling to the minds and consciences of thoughtful Americans something of the significance of the great experience through which we have passed. Beyond all the details, it is our duty to remember that our soldiers, sailors, and

marines once participated in a glorious campaign, and that with them went an army of service representing in the midst of the horrors of war the ideals of the land in whose highest interest they were fighting.

Civilian services were the visible embodiment of the nation behind the enterprise, a nation whose possibilities for future service to the whole world are beyond the power of pen to exaggerate. The future is not a question primarily of kings and statesmen, of balance of power and ideal boundaries; but it is a future of men and women whose ways are human ways and whose problems are human problems; and in the final issue, these men and women will be set on the path toward a better society not by laws and regulations, not by books or sermons, but by the irresistible force of lives devoted without limit to personal service for mankind.

The Value of  
Civilian Service



## **APPENDIXES**



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## APPENDIX I: EXECUTIVE ORGANIZATION

### 1. Conference on Army Work at Garden City, N. Y., April 10, 1917

The Preamble and Resolutions that follow were adopted unanimously:

#### PREAMBLE

The Young Men's Christian Associations, with the approval of the Government of the United States and with the cooperation of the officers of the Army and Navy, during the past nineteen years (including the periods of the Spanish-American War and the mobilization upon the Mexican Border) have helpfully served the men of the Army and Navy. The Associations are also doing a large and successful work of a similar character in the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa, and among the prisoners-of-war. Inasmuch as we now face the concentration in the United States of large bodies of men in training and mobilization camps as well as a large increase of the regular Army and Navy, therefore, be it

#### RESOLVED:

(1) That the Young Men's Christian Association Movement of America should undertake, in a comprehensive and united way, to promote the physical, mental, social and spiritual welfare of the one million and more men of the military and naval forces of the United States, and in doing this the Associations should continue to cooperate with other civic, social, philanthropic, and religious movements. They should also particularly seek to strengthen the hands of the Chaplains' Corps and to serve the Churches.

(2) That there should be raised a fund of at least \$3,000,000 to meet the necessary expenses involved in serving the men of the Army and Navy in state and national camps during the year 1917, and that a War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, responsible to the International Committee, should undertake with the cooperation of the State Committees the raising of this fund during the next thirty days.

- (a) The War Work Council should distribute responsibility among the various states, cities and districts for raising the necessary funds.
- (b) The War Work Council should mobilize the Association forces, International, State and Local, in raising the funds and conducting the work contemplated.
- (c) The War Work funds and accounts should be kept separate from those of the International and State Committees.
- (d) The War Work Council, in consultation with the State and International Committees, should prepare a budget and apportion, upon

an equitable basis, the funds received. The Council should also establish an accounting and audit system for all expenditures of the War Work funds.

(3) That the Associations should augment greatly their efforts on behalf of men and boys in the industries which are so essential to the military and naval success of America and the allied countries.

(4) That the American Associations should continue their practical and helpful service in the prisoners-of-war and training camps in the war zones of Europe, Asia, and Africa, calling for an estimated budget this year of \$2,000,000.

(5) That the Association Movement should enlarge its plans so as to minister to interned aliens on lines followed in the prisoners-of-war camps abroad.

(6) That the Associations be called upon to do, all in their power to promote studies in citizenship and to inspire men and boys with true patriotism and in so doing to emphasize the principles of International goodwill and of the Kingdom of God, on which alone an enduring world order can be based.

(7) That, in view of the unusual demands now confronting the young manhood of our nation, the Associations should redouble their efforts to make available their organization, leadership, and equipment in developing young men and boys in character, physical vitality, and mental efficiency.

## *2. President Wilson's Appreciation and Acceptance of Extended Association Service*

The White House, Washington, 25 April, 1917.

My dear Doctor Mott:

May I not, in view of the approaching meeting of the War Work Council, express to you the very high value I have attached to the work which has been accomplished by the Young Men's Christian Association in behalf of our own Army and Navy as well as in behalf of the prisoners of war and the men in the training camps of Europe, and may I not express also my sincere personal interest in the large plans of the War Work Council for the work which is still ahead of the Association?

Cordially and faithfully yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

Dr. John R. Mott, 124 East 28th Street, New York City.

## *3. Army and Navy Orders Authorizing Association War Work*

War Department, Washington.

May 9, 1917.

### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 57

II.—The following Order by the President, issued April 26, 1917, is published to the Army for the information and guidance of all concerned:—

The Young Men's Christian Association has, in the present emergency, as under similar circumstances in the past, tendered its services for the benefit

of enlisted men in both arms of the service. This organization is prepared by experience, approved methods, and assured resources to serve especially the troops in camp and field. It seems best for the interest of the service that it shall continue as a voluntary civilian organization; however, the results obtained are so beneficial and bear such a direct relation to efficiency, inasmuch as the Association provision contributes to the happiness, content, and morale of the personnel, that in order to unify the civilian betterment activities in the Army and further the work of the organization that has demonstrated its ability to render a service desired by both officers and men, official recognition is hereby given the Young Men's Christian Association as a valuable adjunct and asset to the service. Officers are enjoined to render the fullest practicable assistance and cooperation in the maintenance and extension of the Association, both at permanent posts and stations, and in camps and field. To this end attention of officers is called to the precedent and policy already established in

(1) An Act, approved May 31, 1902, giving authority to the Secretary of War to grant permission by revocable license for the erection and maintenance of Association buildings on military reservations for the promotion of the social, physical, intellectual, and moral welfare of enlisted men.

(2) An Act of Congress making appropriation for the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, and referred to in General Orders, No. 54, War Department, 1910, wherein the furnishing of heat and light for the above mentioned buildings was authorized.

(3) General Orders, No. 39, War Department, 1914 (paragraph 80, Compilation of Orders, 1881-1915), wherein commanding officers were enjoined (a) to provide all proper facilities practicable to aid the Association; (b) to assign suitable site; (c) to supply transportation for Association tentage and equipment; (d) to care for and police Association tents and grounds; (e) to accord accredited secretaries the privilege of the purchase of supplies from the Quartermaster's Department; (f) to furnish where practicable, tentage and shelter.

(2586501 A-A, G. O.)

By order of the Secretary of War,

Official:

H. P. McCAIN, the Adjutant-General

*Note: For Navy authorization see GENERAL ORDERS, No. 313, July 26, 1917, Appendix IV, pp. 542-544.*

#### 4. National War Work Council

##### MEN WHO SERVED WITH THE NATIONAL WAR WORK COUNCIL

Charles E. Adams, Cleveland, Ohio  
 G. I. Alden, Worcester, Mass.  
 Joseph T. Alling, Rochester, N. Y.  
 C. B. Ames, Oklahoma City, Okla.  
 C. C. Anderson, Boise, Idaho  
 L. L. Anderson, Louisville, Ky.  
 F. C. Atherton, Honolulu, H. I.

F. W. Ayer, Camden, N. J.  
 Burke Baker, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 E. H. Baker, Cleveland, Ohio  
 Rhodes S. Baker, Dallas, Texas  
 Clarence A. Barbour, Rochester, N. Y.  
 G. A. Ball, Muncie, Ind.  
 Bruce Barton, New York

- Joseph D. Bascom, St. Louis, Mo.  
H. M. Beardsley, Kansas City, Mo.  
A. C. Bedford, New York  
Arthur E. Bestor, Chautauqua, N. Y.  
L. A. Bize, Tampa, Fla.  
W. B. Bizzel, College Station, Texas  
Corwin Black, New York  
Edward W. Bok, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Edward H. Bonsall, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Borden Burr, Birmingham, Ala.  
R. A. Booth, Eugene, Oregon  
William Boyd, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Robert S. Brewster, New York  
Charles H. Brough, Little Rock, Ark.  
E. R. Brown, Dallas, Texas  
George Warren Brown, St. Louis, Mo.  
O. E. Brown, Chattanooga, Tenn.  
John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va.  
Charles S. Burch, New York  
Kenyon L. Butterfield, Amherst, Mass.  
S. J. Carpenter, New York  
A. B. Cass, Los Angeles, Cal.  
Hugh Chalmers, Detroit, Mich.  
C. C. Chapman, Fullerton, Cal.  
E. P. Clark, Los Angeles, Cal.  
J. Wm. Clark, Newark, N. J.  
E. Harold Cluett, Troy, N. Y.  
Wm. Sloane Coffin, New York  
Henry A. Colgate, New York  
Richard M. Colgate, New York  
John J. Cornwell, Charleston, W. Va.  
E. J. Couper, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Hanford Crawford, St. Louis, Mo.  
Thomas Crimmins, New York  
W. H. Crosby, Buffalo, N. Y.  
Lewis A. Crossett, Boston, Mass.  
E. C. Day, Helena, Mont.  
Samuel S. Dennis, Newark, N. J.  
Walter T. Diack, New York  
James B. Dickensen, Little Rock, Ark.  
Clarence Phelps Dodge, Colorado  
Springs, Col.  
Cleveland E. Dodge, New York  
Cleveland H. Dodge, New York  
Marcellus Hartley Dodge, New York  
Robert Dollar, San Francisco, Cal.  
Nelson Y. Dungan, Somerville, N. J.  
John J. Eagan, Atlanta, Ga.  
Douglas L. Elliman, New York  
Richard P. Ernst, Cincinnati, Ohio  
C. W. Fairbanks, Indianapolis, Ind.  
B. H. Fancher, New York  
S. P. Fenn, Cleveland, Ohio  
Henry J. Fisher, New York  
James B. Forgan, Chicago, Ill.  
T. J. Freeman, New Orleans, La.  
J. W. Fristoe, St. Louis, Mo.  
Wilfred W. Fry, Camden, N. J.  
F. H. Fuller, Providence, R. I.  
Geo. S. Gardiner, Laurel, Mass.  
Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Md.  
Saml. H. Gillespie, Morristown, N. J.  
Philip H. Gray, Detroit, Mich.  
Edwin Farnham Greene, Boston  
W. E. S. Griswold, New York  
E. W. Halford, New York  
John R. Hall, New York  
Ralph W. Harbison, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
E. S. Harkness, New York  
Clarence J. Hicks, New York  
W. Averell Harriman, New York  
John C. Haswell, Dayton, Ohio  
Wm. H. Hays, Indianapolis, Ind.  
E. W. Hazen, Haddam, Conn.  
A. E. Hedstrom, Buffalo, N. Y.  
William Heyburn, Louisville, Ky.  
H. L. Hopkins, Clark, S. D.  
J. T. Horne, Tuscaloosa, Ala.  
F. E. House, Duluth, Minn.  
E. O. Howard, Salt Lake City, Utah  
John Sherman Hoyt, New York  
Charles L. Huston, Coatesville, Pa.  
W. F. Hypes, Chicago, Ill.  
Arthur Curtiss James, New York  
Mrs. Arthur Curtiss James, New York  
Philip L. James, New York  
J. E. Jarrett, San Antonio, Texas  
J. N. Jarvie, Montclair, N. J.  
Alba B. Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Arthur S. Johnson, Boston, Mass.  
B. F. Jones, Jr., Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Clyde R. Joy, Keokuk, Ia.  
E. Roger Kemp, Tulsa, Okla.  
Chas. W. Kent, University, Va.  
Walter Kidde, Montclair, N. J.  
F. J. Kingsbury, Bridgeport, Conn.

- W. M. Kingsley, New York  
 Franklin B. Kirkbride, New York  
 R. H. Kissell, Morristown, N. J.  
 S. S. Kresge, Detroit, Mich.  
 W. P. Kretchmar, Greenville, Miss.  
 W. M. Ladd, Portland, Ore.  
 H. M. Leland, Detroit, Mich.  
 T. S. Lippy, Seattle, Wash.  
 P. S. Livermore, Ithaca, N. Y.  
 C. J. Livingood, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 Horatio G. Lloyd, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 James H. Lockhart, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 James Logan, Worcester, Mass.  
 R. A. Long, Kansas City, Mo.  
 Wm. G. Low, Jr., New York  
 Charles W. McAlpin, New York  
 D. Hunter McAlpin, New York  
 E. M. McBrier, New York  
 William McCarroll, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Cyrus H. McCormick, Chicago, Ill.  
 Vance C. McCormick, Washington,  
     D. C.  
 George H. McFadden, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 T. S. McLane, New York  
 J. G. McNary, El Paso, Texas  
 W. Douglas Mackenzie, Hartford, Conn.  
 Robert F. Maddox, Atlanta, Ga.  
 A. R. Mann, Ithaca, N. Y.  
 Alfred E. Marling, New York  
 George W. Marston, San Diego, Cal.  
 Samuel Mather, Cleveland, Ohio  
 D. B. Meacham, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 A. W. Mellon, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 L. Wilbur Messer, Chicago, Ill.  
 William B. Millar, New York  
 Albert M. Miller, Columbus, Ohio  
 Carl E. Milliken, Augusta, Me.  
 G. H. Milliken, New York  
 W. S. Moore, Duluth, Minn.  
 Wylie L. Morgan, Knoxville, Tenn.  
 Wm. Fellowes Morgan, New York  
 H. A. Moses, Mittineague, Mass.  
 Frank H. Moss, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 John P. Munn, New York  
 William D. Murray, Plainfield, N. J.  
 H. S. Norton, Gary, Ind.  
 J. K. Orr, Atlanta, Ga.  
 Francis W. Parker, Chicago, Ill.  
 R. B. Paterson, Spokane, Wash.  
 James A. Patten, Chicago, Ill.  
 F. W. Pearsall, New York  
 George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia,  
     Pa.  
 Leroy Percy, Greenville, Miss.  
 George W. Perkins, New York  
 John Howe Peyton, Nashville, Tenn.  
 Lyman L. Pierce, San Francisco, Cal.  
 T. Coleman du Pont, New York  
 H. Kirke Porter, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 James H. Post, New York  
 Harold I. Pratt, New York  
 Herbert L. Pratt, New York  
 Frank Presbrey, New York  
 Wm. Cooper Procter, Cincinnati, O.  
 J. H. Reynolds, Conway, Ark.  
 O. C. Reynolds, New York  
 R. G. Rhett, Charleston, S. C.  
 Charles J. Rhoads, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 I. B. Rhodes, Portland, Ore.  
 R. L. Rigdon, San Francisco, Cal.  
 J. D. Ringer, Omaha, Neb.  
 Noah C. Rogers, New York  
 W. A. Rogers, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 J. M. Russell, Somersworth, N. H.  
 Francis B. Sayre, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Wm. Jay Schieffelin, New York  
 Mortimer L. Schiff, New York  
 A. M. Schoyer, Chicago, Ill.  
 Frank Scott, Cleveland, Ohio  
 Frederick H. Scott, Chicago, Ill.  
 Henry W. Scovill, Waterbury, Conn.  
 John L. Severance, Cleveland, Ohio  
 Finley J. Shepard, New York  
 Mrs. Finley J. Shepard, New York  
 E. L. Shuey, Dayton, Ohio  
 William P. Sidley, Chicago, Ill.  
 H. H. Simmons, Hillsboro, Texas  
 F. Louis Slade, New York  
 William Sloane, New York  
 George Otis Smith, Washington, D. C.  
 Robert E. Speer, New York  
 James M. Speers, Montclair, N. J.  
 M. B. Speir, Charlotte, N. C.  
 Joseph M. Steele, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 J. Ross Stevenson, Princeton, N. J.

## SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

Anson Phelps Stokes, New Haven,  
Conn.  
Leslie M. Stratton, Memphis, Tenn.  
Robert E. Strawbridge, Philadelphia,  
Pa.  
Ben. B. Taylor, Baton Rouge, La.  
Henry B. Thompson, Wilmington, Del.  
Frank G. Thomson, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Samuel Thorne, Jr., New York  
W. V. S. Thorne, New York  
H. H. Timken, Canton, Ohio  
J. T. Uelborn, Denver, Colo.  
W. J. Van Patten, Burlington, Vt.  
R. B. von Kleinsmid, Tucson, Ariz.  
J. W. Vrooman, New York  
James Wakefield, Honolulu, H. I.  
H. C. Wallace, Des Moines, Ia.  
Rodman Wanamaker, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Lucien T. Warner, Bridgeport, Conn.  
Ridley Watts, New York  
C. C. Webber, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Charles F. Weed, Boston, Mass.  
F. E. Weyerhaeuser, St. Paul, Minn.  
J. R. Wharton, Butte, Mont.  
Francis A. White, Baltimore, Md.  
Arthur Whitney, Mendham, N. J.  
H. S. Wilkinson, Syracuse, N. Y.  
B. B. Williams, Mount Vernon, Ohio  
Roger H. Williams, New York  
Geo. Grafton Wilson, Cambridge,  
Mass.  
Luther B. Wilson, New York

## MEN WHO SERVED ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

William Sloane, *Chairman*, New YorkWilliam Fellowes Morgan, *Vice-Chairman*, New York

	Date Elected
Bruce Barton, New York City.....	June 8, 1917
A. C. Bedford, New York City.....	June 19, 1918
Robt. S. Brewster, New York City.....	June 19, 1918
John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Virginia.....	Aug. 22, 1918
Henry A. Colgate, New York City.....	May 10, 1917
Richard M. Colgate, New York City.....	April 28, 1917
William H. Crosby, Buffalo, N. Y.....	April 13, 1920
Lewis A. Crossett, Boston, Mass.....	April 28, 1917
Walter T. Diack, New York City.....	April 28, 1917
Cleveland E. Dodge, New York City.....	April 28, 1917
T. Coleman du Pont, Wilmington, Del.....	April 13, 1920
John J. Eagan, Atlanta, Ga.....	June 19, 1918
H. J. Fisher, New York City.....	Jan. 30, 1919
Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Md.....	April 13, 1920
John R. Hall, New York City.....	Jan. 30, 1919
Ralph W. Harbison, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	April 28, 1917
John Sherman Hoyt, New York City.....	April 28, 1917
Arthur Curtiss James, New York City.....	June 19, 1919
J. N. Jarvie, Montclair, N. J.....	April 13, 1920
E. Rogers Kemp, Tulsa, Okla.....	April 13, 1920
W. M. Kingsley, New York City.....	April 13, 1920
F. J. Kingsbury, Bridgeport, Conn.....	April 13, 1920
F. B. Kirkbride, New York City.....	Jan. 30, 1919
James H. Lockhart, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	April 13, 1920

	Date Elected
James Logan, Worcester, Mass.	Mar. 15, 1918
Wm. Gilman Low, Jr., New York City	April 28, 1917
Alfred E. Marling, New York City	April 28, 1917
Samuel Mather, Cleveland, Ohio	April 13, 1920
Chas. W. McAlpin, New York City	April 13, 1920
Cyrus H. McCormick, Chicago, Ill.	April 13, 1920
James G. McNary, El Paso, Texas	April 13, 1920
L. Wilbur Messer, Chicago, Ill.	May 23, 1917
F. W. Parker, Chicago, Ill.	Aug. 22, 1918
George W. Perkins, New York City	April 28, 1917
Harold I. Pratt, New York City	April 28, 1917
Wm. Cooper Procter, Cincinnati, Ohio	Mar. 15, 1918
F. W. Ramsey, Cleveland, Ohio	April 13, 1920
Charles J. Rhoads, Philadelphia, Pa.	Feb. 8, 1918
Mortimer L. Schiff, New York City	Aug. 22, 1918
John L. Severance, Cleveland, Ohio	April 28, 1917
E. L. Shuey, Dayton, Ohio	Mar. 6, 1919
William P. Sidley, Chicago, Ill.	April 28, 1917
F. Louis Slade, New York City	April 28, 1917
Joseph M. Steele, Philadelphia, Pa.	April 13, 1920
Lucien T. Warner, Bridgeport, Conn.	Feb. 8, 1918
Roger H. Williams, New York City	Aug. 22, 1918
Geo. Grafton Wilson, Cambridge, Mass.	Mar. 15, 1918
Rev. J. Ross Stevenson, Princeton, N. J.	Cooperating Member
Bishop Luther B. Wilson, New York City	Cooperating Member

## MEN WHO SERVED ON THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

George W. Perkins, *Chairman*, New York

	Date Elected
T. Coleman du Pont, Wilmington, Del.	May 3, 1917
John J. Eagan, Atlanta, Ga.	Mar. 15, 1918
W. Averell Harriman, New York City	May 3, 1917
John Sherman Hoyt, New York City	April 28, 1917
Arthur Curtiss James, New York City	June 19, 1919
Alba B. Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa.	April 28, 1917
E. R. Kemp, Tulsa, Okla.	Mar. 15, 1918
F. J. Kingsbury, Bridgeport, Conn.	April 28, 1917
W. M. Kingsley, New York City	April 28, 1917
F. B. Kirkbride, New York City	Mar. 15, 1918
Chas. W. McAlpin, New York City	April 28, 1917
Wm. Fellowes Morgan, New York City	April 28, 1917
Harold I. Pratt, New York City	Mar. 15, 1918
Chas. J. Rhoads, Philadelphia, Pa.	Feb. 8, 1918
Mortimer L. Schiff, New York City	April 28, 1917
A. M. Schoyer, Chicago, Ill.	April 28, 1917
F. Louis Slade, New York City	April 28, 1917
William Sloane, New York City	Mar. 15, 1918
William P. Sidley, Chicago, Ill.	Mar. 15, 1918

	Date Elected
Charles F. Weed, Boston, Mass. ....	Mar. 15, 1918
Roger H. Williams, New York City .....	Mar. 15, 1918
Cleveland H. Dodge, Treasurer, <i>ex officio</i> , New York	

## MEMBERS OF THE COOPERATING COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCHES

Bishop Luther B. Wilson, Chairmar, New York City  
 President J. Ross Stevenson, Vice-Chairman, Princeton, N. J.  
 Dr. Peter Ainslee, Baltimore, Md.  
 Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, Rochester, N. Y.  
 Dean Charles R. Brown, New Haven, Conn.  
 Dr. William Adams Brown, New York City  
 Bishop Charles S. Burch, New York City  
 Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Bishop Earl Cranston, Washington, D. C.  
 Bishop Eugene R. Hendrix, Kansas City, Mo.  
 Bishop William Lawrence, Boston, Mass.  
 President W. Douglas Mackenzie, Hartford, Conn.  
 Dr. William H. Roberts, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Dr. Robert E. Speer, New York City  
 Dr. John Timothy Stone, Chicago, Ill.  
 Dr. George W. Truett, Dallas, Texas  
 Dr. James I. Vance, Nashville, Tenn.

Note.—Only five members of the Committee were first appointed; President J. Ross Stevenson, Bishop Wilson, Bishop Burch, Dr. Barbour, and President W. Douglas Mackenzie. The Committee was increased later to seventeen members.

## MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S COOPERATING COMMITTEE

Mrs. Arthur Curtiss James, Chairman  
 Mrs. William Woodward, Vice-Chairman  
 Mrs. Monroe D. Robinson, Vice-Chairman  
 Mrs. Vanderbilt Webb, Vice-Chairman  
 Miss Mabel Choate, Vice-Chairman  
 Mrs. Charles B. Alexander, Treasurer  
 Mrs. John Magee, Secretary

## MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Arthur Curtiss James, Chairman	Mrs. John Sherman Hoyt
Mrs. C. B. Alexander, Treasurer	Mrs. Dave H. Morris
Mrs. John Magee, Secretary	Mrs. H. I. Pratt
Mrs. Robert Bacon	Mrs. Douglas Robinson
Mrs. A. C. Bedford	Mrs. Monroe Robinson
Mrs. James Byrne	Miss Louise B. Scott
Miss Mabel Choate	Mrs. F. Louis Slade
Mrs. John R. Drexel	Mrs. Wm. D. Sloane
Mrs. Geo. R. Fearing, Jr.	Mrs. Willard D. Straight
Mrs. F. Gray Griswold	Mrs. J. Todhunter Thompson
Mrs. E. S. Harkness	Mrs. Vanderbilt Webb
Mrs. E. H. Harriman	Mrs. Wm. Woodward

## OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL AT THE TIME OF ITS DISSOLUTION

William Sloane, New York, Chairman  
 Wm. Fellowes Morgan, New York, Vice-Chairman  
 John Sherman Hoyt, New York, Vice-Chairman  
 Cleveland H. Dodge, New York, Treasurer  
 W. D. Bishop, Deputy Treasurer  
 Walter T. Diack, New York, Recording Secretary  
 John R. Mott, New York, General Secretary

## WAR WORK DEPARTMENT EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES IN U. S. 1917-1920

EASTERN DEPARTMENT	SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT
A. G. Knebel, succeeded by	W. E. Adams, succeeded by
Herbert P. Lansdale, succeeded by	H. H. Simmons, succeeded by
William F. Hirsch	Chas. Kurtzhaltz
NORTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT	WESTERN DEPARTMENT
E. W. Hearne, succeeded by	F. A. McCarl
Arthur E. Hoffmire	
SOUTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT	CENTRAL DEPARTMENT
S. A. Ackley, succeeded by	A. H. Lichtry, succeeded by
R. H. King	Geo. B. Landis

## PARIS COMMITTEE'S FORMULATED PLANS, MAY-JUNE, 1917

The first move was to:

1. Obtain a club house which would serve as a center and home for all Americans in Paris engaged in war work.
2. Abundantly equipped reading and writing rooms.
3. Comfortable lounging rooms.
4. A room for billiards.
5. Shower baths.
6. Information bureau and mail address, one of the most valuable services to render.
7. Class rooms for French or for lectures.
8. Music room, etc.

Every effort will be made to provide both indoor and outdoor recreation for the men when they are off duty. Study rooms will be available for those taking special courses of military study. Efforts will be made to ensure that Americans are enabled to see the very best features of French and British life.

\* \* \* \*

To every brigade of 5000 men will be attached a Y M C A unit. This unit will consist of five carefully selected Secretaries, each one especially well fitted for his own particular part of the work. These men will live with this same division from the time they first go into training until the time that they are

living under fire at the front and it will be distinctly understood in the selection of the Secretaries that there is no place for slackers in this service. Men only of the finest caliber and of the most self-sacrificing and daring spirit can perform this work as it is our desire and plan that it shall be followed out.

Besides the five Secretaries this unit will bring with it one hut suitable for the men of this brigade with the equipment for the hut and a supporting sum of from \$10,000 to \$15,000 per unit.

The American Army & Navy YMCA of France has not yet had an opportunity of proving fully what it can do, nor the results that it can obtain, but it can with reason look forward to performing a most valuable work from every point of view, spiritual, economic, military, because some of the most valuable leaders in the British and Canadian YMCA's that have won such splendid words of praise and appreciation from the General and the Admirals in these armies belong to our home association and have been working with the armies of Great Britain since the commencement of the war. The American Army & Navy YMCA of France therefore starts off with all the valuable experience thus gathered and has behind it the support of a remarkable War Council of the YMCA of the United States covering every State of the Union. There will be no lack of funds and there is no lack of the most earnest spirit and untiring devotion offered for this work. Only men of the most tried ability will be engaged to head the departments covering all fields of activity and the plans that have already been made and put under way are not unworthy of our great people and our great institutions.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS—JULY 31, 1918

The following extracts, from the agreement between the British and American Associations, contain the fundamental principles governing the relations between the two organizations.

##### A. General.

1.—It is considered not only permissible but desirable that wherever YMCA personnel and equipment are available they should be used to serve whatever men are in the area regardless of their nationality, until such times as their own Association has been advised of the situation and has made arrangements for dealing with it.

2.—It is agreed that in the event of the evacuation of an area by the troops of one nationality and its occupation by those of another, the YMCA in that area shall be occupied and managed by the YMCA representatives of the same nationality as the occupying troops.

\* \* \* \* \*

4.—No transfer shall be deemed to have taken place until such time as a Hut has been formally handed over in accordance with the rules hereinafter described and the completion of the documents attached hereto by the affixing of the signatures of both the outgoing and incoming Secretary as provided for.

##### B. Local Arrangements.

\* \* \* \* \*

6.—The earliest possible information shall be given to the other Association of the intended evacuation of any areas or centers as to ensure effectual transfer.

7.—When the troops of one nationality evacuate an area the outgoing Hut Leader shall remain in full charge of the Hut until on the arrival of the incoming Hut Leader the formal transfer has been effected.

8.—Before proceeding to the Hut to be occupied the incoming Hut Leader shall report to the District or Divisional Secretary of the outgoing Association, or his representative, and obtain from him written permission to take over the hut in question. No Hut Leader shall hand over his hut until requested to do so by an incoming Hut Leader who is in possession of written authority from a District or Divisional Secretary of the outgoing association.

9.—Until the transfer has been effected the outgoing Hut Leader will continue to serve the men stationed near his hut regardless of their nationality, the canteen sales during such period to be taken on account of the outgoing association.

#### C. Huts and Marquees.

10.—Huts and marquees transferred from one association to the other shall remain the property of the association which constructed them and shall be deemed to be held in trust for their owners, being temporarily transferred free of charge to the incoming association.

11.—It shall be permissible for the occupying Association to alter, improve and add to the existing premises in order to meet their special needs, but no removal or radical reconstruction shall be undertaken without the consent of the owners.

12.—No Hut or marquee shall be vacated until the representative of the incoming association shall have arrived or until mutually satisfactory arrangements have been made for the storage of merchandise and equipment and the guardianship of the hut or marquee.

## APPENDIX II: MILITARIZING THE Y M C A

### 1. *Militarizing Y M C A Personnel*

"April 28, 1917.

"My Dear Dr. Mott,

"The President has directed my attention to your suggestion that there is a large number of young men at present engaged in work of the Young Men's Christian Association on behalf of the Army and Navy of the United States, and also in the work of the Association on behalf of the men of the armies of the allied countries and in the prisoners-of-war camps of the various belligerents. Undoubtedly those young men are doing service for their country and their country's cause of a high order, and I would be very glad to have it made known through the publicity agencies of the Association that this Department recognizes all such work as being a service to the Government of the United States.

"Whether or not an exemption from military service shall automatically be made in favor of any such young men cannot now be determined, but, pending their actual call to the colors, this Department will recognize their service as directly in aid of the men in our own army.

"Cordially yours,

(Signed) "NEWTON D. BAKER,  
Secretary of War."

Note.—This letter was written because Y M C A Secretaries in France at the time of declaration of war inquired as to their Military Standing.

Office of the Adjutant-General,

Paris, France.

July 28, 1917.

Memorandum for the Secretary, Y M C A

From: The Adjutant-General, American Expeditionary Forces.

Subject: Y M C A Agents in the Zone of the Armies.

1. With reference to orders from these Headquarters governing the movements of your agents in the zone of the armies, your attention is invited to the grave responsibilities resting upon your organization in regard to the selection of your personnel which work in the zone of the armies.

2. This personnel should not only be selected with the greatest care, but should be thoroughly instructed in regulations and orders governing military personnel in the zone of the armies.

3. They should thoroughly understand that they are now considered as militarized and are, consequently, subject to all the rules, regulations and orders which apply to soldiers in the zone of the armies.

Paris, August 14, 1917.

To: The Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the North and the North-East.  
From: The Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces.

In reference to the good work accomplished by the American Red Cross and the Y M C A (Young Men's Christian Association) in the zone of the armies, I have the honor to call your attention to the fact that these organizations are now militarized and are under the control and supervision of the American military authorities.

In consequence, I believe that it will be beneficial if the military character of the representatives of these organizations is recognized when they work in the zone of the armies.

## 2. Defining Duties of Red Cross and Y M C A

### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 26

AUGUST 28, 1917.

The Red Cross will provide for the relief work and the Y M C A will provide for the amusement and recreation of the troops by means of its usual program of social, educational, physical, and religious activities. The foregoing partition is not intended to give a monopoly to either organization but is made to afford a guiding rule to all concerned. At small points needs for both agencies will exist but not on a sufficient scale to justify a double personnel. Where the Commanding Officer of such a point decides that this is the case, the details regarding equipment and personnel will be settled by conference between the senior representative of the Red Cross and the Y M C A. Whenever one of the agencies cannot furnish the necessary facilities for performing its functions, the other is authorized to render such assistance as it may be able to give.

## 3. Military Uniforms for Y M C A Workers

### HEADQUARTERS, AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

Memorandum for the G. Q. M.

August 24, 1917.

Subject: Articles of Supply

Authorized officials of the Y M C A will be supplied with the regulation uniform for enlisted men, to be paid for by themselves.

By command of Major-General Pershing

### A E F-Y M C A

Paris, October 16, 1917.

To the Adjutant-General, A. E. F. Headquarters, France.

In reply to your letter, No. 3409, of October 11th, asking for the information of the Commander-in-Chief what we have prescribed regarding uniforms for Y M C A workers, I am to send the following:

"All regular full-time secretaries of the A E F-Y M C A in France, should wear the regulation United States Army uniform with U. S. Army buttons. The cloth used in the uniform may be either that generally worn by enlisted men, or that worn by officers, according to the individual choice of the secretaries concerned.

"Whenever desired, the secretary may wear the leather or web belt.

"The regulation service hat should be worn. All secretaries who are now wearing caps should replace them with service hats as soon as possible.

"U. S. in bronze should invariably be worn on the right-hand side of the collar and the letters 'Y M C A' in bronze on the left-hand side of the collar; the Red Triangle, with the letters, 'Y M C A' embossed in red on a dark blue background, are to be worn on the right arm, just above the elbow.

"Secretaries may wear either canvas or leather leggings or woolen puttees. Boots that lace through entire length are authorized only outside of French cities or in inclement weather.

"As you will remember, an inquiry has just been made from your office as to whether there would be any objection to Y M C A Secretaries wearing on their campaign hats a hat-cord of red and dark blue intertwined.

"The wearing of the uniform by all full-time Y M C A workers who hold Y M C A Identity Books is obligatory.

"The full details of the Y M C A women workers' uniform have not been finally worked out. Information as to what we decide finally to prescribe in this regard will be forwarded to you in a few days."

Sincerely yours,

E. C. CARTER.

From: Adjutant-General  
To: Chief Secretary. Y M C A  
Subject: Uniforms Regulations.

November 7, 1917.

1. The uniforms regulations prescribed by you for Y M C A workers, forwarded to these headquarters, and dated October 16, 1917, are approved.
2. It is desired that these regulations be published and distributed among all Y M C A workers, and that you see that the prescribed uniform is worn.
3. It is also desired that you furnish a copy of these regulations to the Provost Marshal-General for his information.

#### *4. Assignment of Secretaries to Military Organizations*

HEADQUARTERS 26TH DIVISION

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

ORDERS.

France, June 23, 1918.

No. 90.

1. The Y M C A is authorized, as far as it may be agreeable to individual commanding officers concerned, to attach one to three of its secretaries to each of the following organizations. The secretaries so attached will accompany the units during their moves, and will endeavor, as far as circumstances may permit, to operate canteens and exercise the Y M C A activities within the organization to which attached. It is desired that the Commanding Officers extend every possible assistance to the representatives and facilitate the movement of their canteen equipment and supplies as far as practicable.

Hdqrs. Troop

102 Infantry

101 Machine Gun Bn.

103 Infantry

101 Infantry

104 Infantry

102 Machine Gun Bn.	101 Engineers
103 Machine Gun Bn.	101 Train Hdqrs. and Mil. Pol.
101 Field Artillery	101 Ammunition Train
102 Field Artillery	101 Supply Train
103 Field Artillery	101 Sanitary Train

By command of Major-General EDWARDS:

DUNCAN K. MAJOR, JR.,  
Chief of Staff.

OFFICIAL:

C. A. STEVENS,  
Adjutant General,  
Adjutant.

## 5. Military Rules Governing Travel of Welfare Workers

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS  
AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES**

July 7, 1918.

The following regulations covering the circulation of militarized civilians (members of the American Red Cross, Y M C A, Knights of Columbus and Salvation Army) attached to American Divisions, have been concurred in by French General Headquarters and these Headquarters, and are published for the information and guidance of all concerned.

*Rules Covering the Circulation in the Zone of the Armies of American Militarized Civilians Belonging to the A R C, Y M C A, Knights of Columbus, and Salvation Army, Attached to American Divisions.*

### I. Attaching of Militarized members to American Divisions.

(a) Militarized members of these organizations will only be permitted to join an American Division upon the request of the Division Commander. The request will be addressed to the Headquarters of the Society concerned, which will take steps to furnish the personnel called for by the Division Commander. This personnel will form part of the Division and will accompany it in its changes of station.

(b) Based on the written request of the Division Commander (or a certified copy of this request) and the Red Worker's permits of each person being sent out, the Assistant Provost Marshal, Paris, will deliver the necessary movement orders to enable militarized members to join, without delaying en route, the Division to which they have been assigned.

(c) The Assistant Provost Marshal, Paris, will furnish daily to the *Service de la Circulation aux Armées* (S C A) a list of militarized members to whom movement orders have been issued.

This list will contain:

1. Name and surname of the member.
  2. Number of Red Worker's Permit.
  3. Reference to the request from the Division Commander for Personnel.
- (d) Travel by Automobile.

1. Whenever militarized members join American Divisions by automobile transportation, the necessary blue permits will be issued by the Assistant Provost Marshal, Paris, and the request for personnel from the Division Commander (or a certified copy thereof).

2. Pink automobile passes required for automobiles will be issued:

(a) By the Chief of the Office des Sections Alliés (O S A) for vehicles duly registered in said office.

(b) By the *Service de la Circulation aux Armées* for all others.

II. Circulation of Militarized members after they are attached to American Divisions.

(a) Circulation in the zone of the Armies.

1. Within the divisional area of the division to which they are attached. To circulate within the divisional area, militarized members will be subject to the same rules as the military personnel of the division. They will be able to travel only with the authorization of the Provost Marshal of the division.

2. Outside the divisional area of the division to which they are attached. The Provost Marshal will issue a movement order and will inform the French liaison officer attached to the staff of the division of the authorization so issued. These movement orders will only be granted for trips of short duration on duty.

(b) To leave the zone of the Armies.

1. To go to the Headquarters of their Society, or any other place on duty. The Provost Marshal has authority to deliver to militarized members movement orders good for a maximum time of one month and valid only for one trip (going and return) without stopping in the zone of the Armies. The Provost Marshal will inform the French liaison officer attached to the Staff of the Division of the delivery of these movement orders. These movement orders shall be issued by the Provost Marshal only when the trip is on duty.

2. To go to any place on permission. The militarized members must be the bearers of movement orders delivered by the Provost Marshal of the Division, on which the word "Permission" shall be written in red ink. Moreover, the movement orders are valid only when they have been visé by the *Service des Renseignements* of the French Army to which the American Division is attached, to whom they shall be sent by the French liaison officer attached to the Staff of the Division. The *Service des Renseignements* of the Army will visé the movement orders and return them as soon as possible to the American Division.

The present rules concern only the militarized members of the A R C, Y M C A, K of C, and S A attached to American Divisions. All other militarized members circulating in the zone of the Armies remain entirely subject to the rules formerly published from these Headquarters.

**6. Draft Difficulties and Y M C A Personnel****GENERAL HEADQUARTERS****AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES**

Mr. E. C. Carter,  
Chief, A E F-Y M C A,  
12 Rue d'Aguesseau, Paris.

France, September 13, 1918.

Dear Mr. Carter:

Your letter, with reference to the large number of members of your staff who feel that they should leave the Y M C A in order to enlist immediately, has just been received.

In view of the military importance of the Y M C A with the A E F and with the other Allied Armies, I believe that your personnel should continue for the present in the service of the Y M C A unless they are specifically called by the Government for military duty of another kind.

On the other hand, in order that we may adhere to the principle of the selective draft, I suggest the following arrangement:

1. Of the men from thirty-two to forty-five years old, now enlisted in the work, those assigned to Class 1 should leave the service of the Y M C A as soon as you can replace them. Those assigned to deferred classes should continue in the service of the Y M C A, unless and until called to military service or until transferred to Class 1.

2. Hereafter the Y M C A should recruit no men between thirty-two and forty-five years of age who are assigned, or are likely to be assigned, to Class 1. It should, however, recruit men of these ages, thirty-two to forty-five, who are assigned, or likely to be assigned, to deferred classes, with the understanding that they are liable to service whenever called.

The widespread voluntary enlistment of your personnel at this time would so disorganize the Y M C A as to seriously interfere with its work in the Army, and I think it inadvisable to undertake to anticipate the action of the draft until you are in position to replace them.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN J. PERSHING.

September 19, 1918.

The following telegram was sent by Dr. Mott from Washington, Thursday, September 19th, at the conclusion of the official meeting of the Commission on Training Camp Activities. The telegram was addressed to the Personnel Secretaries of the six Military Departments.

"Fosdick Commission including representatives of Association, Catholic National War Council, War Camp Community Service, and Red Cross after prolonged consideration of selective service act and in consultation with War Department unanimously adopted following resolutions." First; that for Overseas Service the organizations affiliated with the Commission on Training Camp Activities and the Commission itself will appoint only men who are not in class one and who were thirty-seven years of age or over on September twelve, nineteen eighteen. Men under that age may be appointed if they are disqualified for military service by obvious physical defects. The War Depart-

ment will be requested to call for registration and classification men within draft age who are already at work Overseas with these organizations.

Second resolution, "that for service in America no exemption will be asked for men of Class one. Men of other classes will be used until such classes are called for military service."

We recommend immediate enforcing of these resolutions giving special consideration to placing in domestic service men preparing for Overseas who are eliminated by resolution one.

JOHN R. MOTT.

## 7. Official Order Coordinating Work of All Organizations

### GENERAL HEADQUARTERS A E F

Bulletin 96.

November 30, 1918.

The Red Cross will provide for the relief work, and the Y M C A will provide for the amusement and recreation of the troops by means of its usual program of social, educational, physical, and religious activities. The Knights of Columbus and the Salvation Army will participate with the Y M C A in the activities prescribed for it. The Y W C A and the Jewish Welfare Board will carry on their activities through the Y M C A. The American Library Association will cooperate with the other organizations to the fullest extent and wherever possible will put its book service at the disposition of the A E F through the medium of those organizations.

A joint committee representing these organizations will meet at least once every month for consideration of questions of mutual concern and co-ordination of plans and activities.

Exchanges for the A E F are conducted by the Y M C A. Exchanges may also be conducted by the Salvation Army and Knights of Columbus in localities not served by the Y M C A and by the Red Cross in connection with hospitals and at railroad stations, to be governed by existing orders affecting the Y M C A exchange service.

By command of General Pershing.

## 8. Classification of Personnel

### Y M C A WORKERS BY RESIDENCE

State	Home Camps	Per Cent	Overseas	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
New York .....	2042	15.7	2512	21.6	4554	18.2
Pennsylvania .....	837	6.5	877	7.2	1714	6.8
New Jersey .....	931	7.2	536	4.6	1467	5.9
Massachusetts .....	559	4.3	894	7.7	1453	5.8
California .....	779	6.0	621	5.3	1400	5.6
Illinois .....	577	4.5	787	6.7	1364	5.5
Ohio .....	544	4.2	555	4.7	1099	4.4
Texas .....	469	3.6	207	1.8	676	2.7
Indiana .....	297	2.3	358	3.1	555	2.6
Georgia .....	473	3.6	175	1.5	648	2.6

## OVERSEAS Y M C A WORKERS—SERVICE ASSIGNMENTS

A E F SERVICE	Men	Women	Total
France, etc. ....	7283	3198	10481
Great Britain ....	541	155	696
Italy ....	124	17	141
Siberia ....	97	31	128
 Total A E F ,.....	 8045	 3401	 11446

ALLIED ARMIES AND PRISONERS OF WAR	Men	Women	Total
France (Foyers du Soldat) ....	463	79	542
Russia ....	280	..	280
Italian Army ....	277	..	277
Chinese laborers ....	131	..	131
Prisoners of War ....	72	..	72
Mesopotamia ....	40	..	40
Czechoslovakia ....	40	..	40
Poland ....	39	..	39
India ....	34	..	34
Egypt ....	26	..	26
Portuguese Army ....	18	..	18
Greece ....	10	..	10
 Total .....	 1420	 79	 1509
<b>GRAND TOTALS</b> .....	<b>9475</b>	<b>3480</b>	<b>12955</b>

## OVERSEAS Y M C A WORKERS—PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS

	Men	Women
Accountants ....	198	26
Advertising Business ....	1	1
Architects ....	51	3
Artists ....	98	81
Attorneys ....	457	5
Automobile Business ....	113	2
Bankers ....	133	1
Barbers ....	4	...
Business ....	1360	116
Chemists ....	6	...
Cinema ....	48	...
Clerks ....	276	182
Dentists ....	42	3
Druggists ....	26	...
Educators ....	1435	949
Engineers ....	161	1
Entertainers ....	390	593
Factory Workers ....	2	...
Farmers ....	103	16

	Men	Women
Florists .....	4	...
Government Officials .....	41	7
Hotel Employes .....	37	8
Insurance .....	264	6
Inventors .....	1	...
Lecturers .....	38	...
Librarians .....	...	58
Manufacturers .....	87	1
Mechanics .....	276	...
Miners .....	6	...
Ministers .....	1464	2
Nurses .....	...	18
Opticians .....	6	...
Photographers .....	10	3
Physical Directors .....	137	20
Physicians .....	74	...
Policemen .....	3	...
Post Office Employes .....	34	...
Printers .....	46	2
Rabbis .....	1	...
Railroad Men .....	50	...
Real Estate .....	33	...
Salesmen .....	721	5
Secretaries .....	29	216
Social Workers .....	64	191
Soldiers .....	17	...
Statisticians .....	1	...
Stenographers .....	23	199
Students .....	109	24
Undertakers .....	7	...
Writers .....	182	68
Y M C A Secretaries .....	296	24
Unclassified .....	510	649
Total .....	9475	3480

## APPENDIX III: FINANCING WELFARE WORK

### 1. First Y M C A War Fund Campaign—May, 1917

BULLETIN

No. 1

April 27, 1917.

#### Y M C A WAR WORK COUNCIL

\$3,000,000 BEFORE JUNE FIRST

#### THE RESPONSE OF THE Y M C A TO THE NATION'S NEED

The \$3,000,000 fund is required for the budget of the War Work Council for the period ending with Dec. 31, 1917 to provide for the work of the Y M C A among the men of the Army and Navy.

Each state has been asked to assume responsibility for the raising of an amount mutually agreed upon by the Bureau of Finance and the representatives of the state and local organizations. To date, 35 states have quickly and enthusiastically accepted apportionment.

Cook County, Ill. (Chicago), started out to raise \$200,000 of the \$300,000 assigned to Illinois and in a campaign conducted during week ending April 21, secured \$213,000. This sets the pace for the country. An indication that \$3,000,000 will be raised before June 1.

The following apportionments accepted show that the entire country is responding. Each state according to its ability responds to the nation according to its need. North Dakota \$10,000, Arizona \$15,000, Florida \$25,000, Virginia \$75,000, Missouri \$100,000, Connecticut \$150,000, Ohio \$250,000, New York \$750,000.

If the Military program proposed is authorized by Congress, 1,287,000 men will be enlisted in the Army and Navy by Dec. 31. A wide open door of opportunity for service by the Y M C A in behalf of twice the number of members enrolled in the membership of the Y M C A's of the U. S. The War Work Council budget will provide for 200 Army Associations, also calling for 1,100 Secretaries.

Any form of subscription for the War Work used in state campaigns should provide that, in the event there are any unused funds on hand at the end of the war, they may be distributed at the discretion of the War Work Council.

The next bulletin to be issued May 1 will indicate men available as speakers and campaign secretaries who will assist in promoting state campaigns.

The War Work Council represents the local Associations, the State and International Committees.

## RESULTS OF FIRST CAMPAIGN

## DEPARTMENTS IN ORDER OF AMOUNT SUBSCRIBED

## EASTERN DEPARTMENT

State	Goal	Subscribed	Amount paid	Percentage Collected
Delaware .....	\$25,000	\$29,978	\$25,411	85%
Dist. of Col. ....		7,000	996	14%
Maryland .....	50,000	30,000	34,361	111%
New Jersey .....	150,000	350,000	341,990	97%
New York .....	800,000	1,225,000	1,150,471	94%
Pennsylvania .....	300,000	460,000	505,421	110%
Virginia .....	110,000	32,000	21,759	68%
Totals .....	\$1,435,000	\$2,133,978	\$2,080,409	97%

## CENTRAL DEPARTMENT

Colorado .....	\$50,000	\$55,000	\$50,134	91%
Illinois .....	300,000	320,000	315,684	98%
Indiana .....	150,000	162,210	162,333	100%
Iowa .....	125,000	106,000	151,552	143%
Kansas .....	75,000	76,000	59,309	78%
Kentucky .....	50,000	51,730	67,582	130%
Michigan .....	175,000	175,000	181,397	103%
Minnesota .....	100,000	100,000	94,473	94%
Missouri .....	100,000	75,700	72,073	94%
Nebraska .....	65,000	21,000	54,294	258%
North Dakota .....	10,000	10,000	10,117	101%
Ohio .....	250,000	409,228	381,729	93%
South Dakota .....	5,000	17,000	29,535	173%
West Virginia .....	25,000	30,000	26,247	87%
Wisconsin .....	85,000	100,000	120,014	120%
Totals .....	\$1,565,000	\$1,708,860	\$1,776,473	104%

## NORTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT

Connecticut .....	\$150,000	\$120,000	\$121,249	101%
Maine .....	30,000	19,000	23,253	122%
Massachusetts .....	200,000	375,000	344,236	91%
New Hampshire .....	25,000	47,600	39,243	82%
Rhode Island .....	50,000	52,000	56,762	109%
Vermont .....	25,000	25,000	23,346	93%
Totals .....	\$480,000	\$638,600	\$608,089	95%

	SOUTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT			Percentage Collected
	Goal	Subscribed	Amount Paid	Total Amount Subscribed
Alabama .....	\$50,000	\$47,000	\$35,916	76%
Florida .....	25,000	4,494	5,435	120%
Georgia .....	135,000	32,000	33,325	104%
Mississippi .....	10,000	1,500	2,814	187%
N. Carolina .....	20,000	39,925	31,896	79%
S. Carolina .....	54,000	20,000	17,486	87%
Tennessee .....	100,000	84,000	67,210	80%
Totals .....	\$394,000	\$218,919	\$194,082	88%

	SOUTHWESTERN DEPARTMENT			Percentage Collected
	Goal	Subscribed	Amount Paid	Total Amount Subscribed
Arizona .....	\$10,000	\$10,968	\$13,000	118%
Arkansas .....	10,000	9,000	11,000	122%
Louisiana .....	20,000	13,000	9,108	70%
New Mexico .....	5,000	5,498	6,000	109%
Oklahoma .....	25,000		12,094	—
Texas .....	70,000	64,000	58,927	92%
West Texas .....		4,000	4,000	100%
Totals .....	\$140,000	\$106,466	\$114,129	107%

	WESTERN DEPARTMENT			Percentage Collected
	Goal	Subscribed	Paid to National	Total Amount Subscribed
California .....	\$125,000	\$155,000	\$151,413	97%
Oregon and Idaho ...	60,000	49,152	37,014	75%
Montana .....	10,000	15,000	12,642	84%
Nevada .....	5,000	9,500	9,500	100%
Utah .....	5,000	12,000	10,000	83%
Washington .....	50,000	42,000	25,099	59%
Wyoming .....	5,000	3,000	3,812	127%
Totals .....	\$75,000	\$81,500	\$61,053	75%
Grand totals for the country ...	\$4,274,000	\$5,102,483	\$5,034,236	98%

## 2. Second Y M C A War Fund Campaign—November, 1917

Departments in Order of Percentage Forwarded National

### WESTERN DEPARTMENT

State	Goal	Subscribed	Paid to National	Percentage Collected
California .....	\$750,000	\$1,296,000	\$1,212,522	95%
Washington .....	300,000	385,000	349,954	90%
Oregon .....	225,000	296,600	262,955	89%
Montana .....	90,000	160,000	153,107	95%
Idaho .....	85,000	146,000	120,067	82%
Utah .....	75,000	75,000	70,775	94%
Nevada .....	30,000	32,590	30,550	93%
Wyoming .....	25,000	43,000	44,549	103%
Totals .....	\$1,250,000	\$2,434,190	\$2,244,479	92%

## SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

## NORTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT

	Goal	Subscribed	Paid to National	Percentage Collected
Massachusetts .....	\$2,275,000	\$4,032,000	\$3,881,246	96%
Connecticut .....	700,000	1,400,000	1,242,995	86%
Rhode Island .....	350,000	490,200	457,067	93%
Maine .....	213,500	328,000	291,929	89%
New Hampshire ....	210,000	301,995	273,245	90%
Vermont .....	105,000	142,000	141,173	96%
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>\$3,500,000</b>	<b>\$6,982,195</b>	<b>\$6,286,755</b>	<b>90%</b>

## EASTERN DEPARTMENT

New York .....	\$9,000,000	\$10,518,592	\$9,076,745	86%
Pennsylvania .....	3,500,000	6,265,112	5,008,337	79%
New Jersey .....	1,750,000	2,350,000	2,308,568	98%
Delaware .....	300,000	511,635	510,648	100%
Maryland .....	400,000	494,332	410,526	83%
Virginia .....	400,000	495,500	375,405	76%
Dist. of Columbia...	150,000	157,000	118,163	75%
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>\$15,500,000</b>	<b>\$20,792,171</b>	<b>\$17,808,492</b>	<b>86%</b>

## SOUTHWESTERN DEPARTMENT

Texas .....	\$300,000	\$552,000	\$476,439	85%
Oklahoma .....	187,500	411,000	365,168	88%
Louisiana .....	125,000	293,000	287,204	98%
Arkansas .....	125,000	235,000	170,630	72%
Arizona .....	37,500	103,000		
New Mexico .....	25,000	62,446	137,367	71%
West Texas .....	15,000	27,000		
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>\$750,000</b>	<b>\$1,683,446</b>	<b>\$1,436,808</b>	<b>85%</b>

## SOUTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT

Tennessee .....	\$300,000	\$450,000	\$280,333	62%
No. Carolina .....	300,000	330,822	264,967	80%
Alabama .....	300,000	305,124	232,165	65%
So. Carolina .....	200,000	219,543	161,036	73%
Mississippi .....	100,000	205,840	205,000	99%
Georgia .....	350,000	351,000	255,213	81%
Florida .....	75,000	119,000	97,270	84%
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>\$1,500,000</b>	<b>\$1,981,329</b>	<b>\$1,496,881</b>	<b>75%</b>

## CENTRAL DEPARTMENT

Illinois .....	\$3,000,000	\$4,566,403	\$4,212,295	92%
Ohio .....	2,750,000	4,595,520	2,899,598	63%
Michigan .....	1,250,000	1,450,820	1,107,575	76%
Indiana .....	1,000,000	1,350,000	1,001,746	74%

	Goal	Subscribed	Paid to National	Percentage Collected
Wisconsin .....	750,000	896,567	700,942	78%
Minnesota .....	750,000	1,351,000	903,983	67%
Missouri .....	600,000	2,168,212	1,012,038	46%
Iowa .....	750,000	1,514,000	633,091	41%
Kansas .....	525,000	681,240	530,469	77%
Kentucky .....	350,000	454,310	385,748	85%
Nebraska .....	250,000	560,302	450,483	80%
Colorado .....	200,000	400,000	340,455	85%
West Virginia .....	200,000	300,000	275,833	92%
South Dakota .....	125,000	212,154	160,912	75%
North Dakota .....	100,000	165,000	130,094	78%
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>\$12,500,000</b>	<b>\$20,665,528</b>	<b>\$14,745,362</b>	<b>71%</b>
<b>Grand total for the country ..</b>	<b>\$35,973,500</b>	<b>\$54,538,859</b>	<b>\$44,249,801</b>	<b>81%</b>

## BOYS' EARN AND GIVE CAMPAIGN TO MAY 15, 1918

Departments	Subscribed	Paid to State	Per-cent-age	Boy Population 10-19 yrs	Pledge Per Capita
Northeastern .....	\$149,388	\$75,412	50	570,669	.26
Eastern .....	329,853	179,503	54	2,156,629	.15
Southern .....	43,113	22,056	51	1,504,933	.02
Central .....	493,528	232,712	47	3,390,956	.15
Southwestern .....	42,132	21,850	51	1,039,721	.04
Western .....	113,074	69,184	61	429,978	.26

## STUDENTS' FRIENDSHIP WAR FUND—Nov. 1917

Departments	Amount Pledged	Amt. Paid to Nat'l Student Committee	Percent of Pledge Paid	No. Students Enrolled
Northeastern .....	\$144,961	\$93,925	65	13,897
Eastern .....	87,340	71,910	81	19,015
Southeastern .....	18,945	11,144	59	6,095
Central .....	126,598	79,215	63	39,941
Southwestern .....	28,760	19,407	69	8,141
Western .....	56,724	42,192	74	23,211

## 3. United War Work Campaign

UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN, INC. (Oct. 4, 1918)

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

GEORGE W. PERKINS\*

MORTIMER L. SCHIFF

JOHN R. MOTT

MYRON T. HERRICK

KATE TRUBEE DAVISON (MRS. H. P.)

FRANK A. VANDERLIP

JOHN G. AGAR

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

JAMES J. PHELAN

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

CLEVELAND H. DODGE

\* Deceased.

## SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

## FINANCE COMMITTEE

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman

JOHN G. AGAR

MORTIMER L. SCHIFF

JOHN R. MOTT

## OFFICERS

JOHN R. MOTT	- - - - -	President
JOHN G. AGAR	- - - - -	Vice-President
MORTIMER L. SCHIFF	- - - - -	Secretary
CLEVELAND H. DODGE	- - - - -	Treasurer
CHAUNCEY H. MURPHEY	- - - - -	Asst. Treasurer and Asst. Secretary
CECIL S. ASHDOWN	- - - - -	Comptroller
ALBERT R. PHILBRICK	- - - - -	Deputy Comptroller
GEORGE WELWOOD MURRAY, Counsel		

## GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN

JOHN R. MOTT	- - - - -	Chairman and Director General
MISS EMMA V. BALDWIN	- - - - -	Secretary

*Representing the Young Men's Christian Associations*

JOHN R. MOTT	F. S. BROCKMAN
GEORGE W. PERKINS	A. H. WHITFORD
BRUCE BARTON	

*Representing the Young Women's Christian Associations*

MRS. HENRY P. DAVISON	MISS MABEL CRATTY
MRS. JAMES R. CUSHMAN	MISS ELLA SCHOOLEY
MISS A. ESTELLE PADDOCK	

*Representing the National Catholic War Council*

JOHN G. AGAR	WM. J. MULLIGAN
VICTOR J. DOWLING	JAMES A. FLAHERTY
W. P. LARKIN	

*Representing the Jewish Welfare Board*

MORTIMER L. SCHIFF	I. E. GOLDWASSER
WALTER E. SACHS	HARRY L. GLUCKSMAN
JACOB BILLIKOPF	

*Representing the War Camp Community Service*

MYRON T. HERRICK	H. M. BLAIR
H. S. BRAUCHER	WILLIAM F. EDWARDS
H. C. MARTS	

*Representing the American Library Association*

FRANK P. HILL	MISS EMMA V. BALDWIN
THEODORE L. FROTHINGHAM	WICKES WAMBOLDT
FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE	

*Representing the Salvation Army*

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE  
WILLIAM PEART

WILLIAM MCINTYRE  
ALEXANDER M. DAMON

GUSTAV REINHARDSEN

COMMITTEE OF ELEVEN

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

Chairman ex-Officio, as Chairman of the Commissions on Training  
Camp Activities of the War and Navy Departments

GEORGE W. PERKINS

Young Men's Christian Associations

JOHN R. MOTT

Young Men's Christian Associations

KATE TRUBEE DAVISON (Mrs. H. P.)

Young Women's Christian Associa-  
tions

JOHN G. AGAR

National Catholic War Council

JAMES J. PHelan

National Catholic War Council

MORTIMER L. SCHIFF

Jewish Welfare Board

MYRON T. HERRICK

War Camp Community Service

FRANK A. VANDERLIP

American Library Association

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

Salvation Army

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

Chairman of the Great Union Drive  
for New York City

CLEVELAND H. DODGE, Treasurer

GEORGE WELWOOD MURRAY, Counsel

The Committee of Eleven was incorporated, for the purposes of the  
Campaign, as the United War Work Campaign, Inc.

## REPORT OF THE UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN, INC.

In submitting to the American people the accompanying official, audited financial statement of the receipts and expenditures of the United War Work Campaign, Inc., it is deemed desirable to state once more the circumstances which led to this united effort and to call attention to some of the more outstanding and important facts related to the Campaign. In the early autumn of 1918 President Wilson called upon the seven welfare societies serving the American Army and Navy, namely, the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, the War Work Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, the National Catholic War Council, Jewish Welfare Board, War Camp Community Service, American Library Association and the Salvation Army, which were each planning to conduct a nation-wide financial campaign in the furtherance of their work, to unite their efforts in one consolidated campaign. This request was made in the following communication addressed to Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick:

"THE WHITE HOUSE,  
"Washington, Sept. 3, 1918.

"My Dear Mr. Fosdick:

"May I not call your attention to a matter which has been recently engrossing my thought not a little?

"The War Department has recognized the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Catholic War

Council (Knights of Columbus), the Jewish Welfare Board, the War Camp Community Service, the American Library Association, and the Salvation Army as accepted instrumentalities through which the men in the ranks are to be assisted in many essential matters of recreation and morale.

"It was evident from the first, and has become increasingly evident, that the services rendered by these agencies to our army and to our Allies are essentially one and all of a kind and must of necessity, if well rendered, be rendered in the closest cooperation. It is my judgment, therefore, that we shall secure the best results in the matter of the support of these agencies, if these seven societies will unite their forthcoming appeals for funds, in order that the spirit of the country in this matter may be expressed without distinction of race or religious opinion in support of what is in reality a common service.

"This point of view is sustained by the necessity, which the war has forced upon us, of limiting our appeals for funds in such a way that two or three comprehensive campaigns shall take the place of a series of independent calls upon the generosity of the country.

"Will you not, therefore, as Chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, be good enough to request the societies in question to combine their approaching appeals for funds in a single campaign, preferably during the week of November 11, so that in their solicitation of funds, as well as in their work in the field, they may act in as complete cooperation and fellowship as possible?

"In inviting these organizations to give this new evidence of their patriotic cooperation, I wish it distinctly understood that their compliance with this request will not in any sense imply the surrender on the part of any of them of its distinctive character and autonomy, because I fully recognize the fact that each of them has its own traditions, principles, and relationships, which it properly prizes and which, if preserved and strengthened, make possible the largest service.

"At the same time, I would be obliged if you would convey to them from me a very warm expression of the Government's appreciation of the splendid service they have rendered in ministering to the troops at home and overseas in their leisure time. Through their agencies the moral and spiritual resources of the nation have been mobilized behind our forces and used in the finest way, and they are contributing directly and effectively to the winning of the war.

"It has been gratifying to find such a fine spirit of cooperation among all the leaders of the organizations I have mentioned. This spirit and the patriotism of all the members and friends of these agencies, give me confidence to believe that the United War Work Campaign will be crowned with abundant success.

"Cordially and sincerely yours,

"WOODROW WILSON."

In the light of the request of President Wilson, the seven welfare societies abandoned their separate plans for securing the needed funds and decided to conduct a united campaign. The following Memorandum of Agreement was adopted by them on September 4, 1918:

**MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS**  
*(Adopted September 4, 1918)*

"It is agreed by the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, the War Work Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, the National Catholic War Council (Knights of Columbus), the Jewish Welfare Board, the War Camp Community Service, the American Library Association and the Salvation Army:

"1. That there shall be a joint campaign for funds during the week beginning November 11, 1918.

"2. That by *joint* campaign we mean, so far as it can be brought about, a campaign undertaken through the agency of consolidated committees rather than seven separate campaigns in the same week.

"3. That each society will adopt a joint pledge card.

"4. That the committee organization now installed throughout the country for the collection of funds be disturbed as little as possible, and that the policy of addition rather than elimination be advised.

"5. That in so far as the campaign has a name it shall be called the "United War Work Campaign," followed by the names of the seven organizations participating.

"6. That Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge be the national treasurer, and that the moneys collected in the States be paid to him for proper distribution among the societies.

"7. That all funds collected be distributed on a *pro rata* basis among the seven societies participating in the campaign; that is, the funds received shall be divided among the participating organizations in such proportion as the total budget of each organization bears to the sum total of the combined budgets. The budget estimates and percentages are as follows:

National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations .....	\$100,000,000—58.65%
War Work Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations .....	15,000,000— 8.80%
National Catholic War Council (Knights of Columbus) .....	30,000,000—17.60%
Jewish Welfare Board .....	3,500,000— 2.05%
War Camp Community Service .....	15,000,000— 8.80%
American Library Association .....	3,500,000— 2.05%
Salvation Army .....	3,500,000— 2.05%

"8. That specified or restricted subscriptions shall not be asked for, but if given, shall be credited to the particular association, such amount to be a part of the total and not an addition to it.

"9. That the advertising which each organization has planned for itself proceed as planned but that some advertising be advised in the name of the United War Work Campaign.

"10. That the expenses incurred in joint work in connection with the drive be paid on a *pro rata* basis.

"11. That Mr. George W. Perkins and Dr. John R. Mott for the Young Men's Christian Association; Mrs. Henry P. Davison for the Young Women's

Christian Association; Mr. John G. Agar and Mr. James J. Phelan for the National Catholic War Council (Knights of Columbus); Mr. Mortimer L. Schiff for the Jewish Welfare Board; Honorable Myron T. Herrick for the War Camp Community Service; Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip for the American Library Association; Mr. George Gordon Battle for the Salvation Army; and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Chairman of the Great Union Drive for New York City, and Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge as Treasurer ex-officio, act together under the chairmanship of Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick of the Commission on Training Camp Activities of the War Department, or their alternates, in settling any questions between the seven organizations participating in this agreement or in handling any arrangements which have to be dealt with jointly, and, at the invitation of the Secretary of War, to discuss and adjust matters relating to the work of the several organizations which might involve duplication in the expenditure of money and effort at home and abroad."

The seven organizations appointed a committee of thirty-five persons known as the General Committee of the United War Work Campaign, to have general responsibility for the Campaign, although the actual conduct of its activities was left to the Director General and his Campaign Cabinet as representatives of the incorporated body. It was deemed necessary to incorporate, and this was done under the title United War Work Campaign, Inc.

The work of this Committee was governed by the foregoing Memorandum of Agreement.

An extensive and highly efficient organization was set up in each of the six military departments of the country. The organization was also established in each State and, as a rule, reached down to the counties and townships. Every community or center of population, large and small, and almost every class or grouping of the population were embraced in the publicity and in the financial solicitation. The most effective features of all previous campaigns of Government and welfare agencies were utilized and many new methods were introduced.

As the signing of the Armistice took place on the opening day of the campaign week, the management were suddenly confronted with the overwhelming and almost impossible situation involving the instant and entire shifting of the appeal from a win-the-war to a demobilization and reconstruction basis. This was a supreme test of the resourcefulness and power of the campaign organization.

The following supplemental Memorandum regarding expenditure of funds raised in connection with the United War Work Campaign was adopted by the Committee of Eleven at its meeting of December 24, 1918, and subsequently ratified by each of the seven cooperating organizations:

#### MEMORANDUM REGARDING EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS RAISED IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN

"The signing of the Armistice having upset the calculations upon the basis of which the budgets of the seven cooperating organizations were submitted to the War Department through the Commission on Training Camp Activities, and uncertainty concerning the Government plans of demobilization making it impossible to restate at this time with any degree of exactness the full budget

estimates of the organizations, the following principles and regulations are agreed upon:

"1. The United War Work Campaign Fund was raised to make possible the serving by the seven cooperating organizations in the present war emergency of soldiers and sailors and of certain other classes of men and women affected by the present war conditions, and this purpose is to be a governing principle in its use.

"2. Each of the seven organizations shall restudy its budget, and in so doing will welcome the cooperation of the War and Navy Departments in connection therewith, and shall adjust its expenditures to the demobilization plans of the Government.

"3. The several organizations shall submit quarterly statements certified by chartered accountants, which statements shall be subject to the examination of an accountant appointed by the Committee of Eleven and reports thereof shall be sent to the Chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, to each member of the Committee of Eleven and to the Presidents of each of the Societies.

"4. The seven organizations shall severally assume as nearly as may be their respective proportionate shares of responsibility for work to be done, and all expenditures of money shall be strictly in accord with their respective War Work activities and none of the Fund shall be expended for general non-war work or for permanent structures or establishments or for endowments.

"5. The National Treasurer of the United War Work Campaign, Inc., shall distribute to the cooperating organizations of the aforesaid Fund, in the percentages heretofore agreed upon, substantially as and when received by him and capable of distribution by him; it being understood that the cooperating organizations shall be governed in their use of funds so received by the foregoing regulations and principles.

"6. The Committee of Eleven shall be continued for the purposes expressed in Article Eleven of the cooperating agreement of the seven organizations dated September 4, 1918, and in this agreement."

The financial results of the Campaign are set forth in the following pages. They will repay careful study and will afford ground for great encouragement. Possibly no campaign in the war was conducted under so many serious handicaps—the inevitable shortness of the time left for preparation, the uniting of forces which were largely unfamiliar with each other and unaccustomed to working together, the widespread and deadly influenza epidemic, with its serious interruption of the public speaking program, the high and ever mounting taxation, and, above all, the sudden ending of the war on the very threshold of the Campaign. The fact that under such adverse circumstances the Campaign swept past its goal of \$170,500,000 and secured subscriptions aggregating approximately \$203,000,000, was regarded as most remarkable. Still more remarkable is the fact that the amount collected in cash and securities to date, together with interest received therefrom, is nearly \$190,000,000, or a collection of 11.23% over and above the original quota and of 93.46% of the total amount subscribed.

A study of the contributions by States and departments reveals notable achievements in almost every region of the country. Back of the statistics lies a wonderful record of patriotism, unselfish devotion and sacrifice. The generous offering of money likewise revealed the sense of abounding gratitude on the part of the American people to the millions of young men in their Army and Navy. Attention should be called to the giving on the part of our Allies in Asia and Latin America, in particular by the people of China, who, having been invited to give \$100,000 gold, paid into the fund over \$1,400,000 gold.

Another striking fact which will not escape those who study the financial statement is that the total expenses of the entire Campaign—administrative, departmental, State, local and foreign—amount only to 2.15% of the gross receipts. It is believed that this is one of the most favorable showings in connection with any of the great financial campaigns of the war and post-war periods.

As is generally understood, the incorporated body known as the United War Work Campaign, Inc., was made responsible only for the collection and custody of the funds raised in the Campaign and for their distribution among the seven cooperating organizations in the proportions fixed in the original Memorandum of Agreement of September 4, 1918, and which proportions were printed on the pledge cards used in the Campaign. The audited financial statement herewith submitted indicates the amounts thus paid over to the different organizations. It is understood that each of the cooperating organizations will issue its own official financial statement.

It only remains to renew, on behalf of the Committee of Eleven and of the United War Work Campaign, Inc., the expression of deepest gratitude to the many thousands of workers, who, by their earnest, patriotic and united service, conducted the Campaign to such a triumphant issue, and, above all, to the millions of donors, rich and poor, whose gifts and sacrifices made possible the vast and wonderful ministry to the soldiers and sailors.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN R. MOTT, President

JOHN G. AGAR, Vice-President

MORTIMER L. SCHIFF, Secretary

CLEVELAND H. DODGE, Treasurer.

JOHN G. AGAR

MORTIMER L. SCHIFF

JOHN R. MOTT

Finance Committee.

New York, October 10, 1921.

**SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM THE INCEPTION OF THE  
CAMPAIGN TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1921**

**Receipts:**

Cash and securities received from subscribers .....	\$188,664,230.00
Interest on bank balances .....	704,837.74
Interest on advances to associated organizations .....	114,563.38
Income from securities .....	161,527.72
Total receipts .....	\$189,645,158.84

**Less—Expenses paid:**

National Headquarters .....	\$149,459.33
General publicity .....	572,156.62
Department, state and county .....	3,327,476.46
Foreign .....	11,507.72
Loss on securities sold .....	25,242.11
Total expenses .....	\$4,085,842.24
	\$185,559,316.60

**Distribution of cash and securities to associated organizations:**

National War Work Council, Y M C A..	\$108,709,500.00
War Work Council, Y W C A .....	16,306,500.00
National Catholic War Council .....	32,613,000.00
Jewish Welfare Board .....	3,804,750.00
War Camp Community Service .....	16,306,500.00
American Library Association .....	3,804,750.00
Salvation Army .....	3,804,750.00
Total distributions .....	\$185,349,750.00

Balance, being cash in banks and  
on hand in New York .....

\$209,566.60

CHAUNCEY H. MURPHEY, Asst. Treasurer.

CECIL S. ASHDOWN, Comptroller.

ALBERT R. PHILBRICK, Deputy Comptroller.

**CERTIFICATE OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS**

We have examined the books and accounts of the United War Work Campaign, Inc., together with the returns from the State Treasurers, as certified by the respective State Auditors, and certify that the above statement of receipts and disbursements is correct.

(Signed) PRICE, WATERHOUSE & Co.

56 Pine Street, New York,  
October 7, 1921.

**STATEMENT SHOWING SUBSCRIPTIONS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE UNITED WAR  
WORK CAMPAIGN, INC., SEPTEMBER 30, 1921**

State	Subscriptions	Collections	Percent of Collec- tions to Subscrip- tions
Maine . . . . .	\$1,163,237.79	\$1,092,081.95	93.9
Vermont . . . . .	767,526.94	709,593.74	92.5
Rhode Island . . . . .	1,555,819.15	1,558,273.47	100.2
New Hampshire . . . . .	998,655.95	912,217.49	91.4
Massachusetts . . . . .	10,506,604.27	10,191,137.79	97.1
Connecticut . . . . .	4,413,685.58	4,203,917.53	95.3
Total Northeastern Dept. . . . .	<u>\$19,405,529.68</u>	<u>\$18,667,221.97</u>	<u>96.2</u>
New York . . . . .	\$45,968,121.29	\$42,046,888.41	91.4
Pennsylvania . . . . .	20,758,882.51	20,250,948.71	97.6
Maryland . . . . .	2,609,580.38	1,976,325.46	75.8
Virginia . . . . .	1,973,497.85	1,718,724.28	87.2
West Virginia . . . . .	1,344,918.23	1,102,504.61	82.0
New Jersey . . . . .	7,705,293.76	6,972,659.80	90.5
Delaware . . . . .	1,095,822.42	1,080,885.43	98.7
District of Columbia . . . . .	836,000.00	825,605.72	98.8
Total Eastern Dept. . . . .	<u>\$82,292,116.44</u>	<u>\$75,974,542.42</u>	<u>92.3</u>
Florida . . . . .	\$985,902.43	\$796,931.10	80.8
Mississippi . . . . .	987,949.34	898,424.80	90.9
Tennessee . . . . .	1,967,599.70	1,623,417.08	82.5
Alabama . . . . .	1,427,555.16	1,235,869.55	86.6
Georgia . . . . .	1,727,330.61	1,421,357.05	82.3
North Carolina . . . . .	1,202,445.28	1,092,659.81	90.9
South Carolina . . . . .	1,046,330.32	954,058.93	91.3
Total Southeastern Dept. . . . .	<u>\$9,345,112.84</u>	<u>\$8,022,718.32</u>	<u>85.9</u>
Illinois . . . . .	\$13,900,000.00	\$13,239,385.21	95.3
Missouri . . . . .	6,334,522.00	5,445,406.22	86.0
Indiana . . . . .	5,300,000.00	4,334,359.43	81.7
Kansas . . . . .	2,879,181.18	2,884,138.72	100.1
South Dakota . . . . .	1,414,495.13	724,182.41	51.2
Ohio . . . . .	12,473,022.43	10,720,733.93	86.0
Minnesota . . . . .	4,856,439.12	4,529,392.47	93.3
Wisconsin . . . . .	4,333,218.53	4,170,353.66	96.3
Kentucky . . . . .	2,049,238.59	1,825,805.40	89.1
North Dakota . . . . .	903,807.93	899,780.43	99.6
Michigan . . . . .	6,550,000.00	4,113,752.39	62.8
Iowa . . . . .	6,312,275.61	6,311,235.74	100.0
Nebraska . . . . .	2,814,340.06	2,718,850.01	96.6
Colorado . . . . .	1,655,325.63	1,479,315.54	89.4
Total Central Dept. . . . .	<u>\$71,775,866.21</u>	<u>\$63,396,691.56</u>	<u>88.3</u>

	Subscriptions	Collections	Percent of Col- lections to Subscrip- tions
California .....	\$5,222,678.44	\$5,009,898.23	95.9
Idaho .....	498,374.14	477,924.25	96.0
Montana .....	668,341.36	651,676.16	97.4
Nevada .....	153,052.38	143,950.28	94.1
Oregon .....	1,160,493.60	1,156,567.98	99.7
Utah .....	341,000.00	270,557.00	79.3
Washington .....	1,824,282.77	1,766,077.22	96.8
Wyoming .....	267,969.52	268,972.60	100.1
Hawaii .....	334,986.00	337,217.78	100.7
 Total Western Dept. ....	 <u>\$10,471,178.21</u>	 <u>\$10,082,841.50</u>	 <u>96.2</u>
Arkansas .....	\$1,110,928.88	\$941,928.47	84.8
Louisiana .....	1,772,645.65	1,602,453.58	90.4
Oklahoma .....	2,055,394.51	1,968,228.81	95.8
Texas .....	3,812,401.94	3,595,505.91	94.3
New Mexico .....	278,837.84	265,979.04	95.0
Arizona .....	604,877.21	570,519.02	94.3
 Total Southern Dept. ....	 <u>\$9,635,086.03</u>	 <u>\$8,944,614.83</u>	 <u>92.8</u>
Army and Navy .....		\$696,992.58	
Miscellaneous Domestic .....		100,227.29	
Foreign .....		2,778,379.53	
 Grand Total .....	 <u>\$202,924,889.41</u>	 <u>\$188,664,230.00</u>	 <u>93.0</u>

#### 4. Disposition of Post Exchange Surplus to American Legion

The offer of the War Work Council to the American Legion, of the funds now accruing in the operation of the Canteen, and the acceptance of this offer, are shown in the following correspondence:

Franklin d'Olier, Esq.,

February 7, 1920.

My dear Mr. d'Olier:

Doubtless you know that at the desire of General Pershing, as expressed in G. O. 33, Series 1917, the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association undertook the operation of the post exchanges or canteens in France in connection with its other work for the American Expeditionary Forces. This was done in accordance with General Pershing's expressed desire "that officers and enlisted men may not be taken away for that purpose from their paramount military functions of training and fighting."

Up to the time this work was taken back by the Army on April 1, 1919, the total volume of business transacted by the post exchanges through the Association was \$37,800,000. It was the practice of the Association from the outset to make no profit whatever from this business, but on the contrary to assume whatever loss was incurred.

On March 31, 1919, this loss appeared to be \$1,478,084.14 and was charged on the Association's books to the cost of operating the canteens. The cost included only the actual cost of the articles sold in addition to estimated cost of transportation and insurance. The prices charged did not include wages or living allowance, traveling expense of canteen workers, rent of huts, cost of construction of canteen facilities, or any overhead expenses.

Recently the charges for transportation of canteen supplies have been generously remitted by the American and French Governments, so that the Association now has a surplus in excess of \$500,000 above the cost of conducting the canteen. Our Executive and Finance Committees have, therefore, authorized us to write you as National Commander of the American Legion—the organization which is most widely and intimately in touch with and representative of the ex-service men and in our judgment best qualified to make the best use of any such funds in their interests—and hereby beg to place the entire amount at the disposal of the American Legion without restriction as to its use.

We would, however, express a preference that so far as needed, the money be used for the benefit of disabled ex-service men or for the work of the ex-service men on behalf of the country—for example, for the most commendable efforts of the American Legion through its National Americanism Commission.

Will you kindly take the matter into consideration? Should your decision be favorable as to accepting this money, we would be glad to hear from you with suggestions as to the use of such a fund.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM SLOANE, Chairman,  
J. R. MOTT, General Secretary.

John R. Mott, Esq., General Secretary,  
National War Work Council, Y M C A,  
347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

February 11, 1920.

Dear Mr. Mott:

I am instructed by the National Executive Committee of the American Legion to accept on behalf of the American Legion the fund of approximately \$500,000, which the National War Work Council generously offered to the American Legion in your letter of February 7, 1920.

After consideration of your letter the National Executive Committee in meeting at National Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana, on February 10, 1920, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association at the request of General Pershing undertook the operation of the Post Exchanges in France in connection with its other work for the American Expeditionary Forces, and

"Whereas, it was the practice of the Association from the outset to make no profit whatever from this business and to assume whatever loss was incurred, except the actual cost of the articles sold and the estimated cost of transportation and insurance, which, up to the time this work was taken back by the Army on April 1, 1919, entailed a loss of \$1,478,084.14 and

"Whereas, through the remittance by the American and French Governments of transportation charges for Post Exchange supplies there is now

available a surplus in excess of \$500,000 over and above the cost of operating these exchanges by the Association, and

"Whereas, the National War Work Council through William Sloane, Chairman, and John Mott, Sec'y, has offered to place this fund at the disposal of the American Legion for the best interest of ex-service men, without restriction as to its use, now therefore

"Be it Resolved, that the National Executive Committee of the American Legion hereby accepts on behalf of the American Legion the fund offered by the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, to be held as a trust fund for a period of five years by a Trust Company acting in the capacity of a trustee under a deed of trust providing that said trustee shall hold, invest and re-invest the principal sum, paying only the income therefrom to the American Legion, disposition of said income, subject to the authority of the National Executive Committee to be used in furtherance of activities for the benefit of ex-service men and women and said trusteeship to be subject to revocation by the vote of three-fourths of the entire membership of the National Executive Committee.

"Be it further Resolved, that the National Commander be instructed to express to the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association the gratitude and appreciation of the ex-service men for whose benefit this fund has been offered."

In accordance with the above resolution, I desire to express to the National War Work Council, through you, the sincere appreciation of the American Legion.

In forwarding these funds, you may designate Robert H. Tyndall, National Treasurer, American Legion, Meridian Life Building, Indianapolis, Indiana, as the proper person to receipt for them in behalf of the American Legion.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D'OLIER,  
National Commander.

Mr. John R. Mott, General Secretary,  
National War Work Council of the Y M C A,  
347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

February 11, 1920.

My dear Mr. Mott:

In order that all State Departments and individual posts of the American Legion may be fully advised of your recent action, the enclosed Bulletin has been forwarded to all Department Commanders and Department Adjutants throughout the entire country, and will be forwarded by them to their respective posts.

This copy is sent you for your information in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D'OLIER,  
National Commander.

## BULLETIN

SPECIAL

No. 14.

Subject: Canteen Surplus Receipts, Presentation of

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee here in Indianapolis yesterday, the following letter was presented as being received by the National Commander from William Sloane, Chairman, and John R. Mott, General Secretary of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association of the United States:

"Doubtless you know that at the desire of General Pershing, as expressed in G. O. 33, Series 1917, the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association undertook the operation of the Post Exchanges or Canteens in France in connection with its other work for the American Expeditionary Forces. This was done in accordance with General Pershing's expressed desire, 'that officers and enlisted men may not be taken away for that purpose from their paramount military functions of training and fighting.'

"Up to the time this work was taken back by the Army on April 1, 1919, the total volume of business transacted by the post exchanges through the Association was \$37,800,000. It was the practice of the Association from the outset to make no profit whatever from this business, but on the contrary to assume whatever loss was incurred.

"On March 31, 1919, this loss appeared to be \$1,478,084.14 and was charged on the Association's books to the cost of operating the canteens. This cost included only the actual cost of the articles sold in addition to the estimated cost of transportation and insurance. The prices charged did not include wages or living allowance, traveling expenses of canteen workers, rent of huts, cost of construction of canteen facilities or any overhead expenses.

"Recently the charges for transportation of canteen supplies had been generously remitted by the American and French Governments, so that the Association now has a surplus in excess of \$500,000 above the cost of conducting the canteen. Our Executive and Finance Committees have, therefore, authorized us to write you as National Commander of the American Legion—the organization which is most widely and intimately in touch with and representative of the ex-service men and in our judgment best qualified to make the best use of any such funds in their interests—and hereby beg to place the entire amount at the disposal of the American Legion without restriction as to its use.

"We would, however, express a preference that so far as needed, the money be used for the benefit of disabled ex-service men or for the work of ex-service men on behalf of the country—for example, for the most commendable efforts of the American Legion through its National Americanism Commission.

"Will you kindly take the matter into consideration? Should your decision be favorable as to accepting this money, we would be glad to hear from you with suggestions as to the use of such a fund."

After a full discussion of this proposition, the National Executive Committee unanimously passed the following:

"WHEREAS, the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association at the request of General Pershing undertook the operation

of the post exchanges in France in connection with its other work for the American Expeditionary Forces, and

"WHEREAS, it was the practice of the Association from the outset to make no profit whatever from this business and to assume whatever loss was incurred, except the actual cost of the articles sold and the estimated cost of transportation and insurance, which, up to the time this work was taken back by the Army on April 1, 1919, entailed a loss of \$1,478,084.14, and

"WHEREAS, through the remittance by the American and French Governments of transportation charges for post exchange supplies, there is now available a surplus in excess of \$500,000 over and above the cost of operating these exchanges by the Association, and

"WHEREAS, the National War Work Council through William Sloane, Chairman, and John R. Mott, Secretary, has offered to place this fund at the disposal of the American Legion for the best interests of ex-service men, without restriction as to its use, now therefore

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Executive Committee of the American Legion hereby accepts on behalf of the American Legion the fund offered by the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, to be held as a trust fund for a period of five years by a Trust Company acting in the capacity of a trustee under the deed of trust providing that said trustee shall hold, invest and re-invest the principal sum, paying only the income therefrom to the American Legion, disposition of said income, subject to the authority of the National Executive Committee to be used in furtherance of activities for the benefit of ex-service men and women and said trusteeship to be subject to revocation by the vote of three-fourths of the entire membership of the National Executive Committee.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the National Commander be instructed to express to the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association the gratitude and appreciation of the ex-service men for whose benefit this fund has been offered."

It is particularly gratifying that this Association should desire to turn over to the American Legion this fund, especially when it was brought out officially that the Young Men's Christian Association in the operation of its canteens in France, charged a price which merely covered the actual cost of the merchandise, plus transportation charges and insurance. On a business of nearly \$38,000,000 an actual loss of about one and one-half million was sustained, not considering any charges outside of the actual merchandise cost, plus transportation and insurance. As a result of the remission of transportation charges by the American and French Governments, this loss was turned into a profit of approximately \$500,000 and this is the sum which is being turned over to the American Legion for the benefit of ex-service men and women.

It is recommended that the information contained in this bulletin be forwarded to each Post in your Department in the usual way.

FRANKLIN D'OLIER,  
National Commander.

February 14, 1920.

**Dear Mr. D'Olier:**

I have just received your important communication of February 11th in which you report the resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee of the American Legion in its meeting in Indianapolis on February 10th with reference to the proposal made in the letter of Mr. Sloane and myself in the name of the National War Work Council of the Y M C A. I wish to express our deep appreciation of this action and of the terms in which you have kindly conveyed it.

We have called a joint meeting of the Executive and Finance Committees of the National War Work Council to be held Thursday, February 26th, at which time your communication will be presented and the action of Mr. Sloane and myself will be confirmed. I feel entirely confident that the plan which your Committee has proposed as to the use and custody of the fund will commend itself to our Committee.

With highest regard,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. R. MOTT.

FRANKLIN D'OLIER, Esq.,  
National Commander of the American Legion,  
Meridian Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

##### 5. Audited Financial Statement for the Period Ended March 7, 1921

NATIONAL WAR WORK COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN  
ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

347 Madison Avenue, New York.  
May 10, 1921.

To the Donors and Friends of the  
National War Work Council of  
Young Men's Christian Associations:

In sending out this final audited financial statement on behalf of the National War Work Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States, let me reiterate on their behalf the expression of deep and abiding gratitude to the many thousands of workers who carried to a markedly successful issue the three successive War Work Campaigns, and also to the millions of donors, large and small, who in every community of the land gave so cheerfully, generously and sacrificially toward the great patriotic and Christian undertaking to which we had all set our hands.

It will be recalled that in the First Campaign conducted soon after America entered the war, our goal was \$3,000,000 and approximately \$5,000,000 was secured; that in the Second Campaign conducted in the autumn of 1917 we asked for \$35,000,000, and eventually \$54,000,000 was contributed; and that in the Third or United War Work Campaign the share of the Association in the sum of \$170,500,000, set as the goal, was \$100,000,000 and the Association has received over \$108,000,000 as its share of \$190,000,000 collected. Thus the American people committed to the National War Work Council of the

Associations the vast sum of over \$167,000,000. The magnitude of this offering may be more fully realized when we remind ourselves that this is a greater sum than is today invested in Young Men's Christian Association buildings and other property in all the world after seventy-five years of Association history.

The Associations can ever point with pride and satisfaction to the able and conscientious administration of this trust. The National War Work Council, composed of over two hundred leading laymen from all parts of the country, under the able chairmanship of Mr. William Sloane, took their responsibility seriously from the beginning of their work in April, 1917, until the dissolution of the Council on March 8, 1921. Meetings of the full Council were held, as a rule, semi-annually for formulating main policies and for determining or revising budgets. A Budget Committee composed of twenty or more leading business men of the nation served under the leadership of Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick with rare devotion throughout the entire life of the Council. A very representative Executive Committee held unhurried and largely attended meetings every two or three weeks during the war. The able Finance Committee with Mr. George W. Perkins as Chairman had weekly meetings and for much of the time met twice a week. It may be questioned whether any of the great war trusts had the benefit so continuously of the personal supervision and direction of such a large company of men of outstanding and successful financial and business experience.

A tribute should also be paid to the 25,000 men and women workers in the training camps at home and in the areas overseas, as well as on the staff of the various headquarters, national and regional. Without their extreme devotion this vast, comprehensive and, on the whole, highly efficient ministry could never have been accomplished.

In retrospect, the enormous volume and the almost infinite variety of the war work of the Associations become more apparent. The facts are effectively and interestingly set forth in the booklet, "Summary of World War Work of the American Y M C A."

The full and wonderful story of this patriotic endeavor on behalf of the 4,800,000 men in the American Army and Navy and of 19,000,000 men of the Allied forces as well as of the 6,000,000 prisoners of war will be told in the several volumes of the permanent history now in preparation.

Above all, we would humbly acknowledge the manifestation of the guidance and power of Almighty God and of His overruling of human mistakes and shortcomings, also the wonderful triumphs achieved in His Name along the whole pathway of the service rendered our soldiers and sailors on behalf of the nation and of the Churches.

May 10, 1921.

JOHN R. MOTT,

General Secretary of the  
National War Work Council.

## COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMPTROLLER

Members of Executive Committee,  
National War Work Council, Y M C A,  
347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

May 10, 1921.

Gentlemen:

Herewith is submitted for the information of the former members of the Executive Committee, the donors and the general public, the final financial and accounting report of the National War Work Council of the Y M C A, from the beginning of operations in April, 1917, to the close of business on March 7, 1921.

Annexed to this report will be found the certificate of Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Company, chartered accountants, who have made periodical audits of the books of the National War Work Council both in the United States and overseas from the commencement of operations to date of dissolution.

Supplementing the financial report is a statement showing the disposition of the balance remaining in the hands of the War Work Council and subsequently transferred to the Trustees of the War Fund on March 8, 1921, the date of dissolution.

The details leading up to the dissolution of the Council and the decisions of your Committee with respect to the allocation of the funds remaining at the date of dissolution have been fully set forth in Dr. John R. Mott's report which has been given wide publication and is therefore omitted from this report.

In submitting this report for your consideration, it seems only fitting to give credit to the honesty of the thousands of employes in whose hands the spending of this enormous sum has been placed. Our total defalcations as far as ascertainable are less than five one-hundredths of 1% of the funds handled, and is quite a remarkable showing for the stewardship of the funds subscribed so generously by the public and expended by such a large number of employes, in twenty-five different countries and under the most trying war conditions.

In addition to the stewardship of the funds donated by the public, there was placed with us by the overseas soldiers, sailors and marines for transmission to the United States, etc., the sum of \$21,558,339.97. These funds were paid in at hundreds of points scattered throughout the military zones of Europe and concentrated in our European Headquarters, where lists were made and forwarded to New York for final transmission to families, banks, etc., in the United States. Three hundred and fifty-one thousand, four hundred and sixty-eight separate checks were issued to carry through this banking service, without cost to the sender, and of this number only 41 remain undelivered at this date. No piece of service undertaken by the Y M C A has received greater commendation and less criticism, and yet little or no publicity has been given to it. The system installed for the transmission of these funds had for its objective first, the safety of the funds, and second, the least amount of delay in transit consistent with accuracy. The record of deliveries and the few complaints occasioned by delays are proof that the system

answered all that was required of it. The funds referred to in the foregoing are also included in the scope of the audit.

During the entire life of the Council we have been able to compile and submit with comparatively little delay, quarterly audited statements for publication, and it is gratifying to be able to place into your hands at this time a completed report of the finances for the full period.

Respectfully submitted,

R. P. BRAINARD,  
Comptroller.

#### DISPOSITION OF BALANCE

The net assets of the National War Work Council at the date of dissolution on March 8, 1921, were transferred to the Trustees of the War Fund in the amount of ..... \$18,503,805.54 and are to be used in accordance with resolution adopted by the National War Work Council at its meeting held in Buffalo, New York, December, 15, 1920, as follows:

(a) For liquidation of all unpaid balances, growing out of operations prior to 1921, including unexpended portions of approved budgets for 1920 and carried forward to 1921 .....	\$1,468,157.00
(b) For meeting calls on contingent items carried in "Reserves," the final outcome of which cannot be determined at this date .....	453,252.47
(c) For the meeting of expenditures made under the approved budget for 1921 as per details in second column of the statement following .....	7,160,150.99
Total appropriations (see details below)	————— 9,081,560.46
BALANCE .....	\$ 9,422,245.08

In accordance with resolutions adopted at the Buffalo meeting, one-half of the above balance or ..... \$ 4,711,122.54 has been placed in a special "Reserve Fund" to be held by the Trustees of the War Fund for a period of three years to meet any national emergency. The other one-half or ..... \$ 4,711,122.54 is to be used for the erection, maintenance or endowment of buildings, sites, their equipment and maintenance for the use of the men of the American Army and Navy.

## STATEMENT OF RESERVES, LIABILITIES AND ADOPTED BUDGET FOR 1921:

	Reserves and 1920 Budget Balance carried to 1921	Budget for 1921
<b>Overseas:</b>		
For work with American Army of Occupation in Coblenz ...	\$ 765,021.60	
For work with American Navy forces in Mediterranean ....	65,000.00	
For work with American Mer- chant Marine .....	150,000.00	
For work with Allied Armies and Prisoners of War in France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Balkans, Turk- ish areas, etc. ....	\$ 600,769.00	1,866,000.00
New York Hdqts. Administra- tion AFIG work .....	30,000.00	
		<hr/>
		2,876,021.60
<b>United States and Territorial Possessions:</b>		
Work with our Army and Navy on Military Reservations, in Port Cities, Service Men's Clubs and in cooperation with City Y M C A's .....		1,458,070.23
Educational Service for ex- soldiers and sailors, Ameri- canization, Free Scholarships and Vocational Guidance ...	75,090.12	1,960,000.00
Inter-racial work following de- mobilization in Southern States .....	46,117.56	150,000.00
War Historical Bureau .....		66,287.28
Hdqts. Bureaus (Administra- tion) .....		149,771.88
Unpaid Special Appropriations	24,917.20	
Unpaid Appropriations for Army and Navy Y M C A buildings .....	675,000.00	
Special fund for contingencies		500,000.00
<b>CURRENT LIABILITIES:</b>		
Accounts Payable .....	46,263.12	
<b>RESERVES:</b>		
For claims of returning secretaries .....	259,681.93	
For rehabilitation of leased properties .....	42,164.93	

For French Import Duty and other claims .....	30,893.12
For account of motor trucks, supplies and transportation — U. S., French and British Gov- ernments .....	120,512.49
	_____
Total 1920 and 1921 budg- ets unpaid, March 7, 1921	\$1,921,409.47
	\$7,160,150.99
	\$9,081,560.46

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT MARCH 7, 1921

## RECEIPTS

## Contributions:

First campaign .....	\$ 5,114,183.09
Second campaign .....	53,337,767.53
Third campaign (United War Work Campaign) .....	108,509,500.00
Third campaign (Direct contributions) .....	51,667.51
Overseas .....	105,063.13
	_____
Miscellaneous donations ...	\$167,118,181.26
Interest on bank balances ..	446,492.78
Interest on securities .....	1,543,109.28
Miscellaneous income .....	1,315,706.97
	250,423.87
Total receipts .....	_____
	\$170,673,914.16

## EXPENDITURES

## United States (For details see Exhibit A):

Construction and equip- ment of buildings, etc.	\$ 8,460,169.09
Operating expenses of camps and other activi- ties .....	28,144.094.89
Appropriations to affil- iated organizations for services furnished to soldiers and sailors ....	2,983,975.10
Expenses at the head- quarters of the six mili- tary departments ....	2,047,312.58
	_____
	\$41,635,551.66
LESS — Net income from salvage operations ....	739,303.54
	_____
	\$ 40,896,248.12

## Overseas (For details see Exhibit B):

Construction and equipment of buildings, etc.	\$12,158,597.57
Field operations and other activities .....	46,644,760.67
Paris, London, Coblenz and Divisional Headquarters expenses .....	2,589,736.78
	<hr/>
	\$61,393,095.02

LESS—Net income from salvage operations ....	2,948,993.09
	<hr/>
	58,444,101.93

## Loss on operations—Post Exchanges and canteens (For details see Exhibit C):

Trading profit .....	\$ 339,747.38
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DEDUCT—Amount paid on account of appropriation to American Legion of profit before adjustment of exchange .....	500,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 160,252.62

ADD—Loss on liquidation of Post Exchange merchandise and other Post Exchange assets incidental to conversion of proceeds of sales Fcs. 110,395,767 into United States currency during period of and subsequent to fall in French exchange from normal to present levels ....	5,658,629.52
	<hr/>
	5,818,882.14

Loss on exchange on surplus funds. Fcs. 10,235,500 returned to United States .....	827,680.00
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Expenditures for work with Allied armies and prisoners of war disbursed through the International Committee (for details see Exhibit D) .....	29,674,192.95
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Appropriations to the United States Army and Navy for recreation work .....	2,776,500.00
Educational service and inter-racial work expenses and advances ..	4,941,887.27
Provision for claims of returning secretaries ..	350,000.00
New York Headquarters expenses:	
Administrative and general activities (For details see Exhibit E) \$ 3,571,373.34	
Campaign and publicity expenses .....	1,563,670.93
	<hr/>
Selecting, recruiting and training secretaries, including travel and sustenance expense .....	5,135,044.27
	<hr/>
Total expenditures ....	3,305,571.94
	<hr/>
Balance .....	152,170,108.62
	<hr/>
	\$ 18,503,805.54

New York, May 10, 1921.

WILLIAM SLOANE, Chairman, Executive Committee.  
CLEVELAND H. DODGE, Treasurer.  
R. P. BRAINARD, Comptroller.

#### ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

##### Current assets:

Accounts receivable ....	\$ 317,768.78
Inventories, canteen, etc...	54,826.19
United States Liberty Bonds and certificates of indebtedness (par value)	\$ 16,308,650.00
Cash in banks, on hand and in transit:	
United States .....	\$ 690,322.94
Overseas .....	1,606,877.34
	<hr/>
	2,297,200.28
	<hr/>
	\$ 18,978,445.25

##### LESS—Current liabilities:

###### United States:

Accounts payable ...	\$ 39,471.11
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## SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

## Overseas:

Accounts payable: ...	\$	6,792.01
United States, French and British govern- ments for motor trucks, supplies, rail transportation, etc.		
		104,397.42
		<hr/>
		111,189.43

## Reserves:

For claims of return- ing secretaries ....	\$	259,681.93
For rehabilitation o f leased properties and contingencies ..		
		64,297.24
		<hr/>
		323,979.17
		<hr/>
		474,639.71

Transferred to Trustees of the War Fund of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States .....		
		\$ 18,503,805.54

## EXHIBIT A

## EXPENDITURES IN UNITED STATES FROM APRIL 26, 1917, TO MARCH 7, 1921

## Construction and equipment of buildings, etc.:

Northeastern Department—51 buildings .....	\$	553,110.70
Eastern " 228 " .....		2,561,947.84
Southeastern " 205 " .....		1,245,794.01
Southern " 219 " .....		1,054,788.92
Central " 176 " .....		1,812,331.17
Western " 75 " .....		1,024,830.41
Troop transportation department and miscel- laneous equipment .....		207,366.04
		<hr/>
		\$ 8,460,169.09

## Operating expenses of camps and other activities:

Operation and maintenance of service buildings	\$	5,267,294.01
Uniforms and equipment of secretaries.....		790,460.43
Religious literature, meetings, Bible classes, salaries of religious secretaries and musical directors .....		2,770,985.66
Educational literature, lectures, French instruc- tion and library service .....		1,527,499.74
Concerts, vaudeville and other entertainments, including services and incidental expenses of talent and salaries of social secretaries ...		1,526,185.90
Motion picture exhibitions, rent and purchase of films, etc. .....		2,913,073.64

Athletic supplies and salaries of physical directors .....	1,818,479.87
Writing materials, camp newspapers and publications, etc. ....	1,021,397.08
Railroad fares and incidental expenses of secretaries accompanying troops on trains and ocean transports, etc., including necessary equipment and free supplies .....	3,901,282.42
Administrative expenses at camp headquarters	1,581,679.34
Automobile equipment, maintenance and supplies .....	843,707.33
Office supplies and expenses, telephone, telegraph, postage, stationery, etc. ....	664,942.10
Sex hygiene education, literature, etc. ....	91,807.47
Expenditures for territorial work, Canal Zone, Porto Rico, Philippines, etc. ....	1,011,243.19
Work in war industries—spruce logging camps, munition plants, etc. ....	521,084.05
Students' Army Training Corps expense....	563,680.14
Miscellaneous losses and expenses, including loss on realization of securities and sale of merchandise, etc. ....	1,329,292.52
	<hr/>
	28,144,094.89

**Appropriations:**

To local Y M C A's for services and entertainment furnished to service men and demobilized troops .....	\$ 1,686,094.84
To local Y M C A's for work among soldiers and sailors in cities near large camps and ports	674,207.01
To Army and Navy Y M C A branches for services furnished to soldiers and sailors .....	543,873.25
To Federal Council of Churches for their war work .....	79,800.00
	<hr/>
	2,983,975.10

**Expenses at the headquarters of the six military departments:**

Salaries .....	\$ 998,519.74
Traveling expenses of staff .....	398,227.57
Furniture, fixtures and equipment .....	146,464.76
Office rent, supplies, telephone, telegraph, postage, etc. ....	504,100.51
	<hr/>
	2,047,312.58
	<hr/>
LESS—Net income from salvage operations .....	\$41,635,551.66
	<hr/>
	739,303.54
	<hr/>
	\$40,896,248.12

## EXHIBIT B

EXPENDITURES OVERSEAS FROM COMMENCEMENT OF OPERATIONS IN 1917 TO  
MARCH 7, 1921

Construction and equipment of buildings, etc.:	
Huts and tents .....	\$ 5,883,557.43
Furniture, equipment and motion picture outfitts .....	3,603,289.15
Motor transport and miscellaneous equipment .....	2,671,750.99
	<b>\$12,158,597.57</b>
Field operations and other activities:	
Free canteen service .....	\$ 2,878,736.41
Christmas gifts and entertainments .....	695,512.06
Gift boxes distributed at debarkation ports in	
U. S. A. to returning soldiers .....	436,158.06
Writing materials, free newspapers, etc. ....	3,399,906.04
Operation of leave resorts .....	1,199,330.99
Operation of hotels .....	871,018.19
Motion picture expenses .....	1,914,879.14
Concerts and entertainments .....	1,669,744.37
Athletic and physical training expenses .....	2,479,732.73
Salaries and living allowances of secretaries and workers .....	16,433,599.36
Uniforms and equipment for secretaries .....	3,353,916.97
Ocean, rail and other transportation, insurance and miscellaneous expenses of secretaries and workers .....	4,602,389.86
Operating expenses of huts and field units...	1,520,440.28
Operating expenses of motor transport .....	1,982,687.96
Religious work expenses .....	633,326.30
Educational work and library expenses .....	760,956.36
Other association service .....	638,932.00
Direct expenses and losses incidental to banking service (A E F remittance orders, cashing checks, changing foreign currency, etc.)	345,280.96
Miscellaneous losses and expenses .....	132,118.08
Provision for rehabilitation of leased hotels, leave resorts, theaters and other properties	696,094.55
	<b>46,644,760.67</b>
Paris, London, Coblenz and Divisional Headquarters administrative expenses:	
Administrative salaries and expenses .....	\$ 2,104,228.39
Rent, heat, light, etc. ....	419,069.83
Publicity expenses .....	66,438.56
	<b>2,589,736.78</b>
LESS—Net income from salvage operations .....	<b>\$61,393,095.02</b>
	<b>2,948,993.09</b>
	<b>\$58,444,101.93</b>

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS OF POST EXCHANGES AND CANTEENS TO  
MARCH 7, 1921

## EXHIBIT C

## Operations in France and Great Britain:

Subsequent to May 1, 1918:

Sales .....	\$39,369,463.60
LESS:	
Cost of merchandise sold...\$37,682,952.69	
Expenses of motor transport assigned to canteens and warehouse expense .....	2,502,412.50
	40,185,365.19
Net loss .....	\$ 815,901.59
Prior to April 30, 1918:	
Profit on operations .....	11,676.33
Loss on operations in France and Great Britain .....	\$ 804,225.26
Loss on operations in Italy.....	10,452.68
Loss on operations in Germany..	3,620.55
Total loss on operations .....	\$ 818,298.49
ADD:	
Profit on raw materials ship- ped to manufacturers for conversion .....	\$ 923,581.70
Profit on purchases and sales to Quartermaster's Corps..	190,419.33
Miscellaneous profits a n d earnings .....	44,044.84
	1,158,045.87
Trading profit before charg- ing living allowances and traveling expenses of can- teen workers, rent of huts, or any proportion of the Paris Headquarters ex- penses .....	\$ 339,747.38
DEDUCT — Amount paid on account of appropriation to the American Legion of profit before applying loss on con- version of Post Exchange as- sets into U. S. currency .....	500,000.00
	\$ 160,252.62

## SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

ADD—Loss on liquidation of Post Exchange merchandise and other Post Exchange assets incidental to conversion of proceeds of sales, Fcs. 110,-395,767, into U. S. currency during period of and subsequent to fall in French exchange from normal to present levels .....	5,658,629.52
Net loss .....	<u>\$5,818,882.14</u>

## EXHIBIT D

EXPENDITURES FOR WORK WITH ALLIED ARMIES AND PRISONERS OF WAR (DISBURSED THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE Y M C A) FROM COMMENCEMENT OF OPERATIONS IN 1917 TO MARCH 7, 1921

## Allied Armies:

France .....	\$8,866,912.41
Great Britain .....	1,580,323.75
Italy .....	3,840,988.18
Russia (including A E F in Siberia) .....	7,932,210.97
Poland .....	1,366,826.44
Czechoslovakia .....	1,159,808.18
Other countries .....	3,242,895.32
	<u>\$27,989,965.25</u>

## Prisoners-of-War:

In Germany .....	\$ 487,908.42
In Austria-Hungary .....	247,447.23
In France .....	223,000.77
In Great Britain .....	211,351.23
In Russia .....	254,404.32
In Switzerland .....	265,200.42
In other countries .....	408,547.67
	<u>2,097,860.06</u>

## American Soldiers and Sailors:

Adriatic—Levant .....	\$ 88,597.23
Merchant Marine .....	96,495.49
Miscellaneous .....	40,786.28
	<u>225,879.00</u>

## Administration:

New York .....	\$ 557,170.92
Overseas .....	434,769.90
	<u>991,940.82</u>
	<u>\$31,305,645.13</u>

<b>DEDUCT—Contributions received from outside sources, less cash and other sundry items on hand March 7, 1921 .....</b>	<b>1,631,452.18</b>
Net amount advanced by National War Work Council.....	\$29,674,192.95

**EXHIBIT E****ADMINISTRATIVE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES EXPENSES AT GENERAL HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK FROM COMMENCEMENT OF OPERATIONS IN 1917 TO MARCH 7, 1921**

Office expenses, rent, light, etc .....	\$ 611,079.28
Comptroller's Department expenses, including traveling auditors	213,140.15
Purchasing and stores division salaries and expenses.....	156,225.56
Furniture and office equipment (less income from salvage)....	91,387.65
Religious Bureau expenses .....	130,947.18
Construction Department expenses .....	32,367.75
Treasurer's Department, including expenses of disbursing remittances from soldiers overseas .....	140,104.09
Interest on borrowed money .....	137,811.98
Insurance premiums—fire, fidelity and casualty .....	87,852.76
Legal expenses .....	62,501.06
General administrative and executive expenses .....	664,877.43
Intelligence Department expenses .....	20,396.30
Educational Bureau expenses .....	39,923.51
Expenses of purchasing and accounting bureaus in connection with overseas work .....	301,975.10
Other bureau expenses (Physical, music, sex hygiene, transportation, etc.) .....	533,077.75
Miscellaneous unclassified expenses prior to April 1, 1918.....	347,705.79

\$3,571,373.34

**CERTIFICATE OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS**

PRICE, WATERHOUSE & Co.  
54 William Street, New York                          April 27, 1921

Trustees of the War Fund of the Young Men's Christian Associations  
of the United States, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

We have audited the books and accounts of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States at its headquarters in New York, Paris and London, and at the six military headquarters at New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco and Atlanta, from the commencement of its operations on April 26, 1917, to March 7, 1921, and have been furnished with statements of the overseas accounts at Coblenz prepared by the overseas Comptroller, and we find that the foregoing financial statements have been correctly prepared therefrom.

The contributions represent those actually received at the headquarters at New York, Paris and London on or before March 7, 1921, but do not in-

clude the Council's proportion of the undistributed resources of the United War Work Campaign at that date. We made a thorough test of the expenditures and found that they had been made under sufficient instruction and were properly vouched. The securities owned, which represent donations by contributors and actual investments, and the cash on hand were verified and found in order. All ascertainable liabilities have been included in the financial statements.

WE CERTIFY that, in our opinion, the foregoing statements are properly drawn up so as to show correctly the transactions of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States, from the commencement of its operations on April 26, 1917, to March 7, 1921, the date when its assets and liabilities were transferred to the Trustees of the War Fund of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States.

PRICE, WATERHOUSE & Co.

## APPENDIX IV: HOUSING AND EQUIPMENT

### 1. YMCA Peace-Time Army and Navy Work—1902

#### PUBLIC ACTS OF THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

##### SESSION I, CHAPTER 943

An Act for the authorization of the erection of buildings by the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations on military reservations of the United States.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That authority is hereby given to the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to grant permission by revocable license to the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations of North America to erect and maintain, on the military reservations within the United States or its island possessions, such buildings as their work for the promotion of the social, physical, intellectual, and moral welfare of the garrisons may require, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may impose.

Approved May 31, 1902.

### 2. Mexican Border Work—1914

Official Permission for YMCA work to be carried into every camp of the United States Army:

GENERAL ORDERS

No. 39

WAR DEPARTMENT

May 23, 1914

The Young Men's Christian Association having tendered its services for the benefit of the troops serving in camp and in the field, all proper facilities for the work of the Association will be afforded by the commanding officers.

Whenever practicable, and when it does not interfere with drill and instruction or the purpose for which the troops are assembled, suitable sites will be selected and assigned in camps for the tents of the Association. In the case of change of camp sites the tentage and equipment of the Association will be transported when means are available. The care and police of the tents of the Association, and the grounds surrounding them, will also be provided for in the general scheme of police of the camp.

Permission will be given by the commanding officers for the duly accredited secretaries of the Association to purchase necessary supplies from the Quartermaster Corps in case the supplies are available and can be spared; and when, in the opinion of the commanding officer, the supply of tentage warrants it, shelter of this character will be afforded to the Association.

**3. Army and Navy Orders—1917-1918**

GENERAL ORDERS  
No. 70

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, June 2, 1917

I. Commanding officers of military posts and camps are hereby authorized, subject to the approval of the commanding officers of the departments in which the said posts or camps may be located, to grant licenses revocable at will by the Secretary of War to the Young Men's Christian Association to erect and maintain temporary buildings and structures thereon, in which to carry on the work of the said Association, the licenses to be for the period of the existing war, unless revoked prior to the termination thereof.

(2597935, A. G. O.)

\* \* \* \* \*

By order of the Secretary of War:

Official: TASKER H. BLISS,  
Major General, Acting Chief of Staff.  
H. P. McCAIN, The Adjutant General.

GENERAL ORDERS  
No. 313

NAVY DEPARTMENT  
Washington, July 26, 1917

1. The Young Men's Christian Association, in addition to its large service to enlisted men during times of peace, has greatly increased its facilities and efforts during the present need represented by the increased forces in the Navy and Marine Corps and the calling of the Naval Reserves and Naval Militia. This organization is prepared by experience, approved methods and assured resources to serve our enlisted men. The results obtained by this voluntary civilian organization are so beneficial and bear such a direct relationship to efficiency, inasmuch as the Association provision contributes to the happiness, content and morale of the personnel, that in order to unify the civilian betterment activities in the Navy and further the work of the organization that has demonstrated its ability to render a service desired by both officers and men, cordial recognition is hereby given the Young Men's Christian Association as a valuable adjunct and asset to the service.

2. Officers are urged to render the fullest practicable assistance and co-operation in the maintenance and extension of the Association at the regular Navy Yards and Stations, and at such other stations as may be established on either a temporary or permanent basis. To this end it is desired that officers, ashore and afloat, extend all possible consideration to accredited representatives of the Association. This should include:

(1) Authorization by commandants for the erection of buildings at the various Navy Yards and Stations in accordance with instructions already issued, and the provision of heat and light for said buildings.

(2) Cooperation in facilitating accredited representatives in their access to Navy Yards and Stations and to ships and temporary camps.

(3) The granting of commissary privileges where practicable.

(4) Furnishing where practicable tentage for shelter when in temporary camps.

(5) Transportation on naval craft, when necessary, of secretaries and supplies.

BULLETIN  
No. 20

WAR DEPARTMENT  
Washington, April 11, 1918

\* \* \* \* \*

III. 1. The attention of officers is directed to the precedent and policy already established in regard to civil association buildings erected at military posts, camps, and cantonments:

a. An act approved May 31, 1902, gives authority to the Secretary of War to grant permission by revocable license for the erection and maintenance of Young Men's Christian Association buildings on military reservations for the promotion of the social, physical, intellectual, and moral welfare of enlisted men. This authority has been delegated to post and camp commanders, under certain restrictions, by Section I, General Orders, No. 70, War Department, 1917.

b. An act of Congress approved March 23, 1910, making appropriation for the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, and published in General Orders, No. 54, War Department, 1910, authorizes the furnishing of heat and light for the buildings erected at private cost in the operation of the act approved May 31, 1902. This proviso has been included in appropriation acts including that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, published in Bulletins Nos. 30, 39, and 59, War Department, 1917. The act approved March 28, 1918, published in Bulletin No. 19, War Department, 1918, authorizes heat and light for the buildings erected at private cost, in the operation of the act approved May 31, 1902, and for buildings for similar purposes on military reservations authorized by War Department regulations.

c. The privileges granted the Young Men's Christian Association are enumerated in detail in paragraph 80, Compilation of Orders, 1881-1915, wherein commanding officers are enjoined (1) to provide all proper facilities practicable to aid the Association; (2) to assign suitable sites when practicable; (3) to supply transportation for Association tentage and equipment on change of site and when means are available; (4) in the general police scheme of the camp to provide for the care and police of the Association tents and grounds; (5) to accord accredited secretaries the privilege of purchase of necessary supplies, including subsistence stores, from the Quartermaster Corps in case the supplies are available and can be spared; (6) to furnish tentage for shelter where the supply warrants.

\* \* \* \* \*

2. Associations whose activities are authorized will be granted the privileges of water and sewerage, provided the water supply is ample and that these privileges will be afforded without any expense to the Government, and permission to purchase necessary supplies from the Quartermaster Corps,

including fuel, light, gasoline, and subsistence stores in cases where fuel and light is not authorized as an issue by the act of Congress approved March 28, 1918, plus any expense for handling and providing the supplies are available in excess of the actual Government requirements and can be spared.

(680.44, A. G. O.)

\* \* \* \* \*

By order of the Secretary of War:

PEYTON C. MARCH

Official: Major General, Acting Chief of Staff  
H. P. McCAIN, The Adjutant General.

## APPENDIX V: GENERAL SUPPLY DEPARTMENT AND POST EXCHANGE

### 1. Order Establishing Post Exchanges

#### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 33

September 6, 1917.

III. 1. The Y M C A is granted authority to establish exchanges for the American troops in France subject to such rules and regulations as may be issued from time to time by these Headquarters and under such control by commanding officers as will insure no interference with military operations and discipline.

2. These exchanges will be operated, in so far as the same are applicable to them, along the lines of post exchanges, whose places they are intended to fill, in order that officers and enlisted men may not be taken away for that purpose from their paramount military functions of training and fighting.

3. Commanding officers will therefore prohibit the maintenance of any Army exchanges in commands in which exchanges have been established by the Y M C A.

4. The establishment of these exchanges should not be limited to the areas more remote from active operations, but it is particularly desirable that they should be pushed as far to the front as military operations will permit in order that such comforts and conveniences as they afford may reach the soldiers in the more advanced positions where they are most needed.

5. Commanding officers are enjoined to facilitate the efforts of the Association's officers in this work. They will arrange suitable locations according to circumstances for the establishment of these exchanges, and accord such consideration to the officers of the Association engaged in this work and insure such facilities to them as would be enjoyed by those operating post exchanges under similar conditions, to the end that the purposes and objects of this undertaking may be duly accomplished.

### 2. Tonnage Requirements, A E F-Y M C A

12, Rue d'Aguesseau, Paris  
December 1, 1917.

From: E. C. Carter, Chief Secretary, Y M C A.

To: The Commander in Chief, A E F

Subject: Tonnage for the Y M C A

In confirmation of interviews with Col. Logan and Col. Barber, I have now to make formal application for your authorization of our requisite amount of Atlantic tonnage.

A most searching study has been made of the present and future possibilities of the market in France, the United Kingdom, and the adjacent neutral countries, with the object of confining our purchases from America to the absolute minimum, both with reference to equipment for our huts and supplies for the Post Exchange. For example, the list of goods for sale in the

Post Exchange is very much less than that carried by the ordinary Post Exchange in America and is similarly much smaller than that carried by the British Expeditionary Forces' canteens. We do not feel that we would be justified in making any farther reductions in our very limited list, and on the basis of which we are estimating our tonnage.

	Tonnage
Estimated automatic tonnage required for canteen articles for 25,000 men per month (see list 1 attached) .....	208.83
Estimated exceptional tonnage for equipment for two new divisions per month (see list 2 attached) .....	16.
On the above basis and our present rough estimate of the forces in France the total automatic supply of tonnage is .....	1252.98
And on the same basis the exceptional tonnage would be per month	16.
The above is for December. Each succeeding month beginning with January would require for 25,000 men 208.83 tons additional, or....	417.66
Add say 5% for war risk .....	85.
 Total tonnage required for January .....	 1771.64
Or an average of 400 tons per week.	

As you are probably aware, our Headquarters in New York have arranged with Washington, subject to your approval, for the present 350 tons of Government tonnage per week. In the light of the above statement we hope it will be possible for you to cable Washington approving this amount of tonnage for the present. This is the requirement for December; our January requirements will be increased by whatever number of additional troops are sent over. We will look to you to deal with these additional requirements automatically as the occasion arises and our statement attached will give you the basis on which such requirements can be estimated.

In conclusion I want to say that it is our endeavor to meet the requirements of the men as nearly as possible with the facilities at our command; and that by obtaining for us the tonnage we ask for, the comfort and satisfaction of the men will be greatly increased.

#### ESSENTIAL SUPPLIES (LIST 1) REQUIRED FROM U. S. A. MONTHLY

December 2, 1917.

For 25,000 men .....	208.83 tons
This equals for present forces, per month .....	1252.98 tons
Add equipment for 30 double huts, 1 month .....	16. "
Add one month's supply for two new divisions on above basis....	417.66 "
Add 5% for war risk .....	85. "
 Total monthly requirements .....	 1771.64 tons
Or about 400 tons per week.	

ESTIMATED AUTOMATIC TONNAGE FOR CANTEEN ARTICLES FOR 25,000 MEN  
PER MONTH

LIST 1

	Tonnage		Tonnage
1. Tobacco			
a. Cigaretts—½ package of 10 cigarettes per man, 12,500 packages per day, 375,000 packages per month, 150 cases .....	12.00	8. Condensed Milk—8 cans to 1 lb. cocoa, 72,000 cans of milk, 36,000 lbs. ....	18.
b. Smoking Tobacco—½ lb. per month per man, 12,500 lbs. ....	6.25	9. Pipes—1 pipe per man every six months, 4,000 pipes per month (Purchased in France)	
c. Chewing Tobacco—½ plug per week for 5,000 men, 60,000 plugs per month, 20,000 lbs. ....	10.00	10. Shoe-laces—2 pairs every 90 days, 16,000 pairs of laces per month (Purchased in France)	
d. Cigars—5 per week per man, 125,000 per week, 500,000 per month .....	2.50	11. Tooth Paste—10,000 tubes per month, 2,268 lbs. ....	1.
2. Sugar for Chocolate—4 tablets of 100 gr. per man per week, 400,000 tablets per month—40,000 kilos, 65% sugar on 40,000 kilos .....	26.00	12. Tooth Brushes—2,000 per month (Purchased in France)	
Sugar for Biscuits—½ package of 125 gr. per man per day, 12,500 packages—1,500 kilos per day, 45,000 kilos per month, 25% sugar on 45,000 kilos .....	11.25	13. Shaving Sticks—½ stick per month, 12,500 sticks per month .....	75.
Sugar for Jam—1 jar per man per week, 100,000 jars per month, 66,000 lbs. per month, 60% sugar on 66,000 lbs. ....	20.00	14. Shaving Brushes—2,000 per month (Purchased in France)	
3. Flour for Biscuits—75% of total .....	33.75	15. Cigaret Paper—(Purchased in France)	
4. Matches—25,000 boxes per week, 100,000 boxes per month .....	1.	16. Chewing Gum—2 packages per man per month, 50,000 packages per month, 25 cases .....	2.50
5. Candles—25,000 candles per week (Purchased in France)		17. Canned Fruit—Strawberry, Pears, Peach, 1 can per month, 25,000 cans, 24 tins to a case, 1,000 cases .....	30.
6. Soap—1 cake per week (Purchased in France)		18. Razors—Gillette Blades, Ever-ready Blades (Brought over as personal baggage)	
7. Cocoa—25,000 cups per day, 300 lbs. of cocoa daily, 9,000 lbs. of cocoa per month....	4.50	19. Hard Candy—1 package of 125 gr. per week, 100,000 packages, 12,500 kilos (Made in France) Sugar for same..	11.
		20. Coffee—500,000 cups per month, 12,500 lbs. ....	6.25
		Sugar for coffee—6,260 lbs. ....	3.
		21. Tea—100,000 cups per month	33.
		Sugar for tea, 625 lbs. ....	.25
		22. Biscuits (Uneeda)—50,000 packages, 144 packages of 56 lbs. ....	5.
		23. Brushes (Military) (Purchased in France)	

	Tonnage		Tonnage
24. Tomato Catsup .....	.50	chased in France and Eng-	
25. Canned Corn .....	3.	land)	
26. Bouillon Cubes (Purchased in		32. Insect Powder	
France)		(Purchased in England)	
27. Pickles (Sweet and Sour)		33. Sewing-kits	
(Purchased in France)		(Purchased in France)	
28. Pencils		34. Sardines	
(Purchased in France)		(Purchased in France)	
29. Wrist Watches		35. Pocket Knives	
(Purchased in France)		(Purchased in France)	
30. Flash Lights		36. Shoe Polish	
(Purchased in France and		(Purchased in France)	
England)		37. Tobacco Pouches	
31. Handkerchiefs — White and		(Purchased in France)	
O.D., 50,000 per month, 2 doz.			
per month, 4,000 doz. (Pur-			
		Total .....	208.83 tons

## ESTIMATED EXCEPTIONAL TONNAGE FOR EQUIPMENT OF TWO DIVISIONS PER MONTH

	Tonnage		Tonnage
1. Chairs—800 per double hut, weight 105 lbs. per doz. (These we will obtain locally)		weight 2 lbs. ....	.10
2. Cinema—1 for each hut, weight 282 lbs. each .....	4.	Books—(Song-Hymn) For every hut, weight 200 lbs.	3.
3. Victors—1 for each hut,		7. Stationery—(Including paper for printing) For all huts....	6.
weight 100 lbs. each .....		8. Typewriters — 39 Coronas, weight 20 lbs. each.....	.40
4. Records—50 for each hut, weight 50 lbs. ....	2.50		
5. Playing Cards—12 packs,		Total .....	16.00

## COLONEL BARBOUR

(Deputy Chief of Staff Headquarters Service of Supply A E F)

Y M C A in dire need of entire tonnage allotment. Constant complaint from commanding officers and men throughout France, particularly at the front regarding utter inadequacy Y M C A Post Exchange supplies. Earnestly hope full allotment will be possible in case any reduction necessary. Our New York office is fully informed regarding Y M C A tonnage priority.

CARTER

Y M C A Paris, March 23, 1918.

## 3. Warehousing

12 Rue d'Aguesseau, Paris,  
January 8, 1918.

From: E. C. Carter, Chief Secretary, A E F-Y M C A

To: Colonel James Logan

Subject: Warehouse location at Gièvres.

Referring to our letter of December 4, on the above subject, we write to ask if as yet our former application for a warehouse site has been allotted to us.

You will remember the original request was for a site to accommodate a warehouse, 50 x 350 feet, and in view of the inevitable increase of the

volume of our traffic and the fact that we will no longer use Paris as a center, we should like to have allotted to us sufficient vacant ground to build a second warehouse of the same size.

We understand that the warehouses are located in such a way that there is a vacant bay between each row of warehouses. On this space we should like to have further a vacant ground allotment corresponding to the warehouse sites as above. This would then enable us to store non-perishable material in the open.

As regards the cost of the structure, we are willing to settle that with the Quartermaster's Department on any basis that he may desire; that is, Army to furnish us with the warehouses which we are to pay for or we to agree to furnish the lumber when we obtain same and to pay for the lumber to build the warehouse, or in any other manner that is agreeable to the Army authorities.

As doubtless progress will from now on be very much more rapid at this point, we hope that you can obtain for us from the proper authorities the allocation as above, at your earliest possible moment.

E. C. CARTER.

1st. Ind.

Hdq. A E F, A. S., G. S. January 9, 1918—To C. G. L. of C.

1. Forwarded for his recommendation.
2. The return of these papers is desired. By order of the C. in C.  
JAMES A. LOGAN, JR.  
Chief A. S., G. S.

2nd. Ind.

Hdq. L. of C., A E F, France, January 16, 1918—To C O, Intermediate Section.

For recommendation with return of these papers. By command of Major General Kernan:

F. A. WILCOX  
Adjutant General

3d. Ind.

Hdq. Inter. Sec. L. of C., France, January 21, 1918—to C. G., L. of C.

1. Gièvres is not in position at present to care for the Y M C A. It is absolutely impossible to grant them storage space or care for their stores for several months. The service of supply, sanitary and telegraph is strained to meet the demands; the Y M C A, like the service of S, S and T must provide storage space along the line of communications temporarily, until our great depots are in operation.

2. When established and in operation, the great depot will, very properly, meet the requirements of the Y M C A.

ARTHUR JOHNSON,  
Colonel, 51st Infantry  
Commanding.

## 4th. Ind.

Hdq. L. of C., A E F France, January 24, 1918—To C in C, A E F.

1. As conditions are at present it is not possible to assign store space at Gièvres to the Y M C A. It is believed such space may be available in about two months. It is recommended that no storehouse space be assigned to the Y M C A at Gièvres at the present time.

F. J. KERNAN,  
Maj. Gen., N. A.  
Commanding.

## 5th. Ind.

G H Q, A E F, A S, G S, January 30, 1918—To Chief Y M C A.

1. Inviting attention to 4th. Ind.

4. *Tonnage Crisis*

May 2nd, 1918.

From: Chief A E F—Y M C A

To: C. in C. G. 1.

Subject: Crisis regarding Y M C A tonnage.

(1) Several months of experience has proven that the original estimate of 208 tons per month per 25,000 men for Post Exchange supplies was not excessive. Because of the then shortage of Atlantic tonnage, it was necessary for G. H. Q. to get down the allotment from 208 to 100 tons per month per 25,000 men automatic tonnage.

(2) The request of the Y M C A for tonnage for equipment in addition to tonnage for Post Exchange supplies, has not yet been granted. For a time we were able to get commercial tonnage at a high rate to cover most of our needs in this direction. This included athletic goods, cinema supplies, hut equipment, periodicals, motor supplies and stationery. It is no longer possible to secure any appreciable quantity of commercial tonnage. After making all possible purchases in Europe, it is absolutely out of the question from the point of view of the morale of the A E F for the Y M C A to eliminate the importation of stationery, athletic, cinema and motor supplies, magazines, etc.

(3) On a recent tour of the 1st, 2d, 26th and 42d Divisions, I personally inspected a very large number of our canteens. Almost without exception I found our canteens inadequately supplied, and while on the one hand there was great appreciation on the part of the officers and men of the services our canteens were rendering under difficult circumstances, the prevailing opinion was that the quantity of supplies available was pitifully inadequate.

(4) At the rate at which troops are now coming to France, the present inadequate allotment of automatic tonnage for the Post Exchange is made all the more insufficient by the fact that, for example, the May allotment is on the basis of the number of troops in France in the month of May. As a matter of fact, the Post Exchange supplies which leave New York during the month of May cannot be made available for our canteens throughout France until the month of July. This means that our allotment of tonnage for May should really be on the basis of the troops to be served two months later.

(5) In view of the decreasing amount of commercial tonnage available and the relatively decreasing amount of equipment and supplies available for purchase in Europe, I am to urge that for the Post Exchange supplies and Y M C A equipment the C. in C. authorize an increase of automatic tonnage for the Y M C A to 208 tons per month per 25,000 men.

(Signed) E. C. CARTER,  
Chief, A E F-Y M C A

### 5. Timber Allotment

May 3, 1918.

From: Hdqrs., Base Section No. 3, S. O. S., A E F.  
To: C. in C. for G-1.  
Subject: Timber allotment for Y M C A.

1. The inclosed request of the Y M C A for timber is submitted for approval. This quantity will be charged to our allotment of 20,000 tons.

JOHN BIDDLE,  
Major General, N. A.  
Commanding

Incl: Y M C A request for timber.

1st Ind.

G. H. Q., A E F, G-1, May 11, 1918, to C. G., S. O. S.

1. Returned. The tonnage situation at present is such that no purchases involving replacement can be authorized for the Y M C A. Attention is invited to the fact that the old agreement under which we were to replace 20,000 tons of timber has been abrogated.

By order of the C. in C.

JAMES A. LOGAN, JR.,  
Col. G. S., N. A.  
A. C. of S., G-1

3d. Ind.

G. H. Q., A E F, G-1, May 18, 1918—To C. G., S. O. S.

1. Returned.

2. The excellent work done by the Y M C A is highly appreciated by the C. in C., who would be glad to approve the request contained in the letter of April 24th, 1918, from Mr. Mack Olsen, Post Exchange Secretary.

3. Replacement undertakings of the kind sought to be made in this case have caused the greatest confusion at home. They involve what is in substance a replacement determination which the military situation does not permit us to recommend at this time. It is, therefore, suggested that if it should be used, an effort be made to secure it from the English authorities without any replacement undertaking.

4. It is further suggested that inasmuch as the utilization of any lumber on this side decreases the supply available for urgent military necessities, it

should be carefully considered whether a satisfactory substitute such as rented quarters, cannot be found.

By order of the C. in C.

JAMES A. LOGAN, JR.,

Col. G. S., N. A.,

A. C. of S., G-1.

## 6. Automatic Tonnage

A E F—Y M C A

PARIS

From: Chief Secretary, Y M C A.

September 5, 1918.

To: Asst. Chief of Staff, G-1, A. P. O. 717.

Subject: Y M C A Automatic Tonnage.

1. For several months, we have operated our Post Exchange and General Supply Depts. on a most economical basis, eliminating all possible items, transporting all commodities in the most compact form, securing and manufacturing in Europe all possible supplies and in general conserving every pound and foot of ocean tonnage.

2. Our records show a total of 14,000 short tons (estimated 28,180 space tons) received during the first seven months of 1918. Of this quantity, 4,413 tons or 31.31% arrived on purchased space.

3. In view of the commandeering of all shipping by the Allied Govs., the amount of commercial tonnage available is constantly decreasing, in fact, as well as in proportion to the number of A E F troops to be supplied.

4. The amount of raw materials of manufactured products available for purchase in Europe, without replacement in kind of tonnage, is also constantly decreasing.

5. The Y M C A is now operating 1,068 post exchanges, of which over one half are located in the combat zone. Additional post exchanges are being opened at the rate of over five per day. The constantly increasing number of troops in action in areas completely devastated and stripped of supplies of every kind, is putting an unusual and unexpected demand upon the post exchanges.

6. Owing to inadequate supplies due to insufficient tonnage, we have been unable to meet this demand.

7. Under General Orders No. 33, the Y M C A is made responsible for the maintenance and operation of the post exchanges with the A E F. To successfully meet this obligation, we require 125 weight tons per 25,000 men per month, details as per attached statement.

8. We therefore request that, beginning October 1st, the Y M C A be allotted automatic tonnage on the above basis.

(Signed) CHIEF SECRETARY,

A E F-Y M C A

## Y M C A AUTOMATIC TONNAGE PER 25,000 MEN PER MONTH

Weight Tons 2,000 lbs.	Commodity
9.00	Cigaretts
2.50	Cigars
4.50	Smoking Tobacco
1.20	Chewing Tobacco
6.50	Hard Candy
15.00	Flour
34.00	Sugar
1.00	Condensed Milk
1.20	Cocoa
0.50	Candles
1.60	Chewing Gum
1.50	Canned Fruit
10.00	Miscellaneous Canteen Supplies
9.00	Motor Trucks
5.00	Ford Cars
0.50	Motorecycles
1.00	Automobile Spare Parts
1.75	Writing Paper for Soldiers
1.50	Envelopes
3.50	Moving Picture Equipment
1.50	Library Supplies
2.50	Canvas for Tents
1.00	Athletic Supplies
2.50	Construction Supplies
6.50	Miscellaneous Equipment

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**124.75**

The above estimates for tobacco include the fifteen automatic short tons released to the Q. M. C. (Y M C A proposal of July 13th, accepted by letter Asst. Chief of Staff G-1, S. O. S. August 3rd.)

All estimates are based on actual experience during past 7 months.

We request that the total amount be allotted us and the tentative arrangement with the Q. M. C. for tobacco be considered apart.

#### *7. Functions of Welfare Organizations during Combat*

The judgment of the Commander of the 1st Division after six months of experience of welfare work on the fighting line, is expressed in the following order:

**HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION  
AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES**

Memorandum

No. 173

France, October 25, 1918.

The Division Commander appreciates the efforts of auxiliary civilian organizations to furnish supplies to the personnel of the Division under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances while the Division is in the line. It is

observed that the functioning of these organizations throughout the entire sector while the Division is in the line has resulted in their inability to furnish adequately supplies and recreation to the personnel of the Division when the Division is in a rest area and the personnel can best realize and appreciate the efforts of these organizations. It is realized that their inability to serve more efficiently the need of the Division while it is at rest, is due to the unavoidable deterioration of their transportation and the necessity of a rest for their workers due to their efforts during the preceding period of activity.

The following rules are prescribed for the functioning of these organizations in the future when the Division is in the line, it being considered that they are for the best interest of all concerned:

(a) Distribution of supplies will be made by means of organization supply trains.

(b) Each civilian organization may have one secretary or representative for each Division organization to which supplies are to be delivered, at the point of delivery of said supplies.

(c) Except as above stated representatives from these organizations will not go farther forward for the purpose of delivering supplies than field Hospitals, at which point they may deliver supplies.

(d) These organizations will, in so far as practicable, hold their personnel in reserve and build up their equipment while the Division is in action.

(e) In order to carry out the above provisions organization Commanders will render to these organizations such assistance and cooperation as is possible.

By command of Brigadier General Parker.

W. R. WHEELER,

Lt. Col. Inf. U. S. A.

Division Adjutant

## *8. Sale of Goods at Quartermaster's Prices*

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

HEADQUARTERS SERVICES OF SUPPLY

Office of the Chief Quartermaster, A E F

Circular

No. 61

December 2, 1918.

1. Beginning January 1, 1919, the Quartermaster Corps will supply the needs of the Y M C A sales stores (canteens) from available stock of issue and sales articles of subsistence on hand at current price list prices. Any quartermaster having a stock of subsistence will be a source of supply for this purpose. Such supplies will be delivered to the local Y M C A secretary designated by the Head Office of the Y M C A as the official representative of the organization in the locality. For all supplies turned over the designated local secretary will be required to give the issuing quartermaster receipts in duplicate. At stations where the Y M C A has no local transportation, delivery of supplies to warehouses or sales stores will be effected by the Quartermaster Corps.

2. The local Y M C A secretary will advise the issuing quartermaster on or about the 15th of each month the articles and approximate quantities he

will require for the following month. The quartermaster will make a special effort to have on hand at all times sufficient stock to meet the requirements of the local secretary. Delivery to the Y M C A by the Quartermaster Corps will be as near the first of the month as it is possible to do so. All supplies turned over to the Y M C A under the provisions of this circular will be invoiced to the Depot Quartermaster, Paris, and a copy of the receipt signed by the local secretary will be attached to the invoice. The invoice will indicate specifically the items and quantities turned over, as well as the unit price. An extra copy of the invoice will be prepared which will be delivered to the local secretary for his information. Should it become necessary to make a supplementary issue to the Y M C A in any month, procedure indicated above will be repeated.

3. The Depot Quartermaster, Paris, will, upon receipt of invoices covering delivery of subsistence to the Y M C A, render bills to the Head Office of the Y M C A in Paris. Payment for subsistence so turned over to the Y M C A will be made to the Depot Quartermaster, Paris, in cash or by draft, which will be without expense to the United States, immediately upon the receipt of proper bills.

4. After payment has been effected, the Depot Quartermaster, Paris, will receipt to the issuing quartermaster for supplies covered by the invoice, taking the supplies upon his accountability and dropping same on abstract of sales.

H. L. ROGERS,  
Major General, U. S. Army,  
Chief Quartermaster

## 9. Sale of Gift Cigaretts

SALES COMMISSARY UNIT No. 4

A. P. O. 740 A E F

23 October, '18.

From: C. C., Sales Commissary Unit No. 4. A. P. O. 740 A E F.  
To: Y M C A., 3d Division, A. P. O. 740, A E F.  
Subject: Gift Cigarettes.

1. Through an error of the Supply Division at Gièvres, this commissary received several cases of Piedmont cigarettes, each carton of which contained a return post card stating that these cigarettes were a gift from "The New York Sun Tobacco Fund."

2. These cigarettes were sold to you in case lots before this was discovered, there being no marks on the cases to indicate that this was gift tobacco. This matter has been taken up by this commissary with the Supply Depot at Gièvres, and in all probability these cigarettes will be replaced.

(Signed) C. P. HAFFLEY,  
1st Lieut. Q. M. C. U. S. A.  
Quartermaster.

CIRCULAR

No. 3

## Office of the Chief Quartermaster, A E F

January 6, 1919.

1. The following instructions relative to the handling of gift tobacco must be strictly complied with by all Quartermasters connected in any way with the handling of such tobacco.

(a) When gift tobacco is received at a Base Port the Depot Quartermaster will at once segregate it and notify the Base Quartermaster, who will notify this office by telegraph, advising amount of each kind of tobacco on hand and name of donor. Shipments will only be made on instructions furnished by the Office of the Chief Quartermaster.

(b) Instructions under (a) do not apply to gift tobacco specially marked for organizations, shipment of which will be made direct to organizations concerned.

(c) Should gift tobacco be forwarded direct from shipside to Intermediate or Advance Depots the same procedure as outlined in (a) and (b) will be followed by Depot Quartermasters.

(d) When shipments of gift tobacco are made in compliance with instructions from this office, the Depot Quartermaster making shipment will advise consignee date of shipment, car and O. D. T. numbers, amount shipped and any other information which will insure proper distribution of the gift tobacco. Shipment of gift tobacco will not be invoiced.

(e) Every shipment of tobacco received by a sales commissary will be carefully examined to determine whether it is gift tobacco or sales tobacco before any of it is placed on sale. If necessary to secure this information, the cases will be opened and the contents therein examined.

(f) Should a shipment of gift tobacco be received by a sales commissary on invoice as sales tobacco it will be held intact and the Depot from which received will be notified, with request that a like amount of sales tobacco be furnished to replace gift tobacco, and that disposition of the gift tobacco be furnished. This office will be informed of the action taken by the sales commissary and by the Depot. This also applies in case gift tobacco is invoiced from one Depot to another.

(g) Whenever conclusive evidence is furnished to a sales commissary that gift tobacco has been sold by that commissary, replacement will be made free of charge to the party who purchased the gift tobacco, and this office, as well as the Depot from which received, will be immediately informed of all facts in the case.

2. The term "tobacco" as used herein includes cigars, cigarettes, smoking and chewing tobacco of all kinds.

3. Due to the fact that cases containing gift tobacco are not always plainly and sufficiently marked, every precaution must be taken to prevent gift tobacco being mixed with sales tobacco and subsequently sold. All persons under your jurisdiction, officers, enlisted men and civilians, will be instructed as to the proper handling of gift tobacco.

H. L. ROGERS,

Major General, U. S. Army  
Chief Quartermaster.

## APPENDIX VI: THE MINISTRY OF RELIGION

### 1. *Bible Study in Army Camps*

As Planned by the Bible Study Committee of the National War Work  
Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

#### I

No argument is required as to the need of energizing the moral purpose of the soldiers. The normal strain put upon a soldier and the abnormal temptations are universally recognized. Most thoughtful men also appreciate the place of Bible Study in meeting the need.

#### II

Before going into details permit me to assume that certain facts are understood.

1. In any army camp a religious work program to be effective will be undenominational and conducted in ways approved by the Military Authorities and recognized in the organization of the National War Work Council. It will be adjusted to military plans, regulations and purposes, to the work of other approved agencies, such as the Fosdick Commission and the American Library Association, as well as the all-round plans and aims of the Association.

2. No one questions the necessity of cooperation if we would avoid friction and waste and secure the finest results.

3. The government has entrusted tremendous responsibilities to the Young Men's Christian Association in making it the agent for interdenominational religious work. This is based on the Association's years of experience, especially in work among soldiers in this and in other lands.

#### III

What is the purpose of the Association not only in its Bible Study program but in all its many sided plans? In a word, it is to maintain and increase the physical, mental and moral efficiency of every soldier and sailor by the wise use of many activities, especially those through which each man may be vitally related to the Scriptures and to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. There will be many ways of approach to the individual need, but fundamentally they are comprehended in this statement.

#### IV

What definite lines of work are proposed which bear upon this relation of young men to the Bible?

The following are some of the tested methods. Part of them are being developed in new ways. All are subject to change in the light of experience. Christian Education cannot be accomplished in a hurry, and the most effective methods will require time in organizing, setting up and promoting.

Furthermore no such program will be effective beyond the vision, enthusiasm and persistence of the men who are behind it, in the camps and buildings.

1. We propose as a STANDARD an organized BIBLE CLASS in EVERY COMPANY IN EVERY REGIMENT IN EVERY CAMP.

- (1) Usually they can be held on Sunday.
- (2) They will be led by the best available teachers, preferably laymen.
- (3) They will be promoted by the men in the ranks, guided naturally by the Association Secretaries.
- (4) They will be self-propagating, producing in a reasonable time their own leaders. Only thus can the best results be transported overseas.

2. Many SMALL BIBLE GROUPS will be organized.

These will be more informal, meeting at convenient hours and places, lending themselves to the frank discussion of personal problems.

The leaders will largely come from the men themselves, and will in most cases be prepared by the secretaries for this task. Such studies as Stewart's "The Soldier's Spirit" will be used.

3. Organized INTERVIEWS following the plan already successfully tested in the 5th Ohio Regiment will be recommended.

The organization necessary to do this work thoroughly in Camp Sherman at Chillicothe, Ohio, is already formed. The goal at this camp is a personal interview with every one of the 40,000 soldiers, within six weeks in squads of eight men each.

There are several features of this plan which commend it to army officers in a degree not usual with some other forms of religious activity.

4. THE DISTRIBUTION OF TESTAMENTS. The Pocket Testament League pledge or some kindred plan of definitely relating individual soldiers to the Bible in personal work will be followed.

5. SPECIAL LITERATURE suitable to the religious aim is being selected or prepared under the direction of a committee of which Dr. Robert E. Speer is Chairman.

6. SPECIAL ADDRESSES WILL BE GIVEN from time to time, either by the regular speakers suggested by the Speakers' Bureau, or by men with a recognized Bible Study.

## V

You ask what is the machinery by which the War Work Council is promoting this program.

1. There is the Religious Work Bureau of the National War Work Council of which Robert P. Wilder is Director.

2. There is a COOPERATING COMMITTEE composed of sixteen representative Denominational leaders of which Bishop L. B. Wilson is Chairman.

Within this Committee are sub-committees on (1) Speakers, of which President J. Ross Stevenson is Chairman. (2) Selection of Religious Work Secretaries, President C. A. Barbour, Chairman. (3) Bible Study composed

of Bishop Wilson, Dr. Speer, Dr. Stevenson and Dean Brown of Yale, with myself as Bible Study Secretary.

3. In each of the six Military Departments one man is being charged with special responsibility for the supervision of the Religious Work and Bible Study Program.

4. In each Army Camp there is a Religious Work Secretary, in most cases a man of outstanding ability and influence as a church leader.

Within the camps there are from five to eight Association buildings in each of which there is a Religious Work Secretary.

In other words, when once the organized work is under way, it will be promoted by upwards of 250 selected men whose major responsibility will be to promote the religious activities including the Bible Study Program.

## VI

Your Commission has asked the War Work Council to suggest some ways in which the organized Sunday School forces as represented in this Commission may cooperate in carrying out this program. In other words, how can the organized forces without the camps help the organized forces within the camps to work effectively?

1. By steadily maintaining and increasing at the home base a spirit of appreciation of the task assigned the Association and prayerful sympathy with those who are undertaking it.

- (1) Recall the size of the problem—more than a million young men.
- (2) Its complexity—the camps being cities of men away from home restraints, crowded together in an abnormal way.
- (3) The delicate relationships.
  - (a) To army officers, not all of whom fully appreciate religious activities.
  - (b) To other religious movements.
  - (c) To conflicting enthusiasms for other types of welfare work.
  - (d) To efficient anti-religious influence seeking the attention of the soldiers.
  - (e) And especially to the business of a camp—the making of effective soldiers.
- (4) The shortness of the time and the many necessary distractions.

2. By helping the young men to come to camp prepared in some measure for what awaits them. To come expecting to make themselves known if they are members of the church and not wait to be sought out.

3. By helping the Camp Secretaries to be of the best service by having information sent in advance on approved blanks, distributed through your approved channels to the churches and Sunday Schools.

4. By providing lists of experienced and tested Bible Class leaders from the general vicinity of the camps, who may be drafted, to lead the organized classes, where needed. Only such men should be suggested as will meet these conditions.

- (1) Successful experience with men's classes.
- (2) A willingness to come for not less than 6 to 8 weeks consecutively.
- (3) To give at least a day for personal contact with the young men before and after the class, and where feasible to actually live in the camp.

5. By suggesting men qualified to give the right kind of Bible Study Addresses.

6. By helping the American Bible Society to raise funds to provide a MILLION RED TRIANGLE TESTAMENTS for the soldiers to be given to the Y M C A. (This in harmony with the telegram from Secretary Fox of the American Bible Society submitted to the Commission.)

7. By using all possible means to "Keep the Home Fires Burning" and interest in the spiritual welfare of the soldiers keen by such methods as

- (1) The Enlisted Man's Honor Roll.
- (2) Special Patriotic Rallies, Sermons, etc.
- (3) Special Topics for Intercession, related to the work among soldiers.
- (4) Maintaining the Regular Work for young men in the home churches at an even higher level of effectiveness than ever. The best possible and the largest Bible Classes. A many-sided program of religious and social activities, etc.

## *2. Members of Religious Work Bureau*

Ralph W. Harbison, *Chairman*  
Dr. Clarence A. Barbour  
Bishop Charles S. Burch  
Walter Kidde  
Dr. W. Douglas Mackenzie

William B. Millar  
John D. Rockefeller, Jr.  
Robert W. Speer  
Dr. J. Ross Stevenson  
Bishop Luther B. Wilson

## APPENDIX VII: EDUCATION

### 1. *Educational Committee of the Commission on Training Camp Activities*

#### MEMBERS

Chairman, William Orr, Director of the Educational Work Bureau of the National War Work Council of the Y M C A.

P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education.

Harry Pratt Judson, President of the University of Chicago.

John H. Finley, President of the University of the State of New York.

Colonel P. H. Callahan.

### 2. *Estimated Budget for Educational Work*

Dear Dr. Mott:

October 16, 1918.

I enclose the estimated budget which Dr. Spaulding sent after me in response to Mr. Carter's request. You will notice that the budget is designed to provide for an army of approximately four million men. The figures that I gave you in conference the other day have in mind the present army, but it would really be wise to face the worst at once and to consider the figures as Dr. Spaulding has drawn them up.

Our immediate need is for books, for supervising teachers, and for the correspondence school. The correspondence school is included in Dr. Spaulding's estimate at \$125,000. We understand from the people with whom we have consulted in New York that to set up from six to a dozen courses for the present army in the subjects which are most in demand—that is, in engineering and in business—we should need a budget for one year of between \$150,000 and \$200,000.

You will notice that in the section devoted to textbooks we estimate that three million should be spent for reference books and libraries. I have seen Dr. Putnam, President of the American Library Association, and have urged upon him that the A. L. A. assume the cost of these books, since they are of the sort which the A. L. A. is supposed to provide. He is a bit staggered by the large sum which we are asking for, but I do not see how his association can decline to assume this burden if they pretend to render the service which the army needs. Dr. Putnam knows, as I do, that the soldiers are demanding books of a serious and educational sort. I am to confer again with him this week and with the Finance Committee of their work, and I will report to you at once the result of their decision. If the A. L. A. assumes this three million dollars we can get on well at present with five million dollars to purchase textbooks.

Various schemes have been proposed by which the Association, or later perhaps the Government, could buy back books from the soldiers. It may be that in the end the cost of the textbooks will be much less than the five million

dollars, but it is hardly safe to assign a smaller amount as working capital at present.

If there is any further information which you need, please call upon me.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) JOHN ERSKINE

*3. Budget of the Army Educational Commission for the Year Nov. 1, 1918-Oct. 31, 1919*

NOTE: The following budget estimates are based on the assumption of a continuation of hostilities throughout all or nearly all of the period covered, and a steady increase in the man-power of the army up to approximately 4,000,000 by mid-summer, 1919. No satisfactory estimate can be made of the expenditures that would be necessary, should a period of suspended hostilities, followed by demobilization, begin early in the year covered by this budget. During such a period, the necessary expenditure would be much greater on account of the great extension of educational activities required; as a partial offset, however, the Army in France would scarcely be increased to 4,000,000 as estimated.

I FIELD STAFF

1. Hut Educational Directors, 2000 .....	\$4,200,000
2. Divisional Superintendents, 100 .....	350,000
3. District and Regional Superintendents, 15 .....	60,000

II HEADQUARTERS STAFF

1. Commission and specialists as heads of Departments, 20 ...	100,000
2. Correspondence courses staff, 50 .....	125,000
3. Stenographers, clerks, etc. 35 .....	52,500
4. Lectures and miscellaneous services .....	250,000

Total for personal service ..... 5,137,500

III TEXTBOOKS AND EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL

1. Textbooks for free distribution (chiefly for illiterates) ....	300,000
2. Textbooks for reference and libraries (not to be sold) ....	3,000,000
For replacement of same, losses, duplicates, etc. ....	500,000
3. Paper, pads, composition books, etc., to be used in instruction	500,000
4. Textbooks to be sold .....	5,000,000
5. Printing and supplying pamphlets, syllabi, study outlines, bulletins, catalogs, etc. ....	100,000
6. Maps, blackboards, mechanical drawing materials, and miscellaneous supplies .....	250,000

Total for textbooks and educational material ..... 9,650,000

Grand total of Army Educational Commission budget ..\$14,787,500

BUREAU OF LIBRARIES AND PERIODICALS

In addition to the above estimates for the Educational Department, Mr. Mason, of the Bureau of Libraries and Periodicals, makes an estimate for publications to be supplied other departments as follows:

1. Religious Department, publications .....	\$ 752,500
2. Health and Recreation Department, publications .....	5,000
3. Bureau of Libraries	
a Music (other than sacred music furnished Rel. Dept.) ..	90,000
b Newspapers, to be supplied free to combat divisions ....	500,000
c Magazines, including renewal of present subscriptions ..	650,000
Total for publications for Departments other than Educational .....	\$1,997,500

Submitted for the  
Army Educational Commission

Sept. 28, 1918.

F. E. SPAULDING

#### 4. *Educational Work in the A E F*

G. H. Q.

##### AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

###### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 192

France, October 31, 1918.

1. The Young Men's Christian Association, through the Y M C A Army Educational Commission, has organized, with the approval of the Commander-in-Chief, an educational system charged with the standardization of educational methods and the establishment of schools for instruction of officers and soldiers in all of the larger posts, camps, and hospitals of the American Expeditionary Forces.

2. In order to further education in the American Expeditionary Forces, army, corps, division, regimental commanders and commanding officers of schools, special units and posts will each appoint a qualified member of his staff as school officer. The school officer will be charged with the supervision of educational work within the organization to which attached, as defined in Pars. 5, 6 and 7 of this order.

3. In compliance with the provisions of A. R. 449, post, regimental or detachment commanders will establish post schools in all posts, cantonments, hospitals or rest camps, or areas which have a constant population of five hundred or more soldiers. Action will be taken under the provisions of Army Regulations to secure proper rooms, heating, lighting, equipment and service, when same is not otherwise provided. In cases where building or other facilities are furnished by civil societies, action will be taken to secure lacking material or service.

4. Instruction will be standardized as to textbooks, courses, records and requirements in accordance with the system arranged by the Y M C A Army Educational Commission, approved by these headquarters. It will comprise the following subjects: French language; History, character and institutions of the people of the Allied nations; Causes of the War and America's

participation; Civics; Courses in common school subjects; Special courses for examination for promotion.

At places where civil organizations have provided the necessary facilities the following may be included: Special correspondence and university extension courses; Physical education; Additional subjects authorized by these headquarters.

5. Post schools will be controlled by post commanders as to discipline, attendance, sanitation and, in the absence of volunteer civil agencies, instruction, but such instruction will conform to the approved system of the Y M C A Army Educational Commission, and such schools will be subject to inspection and supervision as to methods, results and subject of instruction by properly authorized agents of the Y M C A Army Educational Commission.

6. Wherever practicable, the buildings, organization, equipment, management, and other facilities provided by the Y M C A Army Educational Commission will be utilized as the post schools by commanding officers. In such cases, the duties of the commanding officer will be limited to those necessary to proper discipline, sanitation, and regulation of attendance; and the duties of the school officer of the post or camp to liaison with the Y M C A War Educational Commission's agent, and superintendence of discipline, attendance and sanitation of the post schools under the direction of the commanding officer. . . .

#### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 9

France, January 13, 1919.

This Order modified in important respects General Orders No. 192. Instead of being charged with the duty of establishing schools, the Y M C A Army Educational Commission was charged with the duty of "developing courses and course material, and with providing expert educational advisors and assistants for schools." The duties of these advisors were further defined: "to act as teachers of methods of instruction to detailed instructors; as supervisors and inspectors of instruction; as advisors to the school officers; and as instructors of classes so far as their other duties will permit." Attendance of illiterates was ordered instead of being voluntary. The order that instruction should conform to "the system developed by the Y M C A Army Commission and approved by these Headquarters," was reaffirmed.

#### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 30

France, February 13, 1919.

This Order provided for divisional schools. It specified 14 subjects for vocational training, and increased the list of academic subjects previously authorized. It provided that courses should consist of five hours work daily, five days a week, for three months, and gave the necessary authorization for detachment of officers and men, with commutation of subsistence, for attendance at French and British universities as arranged by the Educational Commission. It also authorized the American University at Beaune.

## GENERAL ORDERS

No. 62.

France, April 8, 1919.

II. 1. On April 16, 1919, the Y M C A will transfer the Army Educational Commission and its organization to the Army.

2. There is hereby created within the American Expeditionary Forces an Educational Corps. This corps will consist of experienced civilian educators employed by, and in the service of the United States.

3. The Educational Corps will be organized and will function as follows:

(a) The Educational Corps Commission, to consist of three members, with station at American E. F. University, Beaune, Côte d'Or. Subject to approval by higher authority, this commission is charged with the development of educational policies in the A E F, standardization of educational methods, development of courses and course material, and general supervision over the personnel of the Educational Corps and the assignment of its members to duty.

(b) Members of Educational Corps, who will be definitely assigned to duty with army, corps, divisions, sections S. O. S., the American E. F. University, and to such other duty as the educational program demands. Their duties in general will be that of instruction and advisory assistance to organization commanders and school officers under whom they serve.

4. Commanders of divisions, sections S. O. S., and higher commanders are authorized to issue travel orders to members of the Educational Corps within the areas occupied by their commands.

5. Members of the Educational Corps traveling under competent orders will receive transportation in kind and reimbursement for travel expenses at the rate of \$4.00 per day.

6. Organization commanders will provide members of the Educational Corps on duty with their commands with the necessary office space, and will furnish school officers and members of the Educational Corps with adequate transportation for the proper performance of their duties.

7. Paragraphs 2, 8 and 9, G. O. No. 9, and Par. 6, G. O. No. 30, c. s., these headquarters, are revoked.

## APPENDIX VIII: ENTERTAINMENT AND ATHLETICS

G. H. Q.

### AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

#### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 241.

France, Dec. 29, 1918.

ATHLETICS: Section I, par. 4; and ENTERTAINMENTS: Sections II, III, IV, of this Order, read as follows:

4. The Y M C A with the approval of the Commander in Chief has organized a Department of Athletics and is prepared to give every assistance in the development of general athletics and the arrangement and management of competition between military units. It has a large number of specially trained physical directors with wide experience in mass play and in other activities now in its ranks in France. One of these will be attached to the staff of each division and separate unit, and will be designated in orders as divisional (or unit) athletic director, and, under supervision of division athletic officer, will be charged with the responsibility for the arrangement, management and general conduct of athletic activities throughout the unit.

\* \* \* \* \*

II. ENTERTAINMENTS. 1. An officer of the First Section General Staff, at these headquarters, has been detailed to take general charge of this work. He will coordinate the military efforts along these lines and the work of the several welfare agencies throughout the American Expeditionary Forces. Each army, corps and division, and such units in the S. O. S. as the commander thereof shall determine, will detail similar officers who shall be responsible for the entertainment activities in their units. Commanders of regiments and other similar units will also detail suitable officers to supervise the entertainment activities of their units. All commanders will give every encouragement, consistent with military requirements, to the development of soldier talent within their commands; first, in the production of theatrical shows within the division or other unit, and second, for the training of small groups of good entertainers suitable for giving entertainments in neighboring units, and for touring the A E F.

2. The Y M C A, with the approval of the Commander-in-Chief, has organized a Department of Entertainment for supervising the routing of professional and amateur entertainers, assisting in the development and training of soldier talent, and assisting and managing qualified groups of entertainers who may be developed in the army. Secretaries especially qualified in entertainment work will be attached to the staff of divisions and other similar units to cooperate with and assist the entertainment officer of said unit.

3. Officers, non-commissioned officers or privates desired for duty in connection with entertainment activities may be detailed for the purpose and ordered to report to the division or unit entertainment officer, in accordance with the provisions of sub-paragraph 5 of Sec. 1 of this order, in addition to those so detailed in connection with athletic activities.

III. In carrying out the work outlined in this order, the Y M C A will seek the participation and assistance of the personnel of the other auxiliary welfare agencies in such a way as to obtain the maximum efficiency and results.

IV. In order to obtain the maximum benefit from the Y M C A, Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army and other welfare organizations, and to increase their efficiency, commanding officers are authorized to assist these organizations in every way consistent with military requirements, and for this purpose to detail non-commissioned officers and privates of their commands to perform duties appropriate to the grades of the men so detailed.

#### BULLETIN No 1. JANUARY 28, 1919

G. H. Q.

#### AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

ENTERTAINMENT

France, January 28, 1919.

BULLETIN No. 1.

#### ENTERTAINMENT.

##### A.—GENERAL SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES.

1. The entertainment program announced in G. O. No. 241, series 1918, is intended to provide, so far as possible, *suitable entertainment each night in every important center occupied by American troops.*

##### B.—COOPERATION WITH Y M C A

2. To accomplish this, Entertainment Officers appointed under that order will

(a) Utilize all available entertainment facilities and personnel of the A E F; and,

(b) Effect the fullest cooperation with the Entertainment Department and Booking System of the Y M C A.

(c) Entertainment activities of other welfare organizations will be conducted through the entertainment organization of the Y M C A.

##### C.—Y M C A ENTERTAINMENT ORGANIZATION.

3. The Y M C A entertainment organization is divided into Y M C A GRAND REGIONS. They correspond generally to the 1st, 2d and 3d Army areas; to the territory in the S. O. S. tributary to Brest, St. Nazaire, Le Mans, Bordeaux and Vierzon, respectively, and to the various leave areas. Each region has a Y M C A Regional Director and Booking Office which distribute among the divisions and other organizations in the region the entertainers provided by the Y M C A Entertainment Department, Paris.

**D.—A E F ENTERTAINMENT ORGANIZATION.**

4. The A E F entertainment organization is based on unit Entertainment Officers appointed under G. O. No. 241, series 1918, these headquarters. Entertainment Officers of regiments and smaller units report to Division Entertainment Officers, Division Entertainment Officers report to Corps Entertainment Officers, and Corps Entertainment Officers to Army Entertainment Officers. Entertainment Officers of S. O. S. organizations report to the Entertainment Officers, headquarters S. O. S. In general, Corps Entertainment Officers will supervise the entertainment activities of the divisions and of the corps troops, and will direct the furnishing of entertainment units to divisions, but will not attempt to route them within divisions. In like manner, Army Entertainment Officers will supervise the entertainment activities of their several Corps and of the Army troops. They will also keep the Y M C A Regional Entertainment Directors informed of the needs of their Armies and the localities to which entertainments should be sent and will advise them of any soldier entertainment units available for use outside of their Army area. A similar system will be followed in the S. O. S., the C. G., S. O. S., designating the regions corresponding to the Army areas and Entertainment Officers in charge thereof.

**E.—DETAILS OF OPERATION.**

5. A single Entertainment Office should be established in each Division, Corps, Army and S. O. S. organization. In this office the Entertainment Officer of the unit and the Y M C A Entertainment Director will work in cooperation. The booking-chart for the unit will be kept in this office, and reports of activities, requests, complaints, etc., received there.

6. Each Army, Corps, Division and S. O. S. unit Entertainment Officer should cause an immediate canvass to be made of his area, calling upon the local Entertainment Officers for information concerning the number of troops there stationed, the facilities available for entertainment such as theaters, huts, hangars, and improvised buildings and existing and proposed local plans.

7. Arrangements should be made in each locality where facilities permit for regular "amateur nights" and vaudeville competitions. In addition, each locality should periodically endeavor to produce a local show. In general these local shows should be used locally and in nearby units as long as possible.

8. Local shows and entertainment units will in general be of two classes, *first*, those organized within a unit which it is undesirable to detail permanently on entertainment duty, and *second*, those it is desired to use extensively for entertainment purposes. Division, Corps and Army commanders and commanders of corresponding S. O. S. organizations have full authority to send units of the first class on limited tours within the areas occupied by their respective commands. It is neither necessary nor desirable that these men should be detailed for entertainment duty under the provisions of G. O. 241, series 1918, these headquarters. The second class should be detailed for entertainment duty under the provisions of that order. In this case they should be ordered to report to the division or unit Entertainment Officer and used exclusively for entertainment duty.

**F.—SENDING SHOWS ON TOUR.**

9. Whenever a division or unit Entertainment Officer has an entertainment unit which is competent to give entertainment generally and which cannot be longer used locally, he will report the fact to the Entertainment Officer of the Army, or to the Entertainment Officer, headquarters S. O. S. This report will include a brief description of the entertainment, the number of officers and men, the properties carried, transportation required, and what stage-settings, lights, additional properties, etc., are necessary for the act. He will also state how long a tour is desired away from the organization. The Entertainment Officer to whom this report is made will, if possible, use the entertainment locally. If that is not possible, he will report the facts to the Assistant Entertainment Officer, A E F, Paris, who, if it is decided to send the show on tour, will make the necessary arrangements.

10. Whenever entertainment units leave the Army area, or similar region in the S. O. S., where organized, they will be routed by the Assistant Entertainment Officer, A E F, Paris, through the medium of the Y M C A booking system.

11. A unit which it is intended to send on an extended tour should be as small as possible, in general not exceeding 20 men, and should be so organized, that if local facilities prevent their putting on their entire program, they will be capable of being broken up into two or more smaller units, each able to give an evening's entertainment.

12. It is very desirable that entertainment units on tour away from their organizations be in charge of an officer. This officer will command them as a detachment and be responsible for their conduct and for providing lodgings and rations or commutation in lieu thereof.

13. Transportation of Entertainment Units between regions will ordinarily be by rail on Y M C A movement orders and, within the regions, by motor transportation furnished by the Y M C A or the Army. The Entertainment Officer concerned and the Y M C A Entertainment Director will arrange the necessary details. Commanding officers are authorized to furnish motor transportation, if available, for the local transportation of these units.

**G.—COMBINED SHOWS OF PERSONNEL FROM DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS.**

14. In order that soldiers belonging to different organizations may be combined into entertainment units to be used for extensive touring, such individuals may be detailed directly by the Division or unit commander for entertainment duty and ordered to report to the Assistant Entertainment Officer, A E F, Paris. They will be combined into entertainment units and routed through the Y M C A booking system. In general, no soldiers will be so detailed except on the request of the Assistant Entertainment Officer, A E F, Paris. Soldiers so detailed will be reported by telegraph to the Assistant Entertainment Officer, A E F, Paris, who will inform the proper commanding officer where they should be sent.

**H.—ENTERTAINMENT DETAILS FROM UNITS RELEASED FOR RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES.**

15. Officers and soldiers belonging to organizations released for return to the United States, who desire to remain in France for entertainment duty,

may be detailed for this duty by the Commanding General, S. O. S. or officers designated by him. No officer or soldier will be so detailed except on his own application approved by his division or unit commander on the recommendation of the Entertainment Officer of his organization, and approved by the Entertainment Officer, S. O. S. Officers and soldiers so detailed will be reported by telegraph to the Entertainment Officer, S. O. S., who will inform the proper commanding officer where they should be sent.

16. In general, an officer will be detailed for entertainment duty only when his services are desired as a manager, director, conductor, or in charge of an entertainment unit. Officers will not be detailed as actors or performers.

#### I.—EXPENSES.

17. The Y M C A has agreed to furnish funds to cover expenses of soldier entertainment units to the extent that they are not covered by Government allowances. When an entertainment unit cannot be assigned to an organization for quarters or rations the Y M C A will provide an allowance to cover lodging and meals. The amount of such allowance will be determined by agreement between the local Y M C A Entertainment Director and the Local Unit Entertainment Officer. The sum so determined will be paid in advance to the officer in charge of the show or, if there be no such officer, to the Local Unit Entertainment Officer, who will then be charged with providing quarters and rations for the soldier entertainers with the funds so delivered to him. Local Unit Entertainment Officers will enter date, amount and details of expenditure of all funds so received in an expense book maintained for this purpose by the local Y M C A Entertainment Director. In all cases where soldiers detailed for entertainment duty under the provisions of G. O. 241, series 1918, these headquarters, draw commutation of rations and quarters, the whole of such government allowance will be applied to their expenses for food and lodging before any additional allowance is requested or received from the Y M C A.

#### J.—RECORDS AND REPORTS.

18. The service records of soldiers detailed for entertainment duty and ordered to report to unit Entertainment Officers will be kept under the direction of such officers. Those of soldiers ordered to report to the Assistant Entertainment Officer, A. E. F., Paris, will be sent to that officer, who in turn will cause the necessary identification papers, pay books, etc., to be made out and will keep the accounts of the men so detailed.

19. On the 15th and last days of each month, reports will be made by the Entertainment Officers of Armies and S. O. S. Units to G-1, these Headquarters, giving a general statement of the entertainment activities within their areas. This report will show the number of important centers where there has been no entertainment or diversion of any sort, and the number where there have been only one, two, three, etc., during the period covered by the report.

By command of GENERAL PERSHING:

Official:

ROBERT C. DAVIS,  
Adjutant General.

JAMES W. MCANDREW,  
Chief of Staff.

A. G. PRINTING DEPT., G. H. Q. A. E. F., 1919.

## APPENDIX IX: LEAVE AREAS

G. H. Q.

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 6

January 8, 1918.

1. **GENERAL.**—The following will govern the system of leaves and furloughs in the A E F. The term "leave" will be used therein to designate both leaves of absence and furloughs.

2. **ADMINISTRATION.**—Organization Commanders will be responsible for the application of this order within their commands to the best interests of the service. The organization and administration of the system of handling men on leave is a duty of the C. G., L. of C., to be carried out through his Provost Marshal General's Department, in cooperation with the Y M C A (accommodations and entertainments) and the D. G. T. (transportation).

3. **AMOUNT OF LEAVE ALLOWED.**—Officers and men of the A E F in good standing may be granted one leave of seven days every four months, time of travel to and from destination in France not included.

4. **LEAVE DESTINATIONS.**—Areas to which a specified number of soldiers may be authorized to go on leave will be allotted to divisions, corps, or other units or territorial commands. Allotment of areas will be rotated as far as practicable by four months periods, so as to give equal opportunity to all men. Allotment covering Paris will be made separately from all other areas, so as to limit the number of American soldiers visiting Paris on leave. The P. M. G. Department will furnish to commanders concerned all necessary information regarding the number of soldiers that can be accommodated in the authorized areas. For the present, officers will not be restricted as to points to be visited on leave other than Paris, but for points in the French Zone of the Armies the concurrence of the Chief, French Military Mission, will be required.

G. H. Q.

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 38.

France, March 9, 1918.

I. 1. Soldiers to whom it may be desirable to grant leave may be ordered for the leave period to a recreation or leave camp, center or area, and when so ordered will be considered on a duty status and furnished quarters in kind. Commutation of rations at the rate of \$1.00 per day will be paid to all soldiers on duty at the recreation or leave camp, center or area.

## SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

2. Soldiers spending leave periods in areas other than regularly assigned recreation or leave camps, centers or areas, will not be considered on a duty status, and quarters in kind will not be furnished them, but they will be paid commutation of rations at the rate of 60 cents per day.
3. The Savoie leave area embracing the towns of Aix-les-Bains, Chambéry and Challes-les-Eaux is at present the only leave center to which soldiers will be sent on a duty status. Additional leave centers will be allowed as conditions warrant them.
4. So much of the provisions of G. O. No. 6, General Headquarters, current series, as conflicts with the foregoing is hereby revoked.

## APPENDIX X: MORALS AND MILITARY EFFICIENCY

GENERAL ORDERS  
No. 135

WAR DEPARTMENT  
Washington, December 23, 1919

### SEX MORALITY

The statements herein defining the attitude of the War Department toward sex morality are published for the information and guidance of all concerned. The responsibility and influence of officers in making effective the provisions of this order are of the greatest import, and the War Department looks to them to accord their undivided allegiance to this work which presents such large opportunity for national service.

1. The successful experience of the Army in combating venereal disease during the World War indicates clearly that:

a. Continence is not prejudicial to health, and its maintenance is the only sure method of avoiding venereal disease. Measures encouraging it have proved most effective in keeping down rates of venereal disease.

b. Prophylaxis is a measure of disinfection which is provided solely to protect exposed men from the results of their folly and to save their services to the Government. It is not in any sense an expression of approval by the War Department of illicit intercourse. Its use appears to reduce the liability to venereal disease among those exposed to about one-third of what it would be without prophylaxis.

2. On the basis of the foregoing, it is announced as the policy of the War Department to continue to promote sex morality by:

a. Encouragement of continence.  
b. Encouragement of efforts to eliminate prostitution.  
c. Provision of supervised medical prophylactic facilities for men exposed to disease.

d. Thorough treatment of disease acquired.  
e. Punishment for failure to use prophylaxis after exposure.

3. Continence can best be encouraged by creating a strong community sanction for clean and healthy living. Positive agencies to promote continence are:

a. Active military training.  
b. Effective educational, vocational, and moral training.  
c. Healthy recreation in the camp, with special emphasis on athletics.  
d. Sound instruction in hygiene.

4. Existing courses in hygiene in the school system of the Army include the subject of sex hygiene. Lectures on this subject have regularly been given to the soldiers of the Army by medical officers on duty with troops. Sex

morality will be presented to the Army in a positive form and not alone in its aspect of venereal disease prevention. Commanding officers will, using the agencies available, establish a course in sex morality which will be given to all officers below field rank and to all soldiers. This course will present the subject of sex morality from the sanitary, the social, and the moral point of view. It will be presented by medical officers, line officers, and chaplains. It will be given a definite period in the yearly schedule. Advice and assistance in the form of lecture outlines for surgeons and for company officers, pamphlets, and lantern slides will be furnished on requisitions to the Surgeon General. Picture films and stereomotographs will be furnished on requisition to department surgeons. Upon completion of this course, the fact of completion will be noted on the service record of each soldier and a certificate of completion will be given to all officers below field rank. The course will be attended by such officers and soldiers but once, unless the commanding officer deems additional attendance requisite.

5. When vice conditions in neighboring communities appear to have an unfavorable influence upon his command, the commanding officer will request the civil authorities to initiate action to better them, and will avail himself of the good offices of representatives of non-military organizations in his vicinity which are working for that object. Houses of prostitution accessible to members of the command will be declared "Off limits" by commanding officers. Particular attention is directed to Chapter XV, act of Congress approved July 9, 1918 (p. 56, Bul. No. 43, W. D., 1918), which gives the status of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board. Department commanders and post, camp, or station commanders will get in touch with its local representatives, inform themselves as to their facilities, and seek their cooperation toward the production of an environment without the station and such a relationship with civil communities as will support their military efforts within.

6. Existing orders on physical inspection, prophylaxis, and treatment of venereal disease will be maintained in full force and effect. In the application of the provisions of paragraph 15, Special Regulations No. 28, War Department, 1917, commanding officers are authorized to excuse married men of good character. In the application of the third subparagraph of paragraph 13, Special Regulations No. 28, a certificate will be furnished each man receiving prophylaxis showing his name, rank, organization, date, place and hour of the prophylaxis, and signed by the attendant in charge of the prophylactic station.

7. For every post, camp, or station there will be compiled each week as of Friday night, a report of venereal disease in the form shown below, setting forth information thereon in regard to each regiment or other separate organization in the command. The commanding officer will send copies of it to organization commanders under him, calling for explanations from those whose organizations show high rates. This report will then be transmitted by the commanding officer to the next higher commander with explanatory remarks relating to annual incidence rates above 100, statements of corrective measures taken, and other matters of interest relating to the subject. Department commanders receiving such reports will make a consolidated report for all

posts, camps, or commands under them and transmit it promptly to the Adjutant General of the Army with necessary information or explanations, and also send copies of this consolidated report to commanders under their jurisdiction. The Surgeon General of the Army will each week publish a comparison of rates in different departments and camps directly under the jurisdiction of the War Department, sending it out to all such commands. It is important that information derived from such reports be given the earliest attention possible, in order that correction may follow promptly upon discovery of bad conditions. The venereal incidence of an organization will be an indication to commanding officers of the efficiency of subordinates in carrying out this order.

## APPENDIX XI: PRISONERS OF WAR

### SECOND HAGUE CONVENTION 1907

#### CONVENTION RESPECTING THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF WAR ON LAND

##### Chapter II. PRISONERS OF WAR.

###### Article IV

Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not of individuals or corps who capture them.

They must be humanely treated.

All their personal belongings, except arms, horses and military papers, remain their property.

###### Article V

Prisoners of war may be interned in a town, fortress, camp or other place and bound not to go beyond certain fixed limits; but they cannot be confined except as an indispensable measure of safety and only while the circumstances which necessitate the measure continue to exist.

###### Article VI

The State may utilize the labor of prisoners of war according to their rank and aptitude, officers excepted. The tasks shall not be excessive and shall have no connection with the operations of the war.

Prisoners may be authorized to work for the public service, for private persons, or on their own account.

Work done for the State is paid at the rates in force for work of a similar kind done by soldiers of the national army, or, if there are none in force, at a rate according to the work executed.

When the work is for other branches of public service or for private persons the conditions are settled in agreement with the military authorities.

The wages of the prisoners shall go towards improving their position, and the balance shall be paid them on their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance.

###### Article VII

The Government into whose hands prisoners of war have fallen is charged with their maintenance.

In the absence of a special agreement between the belligerents prisoners of war shall be treated as regards board, lodging and clothing on the same footing as the troops of the Government who captured them.

###### Article VIII

Prisoners of war shall be subject to the laws, regulations and orders in force in the army of the State in whose power they are.

Any act of insubordination justifies the adoption towards them of such measures of severity as may be considered necessary.

Escaped prisoners who are retaken before being able to rejoin their own army or before leaving the territory occupied by the army which captured them are liable to disciplinary punishment.

Prisoners who, after succeeding in escaping, are again taken prisoners are not liable to any punishment on account of the previous flight.

#### Article IX

Every prisoner of war is bound to give, if he is questioned on the subject, his true name and rank, and if he infringes this rule, he is liable to have the advantages given to prisoners of his class curtailed.

#### Article X

Prisoners of war may be set at liberty on parole if the laws of their country allow and, in such cases, they are bound on their personal honor, scrupulously to fulfill, both towards their own Government and the Government by whom they were made prisoners, the engagements they have contracted.

In such cases their own Government is bound neither to require of nor accept from them any service incompatible with the parole given.

#### Article XI

A prisoner of war cannot be compelled to accept his liberty on parole; similarly the hostile Government is not obliged to accede to the request of the prisoner to be set at liberty on parole.

#### Article XII

Prisoners of war liberated on parole and recaptured bearing arms against the Government to whom they had pledged their honor, or against the allies of that Government, forfeit their right to be treated as prisoners of war, and can be brought before the Courts.

#### Article XIII

Individuals who follow an army without directly belonging to it such as newspaper correspondents and reporters, sutlers and contractors, who fall into the enemy's hands and whom the latter thinks expedient to detain, are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war, provided they are in possession of a certificate from the military authorities of the army which they were accompanying.

#### Article XIV

An inquiry office for prisoners of war is instituted on the commencement of hostilities in each of the belligerent states, and when necessary, in neutral countries which have received belligerents in their territory. It is the function of this office to reply to all inquiries about the prisoners. It receives from the various services concerned full information respecting the internments and transfers, releases on parole, exchanges, escapes, admissions into hospitals, deaths as well as other information necessary to enable it to make out and keep to date an individual return for each prisoner of war. The office must state in this return the regimental number, name and surname, age, place of origin, rank, units, wounds, date and place of capture, internment, wounding

and death, as well as any observations of a special character. The individual return shall be sent to the Government of the other belligerent after the conclusion of peace.

It is likewise the function of the inquiry office to receive and collect all objects of personal use, valuables, letters, etc., found on the field of battle, left by prisoners who have been released on parole, or exchanges, or who have escaped, or died in hospitals and ambulances, and to forward them to those concerned.

#### Article XV

Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are properly constituted in accordance with the laws of their country and with the object of serving as a channel for charitable effort, shall receive from the belligerents, for themselves and duly accredited agents every facility for the efficient performance of their humane task within the bounds imposed by military necessities and administrative regulations. Agents of these societies may be admitted to the places of internment for the purpose of distributing relief, as also to the halting places of repatriated prisoners, if furnished with a personal permit from the military authorities, and on giving an undertaking in writing to comply with all measures of order and police which the latter may issue.

#### Article XVI

Inquiry offices enjoy the privilege of free postage, letters, money orders, and valuables, as well as parcels by post, intended for prisoners of war, or dispatched by them shall be exempt from all postal duties in the countries of origin and destination, as well as in the countries they pass through.

Presents and relief in kind for prisoners of war shall be admitted free of all import or other duties, as well as of payments for carriage by the State railways.

#### Article XVII

Officers taken prisoners shall receive the same rate of pay as officers of corresponding rank in the country where they are detained, the amount to be ultimately refunded by their own Government.

#### Article XVIII

Prisoners of war shall enjoy complete liberty in the exercise of their religion, including attendance at the services of whatever Church they may belong to, on the sole condition that they comply with the measures of order and police issued by the military authorities.

#### Article XIX

The wills of prisoners of war are received or drawn up in the same way as for soldiers of the national army.

The same rules shall be observed regarding death certificates as well as for the burial of prisoners of war, due regard being paid to their grade and rank.

#### Article XX

After the conclusion of peace, the repatriation of prisoners of war shall be carried out as quickly as possible.

## APPENDIX XII: CASUALTY LIST—DEATH ROLL—CITATIONS—DECORATIONS

### *1. YMCA Casualty List*

According to Data in the Files of the War Work Council, September, 1920

#### DIED IN SERVICE OVERSEAS

Killed in Action .....	6 Men
Killed by Brigands .....	2 Women
Died of Wounds .....	2 Men
Died of Disease .....	3 Men
Died of Accident .....	50 Men
	21 Women
	8 Men
	1 Woman
Total .....	<hr/> 93

#### DISABLED

Wounded and Gassed .....	123 Men
	5 Women
Total .....	<hr/> 128

#### DIED IN SERVICE IN HOME CAMPS

Died of Disease .....	56 Men
Died of Accident .....	1 Woman
	3 Men
Total .....	<hr/> 60

#### Prisoners

Western Front .....	1
Russia .....	4
Total .....	<hr/> 5
Total of Casualties .....	286

### *2. Death Roll as of Official Record*

#### OVERSEAS

ALLEN, ELVIN L.	Hinckley, Me.
Teacher. Died, St. Dié Hospital, Oct. 3, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Foyer du Soldat, Etival. Born, 1879. Sailed, Feb. 23, 1918. Place of burial, St. Dié Cemetery. Next of kin, Mrs. E. L. Allen, wife, 215 College Ave., Waterville, Me.	

**ADAMS, DAISY**

Jessup, Md.

Red Cross. Died, Base Hospital 4, Liverpool, England, Jan. 4, 1919, of influenza. En route to Paris. Born, Aug. 21, 1881. Sailed, Dec. 21, 1918. Place of burial, Maryland. Next of kin, Mrs. S. M. Hamilton, sister, 1214 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md.

**BALLOU, FREDERICK D.**

Richmond, Ky.

Printer. Drowned, Dar-es-Salam Harbor, German East Africa, Sept., 1918. Secretary East African Expeditionary Forces. Born, Feb. 27, 1891. Sailed, Feb. 10, 1917. Place of burial, Dar-es-Salam. Next of kin, Mrs. Pattie Ballou, mother, 352 Irvine St., Richmond, Ky.

**BEECHER, JUDSON H.**

Mt. Kisco, N. Y.

Produce Dealer. Died, St. Nazaire Base Hospital 101, Oct. 26, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, St. Nazaire. Born, April 1, 1890. Sailed, Dec. 22, 1917. Place of burial, 4th grave, 3d row from center, American Cemetery, St. Nazaire. Next of kin, Rev. W. A. Beecher, father, Sennett, N. Y.

**BIRCHBY, JAMES A.**

Pasadena, Cal.

Teacher. Killed near Sommepy (Marne), Oct. 4, 1918, by German sniper's bullet. Secretary, 2d Division, A E F. Born, Nov. 25, 1879. Sailed, May 23, 1918. Place of burial grave 88, section 92, plot 2, Argonne-American Cemetery, Romagne-sous-Montfaucon (Meuse). Next of kin, H. B. Birchby, brother, 540 S. Marengo Ave., Pasadena, Cal.

**BRANUM, VIRGINIA L.**

Sewickley, Pa.

Social Worker. Died Lamalou-les-Bains (Hérault), March 30, 1919, of meningitis. Secretary, Lamalou-les-Bains. Born, Feb. 12, 1892. Sailed, Nov. 20, 1918. Place of burial, Lamalou Cemetery. Next of kin, P. D. Branum, father, 227 Thorn St., Sewickley, Pa.

**BROOKS, CHAUNCEY D.**

Syracuse, N. Y.

Manager. Died, Paris Camp Hospital 4, Joinville-le-Pont, May 27, 1919, of scarlet fever. Head of Lecture Service Bureau, Headquarters, Paris. Born, Oct. 14, 1871. Sailed, March 25, 1919. Place of burial, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. C. D. Brooks, wife, 206 Comstock Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.

**BRUBAKER, ELIZABETH A.**

Lancaster, Pa.

Stenographer and Bookkeeper. Died, Paris-American Hospital, Neuilly, Oct. 28, 1919, result of operation. Secretary, Hotel Accounting Department, Headquarters, Paris. Born, Dec. 15, 1877. Sailed, Feb. 8, 1919. Place of burial, Y M C A plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. H. P. Smith, sister, 131 E. Lemon St., Lancaster, Pa.

**BURRAGE, HELEN M.**

Cambridge, Mass.

Social Worker. Died, Base Hospital 40, Knotty Ash Camp, Liverpool, England, Feb. 23, 1919, of pneumonia. En route to Paris. Born, Feb. 26, 1889. Sailed, Jan. 31, 1919. Place of burial, Cambridge, Mass. Next of kin, Henry T. Burrage, father, 986 Charles River Road, Cambridge, Mass.

## BUSH, ROBERT D.

Camilla, Ga.

Lawyer. Died, Piedmont Sanitarium, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 24, 1919, of nervous collapse—result of overseas service. Secretary, Motor Reception Park, Nantes. Born, Aug. 13, 1873. Sailed, Sept. 1, 1918. Place of burial, Camilla, Ga. Next of kin, Mrs. R. D. Bush, Camilla, Ga.

## CAMPBELL, ROBERT M.

Kosciusko, Miss.

Lawyer. Died, A E F Hospital 15, Chaumont, Sept. 14, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Jonchéry. Born, Aug. 14, 1891. Sailed, July 23, 1918. Place of burial, grave 146, Officers' Plot, A E F Cemetery 10, Chaumont. Next of kin, W. A. Campbell, father, Hesterville, Miss.

## CARLEY, LEON A.

Caldwell, N. J.

Lawyer. Died, Bar-le-Duc, Oct. 31, 1918, result of motorcycle accident. Activities Director, 29th Division, A E F. Born, Nov. 19, 1871. Sailed, June 11, 1918. Place of burial, grave 224, A E F Cemetery, Bar-le-Duc. Next of kin, Mrs. L. A. Carley, wife, 8 Thurmont Road, Caldwell, N. J.

## CARPENTER, CLIFFORD A.

Waukesha, Wis.

Salesman. Drowned, Oct. 6, 1918, in shipwreck of S.S. *Otranto* off coast of Scotland. Serving as Ocean Transport Secretary en route to Paris. Born, Oct. 21, 1876. Sailed, Sept. 26, 1918. Place of burial, grave 190, Kilchoman, Islay Island, Scotland. Next of kin, Mrs. C. A. Carpenter, wife, 310 Carroll St., Waukesha, Wis.

## CHAMBERS, HUGH B.

Bardstown, Ky.

Merchant. Died, Paris, Oct. 19, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Headquarters, Paris. Born, Feb. 12, 1882. Sailed, Sept. 11, 1918. Place of burial, grave 106, Y M C A Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. H. B. Chambers, wife, Bardstown, Ky.

## CHAUVIN, RAOUL

New York, N. Y.

Chauffeur. Died, Paris, Nov. 17, 1918, of pneumonia, awaiting assignment to Foyer du Soldat. Born, March 8, 1875. Sailed, Oct. 26, 1918. Place of burial, grave 109, Y M C A Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. Raoul Chauvin, wife, 250 W. 22d St., New York, N. Y.

## CHISHOLM, JESSIE N.

Seattle, Wash.

Teacher of Expression. Died, German Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 2, 1919, result of operation. Entertainment Secretary, France and Germany. Born, July 28, 1874. Sailed, Oct. 23, 1918. Place of burial, United States. Next of kin, Frank R. Noyes, brother, 406 S. Hoover St., Los Angeles, Cal.

## CLARK, THEODORE H. L.

Wasco, Ill.

Minister. Died, B E F Officers' Hospital, Basrah, Mesopotamia, Sept. 9, 1917, of heatstroke. Secretary, B E F, Basrah. Born, April 16, 1892. Place of burial, Officers' Section, B E F Military Cemetery, Basrah. Next of kin, Joseph H. Clark, father, A. B. M. S., Ford Bldg., Boston, Mass.

## COFFIN, HAROLD R.

Chicago, Ill.

Song Leader. Died, June 17, 1919, Chicago, Ill., result of having been gassed while in France. Born, June 20, 1881. Sailed, July, 1918. Returned, Nov. 25, 1918. Place of burial, United States. Next of kin, Mrs. Margaret P. Coffin, wife, 417 So. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

## COLWELL, JOSEPH E.

Ridgefield Park, N. J.

Garage Manager. Died, Paris, Oct. 21, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Motor Transport Department, Headquarters, Paris. Born, Dec. 25, 1885. Sailed, Sept. 9, 1918. Place of burial, grave 107, YMCA Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. J. E. Colwell, wife, Ridgefield Park, N. J.

## COOPER, HEDLEY H.

Piermont, N. Y.

Minister. Killed, A E F Hospital, Baccarat (Meurthe-et-Moselle), May 26, 1918, by German gas shell. Secretary, 42d Division, A E F. Born, Jan. 25, 1886. Sailed, Feb. 8, 1918. Place of burial, grave E-11, Officers' Row, French Military Cemetery, Baccarat. Next of kin, Robert O. Cooper, father, Riverside, Ill.

## CORLETT, WILLIAM G.

Rochester, N. Y.

Salesman. Died, Field Hospital 359, Daun, Germany, March 9, 1919, of pneumonia. Secretary, 90th Division, A E F. Born, March 31, 1879. Sailed, June 29, 1918. Place of burial, A E F Cemetery, Berncastle Cues, Germany. Next of kin, Mrs. Wm H. Corlett, mother, 190 Cady St., Rochester, N. Y.

## COTTEN, HOWARD

Tarboro, N. C.

Hotel Steward and Accountant. Died Cragmont Sanitarium, Blackmountain, N. C., Oct. 20, 1919, of tuberculosis, result of having been gassed. Secretary, 77th Division, A E F, France. Born, 1882. Sailed, May 25, 1918. Returned, Feb. 2, 1919. Next of kin, J. W. Cotten, father, 144 So. Virginia Ave., Tarboro, N. C.

## CRANDALL, MARION G.

Alameda, Cal.

Teacher. Killed, Ste. Menehould, March 26, 1918, by German shell. Secretary, Foyer du Soldat. Born, April 25, 1872. Sailed, Feb. 2, 1918. Place of burial, grave 5020, Military Hospital Cemetery, Ste. Menehould (Meuse). Next of kin, George T. Crandall, brother, 1617 San Antonio Ave., Alameda, Cal.

## CUTTING, ROBERT B.

New York, N. Y.

Teacher. Died, A E F Base Hospital 15, Chaumont, April 1, 1918, result of operation. Associate Director, divisional training areas. Born, 1878. Sailed, Aug. 11, 1917. Place of burial, Officers' Section, A E F Cemetery 10, Chaumont. Next of kin, R. Fulton Cutting, father, 32 Nassau St., New York, N. Y.

## DUVALL, FRANK B.

Clyde, N. Y.

Minister. Died, Camp Infirmary, Ponteux (Landes), March 7, 1919, of influenza. Hut Secretary, 20th Engineers, Forestry Unit, A E F, Ponteux. Born, Nov. 7, 1875. Sailed, Sept. 1, 1918. Place of burial, grave 268, American Plot adjacent to French Cemetery, Ponteux. Next of kin, Mrs. F. B. Duvall, wife, 234 W. Borden Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.

**EDWARDS, CHARLES C.**

Ellabel, Ga.

Minister. Died, Bar-le-Duc, Oct. 31, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Bar-le-Duc. Born, Sept. 6, 1884. Sailed, May 8, 1918. Place of burial, So. West Section. Military Cemetery, Bar-le-Duc. Next of kin, A. J. Edwards, father, Ellabel, Ga.

**ELLIS, HARRIET M.**

New York, N. Y.

Hotel Manager. Died, Oxford, England, Aug. 2, 1918, of meningitis. Secretary, Neufchâteau (Haute-Marne). Born, Sept. 25, 1885. Sailed, Feb. 2, 1918. Place of burial, Oxford, England. Next of kin, Mrs. Wm. H. Ellis, mother, Oxford, England.

**EMMEL, HARRY B.**

Kendrick, Idaho

Clergyman. Died, Vladivostok, Siberia, Feb. 27, 1920, of typhus. Secretary, A E F, Siberia, appointed Dec. 30, 1918. Previous assignment, Educational Secretary, Vancouver, Wash. Born, April 19, 1880. Place of burial, Siberia. Next of kin, Mrs. Harry B. Emmel, wife, 814 Columbia St., Hood River, Ore.

**FILES, GEORGE T.**

Brunswick, Me.

Teacher. Died, Boston, Mass., April 23, 1919, from illness contracted in France. Secretary, Foyer du Soldat, St. Nicholas-au-Port (Meurthe-et-Moselle). Born, Sept. 23, 1866. Sailed, Feb. 17, 1918. Place of burial, United States. Next of kin, Mrs. George T. Files, Hotel Touraine, Boston, Mass.

**FISHER, HARRY G.**

Washington, D. C.

Life Insurance Agent. Died, Camp Hospital 52, Le Mans, Feb. 19, 1919, of pneumonia. Entertainment Director, Le Mans. Born, July 19, 1879. Sailed, Oct. 11, 1918. Place of burial, grave 187, Officers' Row, Grand Cemetery, Le Mans. Next of kin, Mrs. Harry G. Fisher, wife, 443 S. Emerson St., Denver, Col.

**FULTON, MAURICE O.**

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Automobile Dealer. Died, Florence, Italy, March 12, 1919, of hemorrhage. Secretary, American permissionnaires. Born, May 3, 1875. Sailed, Aug. 8, 1918. Place of burial, Allori Cemetery-vault, Florence, Italy. Next of kin, Fred H. Fulton, father, Montpelier, O.

**GALE, BESSIE**

Jacksonville, Fla.

Teacher of Music. Died, Camp Hospital 29, Camp Hunt, Le Corneau (Gironde), Feb. 11, 1919, of heart failure. Secretary, Le Corneau. Born, April 24, 1872. Sailed Oct. 4, 1918. Place of burial, grave 29, Section A, A E F Cemetery 25, Talence (Gironde). Next of kin, Frank H. Gale, brother, Schenectady, N. Y.

**GAY, DOROTHEA**

New York, N. Y.

Scenario Reader. Died, Base Hospital 6, Bordeaux (Gironde), Nov. 9, 1918, of pneumonia. Business Secretary, Regional Office, Bordeaux. Born, Sept. 24, 1888. Sailed, Aug. 29, 1918. Place of burial, grave 23, Section A, A E F Cemetery Talence (Gironde). Next of kin, William W. Gay, father, 157 W. 105th St., New York, N. Y.

**GIBSON, HARRY B.**

Avalon, Pa.

Traffic Manager. Killed, Argonne front near Sedan, Nov. 7, 1918, by German shell. Secretary, 16th Infantry, 1st Division, A E F. Born, May 8, 1882. Sailed, Dec. 7, 1917. Place of burial, South of Sedan, near Bourmont. Next of kin, Mrs. H. B. Gibson, wife, 307 Cleveland Ave., Avalon, Pa.

**GROSE, RICHARD C.**

Toronto, Ont.

Minister. Died, French Hospital, Melun (Seine-et-Marne), June 6, 1919, of meningitis. Secretary, Religious Work Department, Headquarters, Paris. Previous assignment, Religious Work Director, A E F, Great Britain. Born, Sept. 10, 1865. Sailed, June 4, 1918. Place of burial, grave 866, Y M C A Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine (Seine). Next of kin, Mrs. R. C. Grose, wife, 534 Devorcourt Rd., Toronto, Ontario.

**GUTH, PIERCE P.**

Allentown, Pa.

Bookkeeper. Died, La Rochelle, Oct. 21, 1918, of pneumonia. Accountant Headquarters, La Rochelle. Born, July 20, 1882. Sailed, Aug. 15, 1918. Place of burial, grave 30, American Section, St. Elor Cemetery, La Rochelle. Next of kin, Mrs. Pierce P. Guth, wife, 18 N. 13th St., Allentown, Pa.

**HARDY, JOSEPH F.**

Independence, Mo.

Minister. Died, Issoudun (Indre), Oct. 6, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, 3d Aviation Instruction Center, Issoudun. Born, Nov. 23, 1875. Sailed, July 21, 1918. Place of burial, A E F Cemetery 32, Issoudun (Indre). Next of kin, Mrs. J. F. Hardy, wife, 701 W. Maple Ave., Independence, Mo.

**HEFFLON, JOSEPH H.**

Winchester, Mass.

Teacher. Died, A. R. C. Hospital 101, Neuilly (Seine), Jan. 6, 1919, of pneumonia, Secretary, 3d Division, A E F. Born, 1869. Sailed, April 12, 1918. Place of burial, grave 111, Y M C A Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine (Seine). Next of kin, Mrs. J. H. Hefflon, wife, 51 Myrtle Terrace, Winchester, Mass.

**HOSIE, EUGENIE C.**

Scranton, Pa.

Died, Base Hospital 40, Liverpool, England, March 4, 1919, of pneumonia. En route to Paris. Born, Oct. 16, 1887. Sailed, Jan. 30, 1919. Place of burial, Southern Cemetery, Manchester, England. Next of kin, Mrs. S. B. Price, mother, 1727 Washington Ave., Scranton, Pa.

**JOHNSON, FRANK L.**

Newark, Ohio

Y M C A Secretary. Killed near Aintab, Turkey, Feb. 1, 1920, by Turkish brigands. Secretary, France. Previous assignments, Gibraltar and Constantinople. Born, Nov. 18, 1878. Sailed, Dec. 1, 1917. Place of burial, American Cemetery, College Yard, Aintab, Turkey. Next of kin, Mrs. Frank L. Johnson, wife, S. Congress St., Athens, Ohio.

**JOHNSON, JOHN T.**

West Point, Ga.

Municipal Officer. Died, A E F Base Hospital 53, Marseilles, Oct. 30, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Traffic Department, Marseilles. Born, Feb. 3, 1874.

Sailed, Aug. 26, 1918. Place of burial, grave trench 25, A E F Section, St. Pierre Cemetery, Marseilles. Next of kin, Mrs. John T. Johnson, wife, West Point, Ga.

**JONES, THOMAS B.** Brooklyn, N. Y.

Lawyer. Died, Paris, Dec. 14, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Legal Department, Headquarters, Paris. Born, 1868. Sailed, Oct. 20, 1917. Place of burial, grave 110, Y M C A Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine (Seine). Next of kin, Southwell Jones, brother, 27 Harley House, Marylebone Road, London, N. W., England.

**KIME, CLAUDE V.** Ridgway, Pa.

Designer. Died, Evacuation Hospital 21, Bazoilles-sur-Meuse (Vosges), Feb. 5, 1919, of pneumonia. Secretary, Gondrecourt. Born, Dec. 8, 1870. Sailed, Nov. 12, 1918. Place of burial, grave 490, A E F Cemetery 6, Bazoilles-sur-Meuse. Next of kin, Mrs. R. V. Kime, mother, 200 South St., Ridgway, Pa.

**KNIGHT, ALICE J.** New York City

Missionary Deaconess. Died, Pruniers Camp Hospital 43, Feb. 21, 1919, of pneumonia. Secretary, Educational Department. Born, Jan. 21, 1860. Sailed, Sept., 1918. Place of burial, grave 2065, Officers' Plot, Gièvres American Cemetery 331. Next of kin, Mrs. E. A. Pendleton, sister, 41 Johnson St. Waterbury, Conn.

**KOHL, H.**

Enlisted overseas. Died of pneumonia, Nov. 16, 1918. No further record.

**LAWWILL, HUGH S.** Indianapolis, Ind.

Shop Superintendent. Died, Paris, Nov. 13, 1918, of heart disease. Secretary, Motor Transport Department, Headquarters, Paris. Born, Feb. 9, 1878. Sailed, Sept. 10, 1918. Place of burial, grave 108, Y M C A Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine (Seine). Next of kin, Mrs. H. S. Lawwill, wife, 1035 Eugene St., Indianapolis, Ind.

**LOOMIS, CHARLES** Palm Beach, Fla.

Physician. Died, A E F Evacuation Hospital 9, Coblenz, Germany, Jan. 12, 1919, of pneumonia. Secretary, 42d Division, A E F. Born, Nov. 12, 1867. Sailed, July 14, 1918. Place of burial, A E F Cemetery, Coblenz, Germany. Next of kin, Mrs. Charles Loomis, wife, Palm Beach, Fla.

**LINN, JOHN A.** New York, N. Y.

Teacher. Killed near Apremont, Argonne front, Oct. 8, 1918, by Austrian shell. Secretary, 5th Field Artillery, 1st Division, A E F. Born, Sept. 9, 1872. Sailed, Feb. 2, 1918. Place of burial, grave 1, section 20, plot 1, Romagne-sous-Montfaucon (Meuse). Next of kin, Rev. J. M. Linn, father, 7731 N. Marshall Ave., Chicago, Ill.

**LUEDERS, JEAN (MRS. LEWIS B.)** Philadelphia, Pa.

Died at sea on the S.S. *Northland*, Oct. 10, 1918, of pneumonia. En route to Paris. Born, May 16, 1882. Sailed, Oct. 3, 1918. Buried at sea. Next of kin, Annie M. Munro, sister, 26 Albany St., Edinburgh, Scotland.

## McCOMBER, STEWART A.

Schenectady, N. Y.

Teacher of Physical Training. Died, American Hospital, Neuilly (Seine), Nov. 5, 1919, of meningitis. Associate Physical Director Foyer du Soldat, Paris. Born, July 30, 1871. Sailed, March 1, 1918. Place of burial American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine (Seine). Next of kin, Mrs. S. A. McComber, wife, 318 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.

## MCCREARY, JAMES B., JR.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Aviator. Died, Prague, Bohemia, July 5, 1919, of fractured skull. Cinema Department, International Committee, Prague. Previous assignment, Cinema Department, Paris. Born Sept. 9, 1893. Sailed, March 18, 1918. Place of burial, Prague. Next of kin, James B. McCreary, father, Buffalo, N. Y.

## MARSH, CLARK H.

Fullerton, Cal.

Minister. Died, Camp Hospital 82, Le Havre, March 4, 1919, of pneumonia. Educational Director, Le Havre. Born, Feb. 6, 1877. Sailed, June 28, 1918. Place of burial grave 4, row O, division 65, American Section Ste. Marie Cemetery, Le Havre. Next of kin Mrs. Clark H. Marsh, wife, 116 May Ave., Monrovia, Cal.

## MARTIN, WINONA C.

Rockville Center, L. I., N. Y.

Librarian. Killed, Hospital Claude Bernard, Paris, March 11, 1918, during German air raid. Awaiting assignment. Born, May 21, 1882. Sailed, Feb. 2, 1918. Place of burial, grave 114, Y M C A Plot, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine (Seine). Next of kin, Elizabeth E. Martin, aunt, 80 Lenox Road, Rockville Center, N. Y.

## MEREDITH, JESSE L.

Phillipsburg, Kansas

Died, War Work College, Chicago, October 18, 1918. Physical Director, Yuma, Arizona. Next of kin, Mrs. E. L. Meredith, wife, Phillipsburg, Kansas.

## MOON, JOHN L.

Sanford, Fla.

Minister. Died, S.S. *San Jacinto*, Cherbourg Harbor, Feb. 22, 1919, of paralysis. En route to France. Born, Nov. 21, 1879. Sailed, Feb. 12, 1919. Place of burial, grave 1, row O, division 65, Ste. Marie Cemetery, Le Havre. Next of kin, Mrs. J. L. Moon, wife, Sanford, Fla.

## MURRAY, WALTER R.

East Orange, N. J.

Minister. Died, Nogent, near Cond-en-Bie (Meaux), July 16, 1918, from shrapnel wounds. Secretary, 2d Battalion, 109th Infantry, 28th Division, A E F. Born, Sept. 1, 1877. Sailed, Oct. 27, 1917. Place of burial, grave 1, Officers' Row, American Cemetery near Romandie, between Verdun and Cond-en-Bie. Next of kin, Mrs. W. R. Murray, wife, 83 Sussex Ave., East Orange, N. J.

## NAUFFTS, RALPH R.

Charlestown, Mass.

Salesman. Died, Field Hospital 35, Feb. 28, 1919, of pneumonia. Entertainment Secretary, 7th Division, A E F. Born, Feb. 20, 1885. Place of burial, grave 10, American Cemetery on Minorville-Royammeix Road. Next of kin, Mrs. A. Nauffts, mother, 7 Monument Sq., Charlestown, Mass.

**NOBEL, CHARLES S.**

Portland, Ore.

Construction Engineer. Died, Tours Camp Hospital 27, Feb. 3, 1919, of bronchitis. Construction Secretary, Tours. Born, Dec. 30, 1868. Sailed, Nov. 1918. Place of burial grave 54, Officers' Plot, American Cemetery 33, Tours. Next of kin, Mrs. C. S. Nobel, wife, 563 E. Madison St., Portland, Ore.

**OSEN, ERIC G.**

Lyons, Kan.

Minister. Died, Bazoilles Base Hospital 46, Dec. 4, 1918, hemorrhage. Secretary, 77th Division, A E F. Born, July 7, 1872. Sailed, Sept. 24, 1918. Place of burial, grave 477, Officers' Plot, American Military Cemetery. Bazoilles-sur-Meuse (Vosges). Next of kin, Mrs. E. G. Osen, wife, Lyons, Kan.

**PACE, ROY B.**

Swarthmore, Pa.

Teacher. Died, Base Hospital 43, Blois, Aug. 27, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Blois. Sailed, May 26, 1918. Place of burial, grave 32, Plot Q, American Section, City Cemetery, Blois. Next of kin, Mrs. R. B. Pace, wife, 1819 G St., Washington, D. C.

**PERRY, JAMES**

Camden, Me.

Minister. Killed near Aintab, Turkey, Feb. 1, 1920, by Turkish brigands. General Secretary for Turkey. Previous assignment, Secretary, A E F, Bordeaux; Foyer du Soldat, France and Germany. Born 1887. Sailed in 1917. Place of burial, American Cemetery, College Yard, Aintab. Next of kin, Mrs. James Perry, wife, Camden, Me.

**PETERSON, ARTHUR F.**

Waupaca, Wis.

Y M C A Student. Died, Presbyterian Hospital, New York City, March 5, 1918, result of operation. Secretary, Prisoners of War, Petrograd, Russia. Born, 1890. Sailed, Sept. 29, 1917. Place of burial, Waupaca, Wis. Next of kin, William Peterson, father, Waupaca, Wis.

**PHINNEY, EDWIN C.**

Minneapolis, Minn.

Banker. Died, Military Hospital, Blois, Feb. 25, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Casual Officers' Depot, Blois. Born, April 9, 1880. Sailed, Jan. 10, 1918. Place of burial, grave 2, American Section, French Catholic Cemetery, Blois. Next of kin, Wm. T. Chapman, uncle, 96 Walnut St., Springfield, Ill.

**POWELL, SAMUEL A.**

San Francisco, Cal.

Motion Picture Producer. Died, U. S. S. *Santa Cecilia*, May 8, 1919, of appendicitis. Entertainment Secretary. Theatre Albert, Paris. Born, Aug. 12, 1874. Sailed, Dec. 18, 1918. Place of burial, San Francisco, Cal. Next of kin, Mrs. S. A. Powell, wife, 625 Asbury St., San Francisco, Cal.

**PRITCHETT, ROBERT S.**

Philadelphia, Pa.

Minister. Drowned, Dar-es-Salam Harbor, German East Africa, Sept. 24, 1918. Secretary, Negro troops, Dar-es-Salam. Born, May 13, 1886. Sailed, July 15, 1917. Place of burial, Dar-es-Salam. Next of kin, James A. Pritchett, father, 818 Walnut St., Wilmington, Del.

**RANSOM, LORRAINE**

New Rochelle, N. Y.

Secretary. Died, Camp Hospital 43, Pruniers (Loir-et-Cher), Feb. 24, 1919, of pneumonia. Business Secretary, Gièvres (Loir-et-Cher). Born, Jan. 30, 1892. Sailed, Sept. 21, 1918. Place of burial, grave 2066, A E F Cemetery 331, Gièvres. Next of kin, Mrs. A. P. Dennis, aunt, New Rochelle, N. Y.

**RICHARDSON, HARRY L.**

Elmira, N. Y.

Advertiser. Died, Florence, Italy, Jan. 22, 1919, of Bright's disease. Secretary, Casa del Soldato, Florence, Italy. Born, 1881. Sailed, Sept. 2, 1918. Place of burial, Receiving Vault, Cemetery degli Allori, Florence. Next of kin, Lola Fay Richardson, wife, 502 William St., Elmira, N. Y.

**ROBERTS, JOHN I.**

Trenton, Mo.

Professor, University of Chicago. Died, Lucknow, India, Nov. 6, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Army Branch, Lucknow. Previous assignment, Secretary, England. Born, 1894. Sailed, April, 1917. Place of burial, Lucknow, India. Next of kin, George E. Roberts, father, Trenton, Mo.

**ROBERTSON, NELLIE**

Virginia, Ill.

Supt. Industrial School. Died, Camp Hospital 55, Marseilles, March 23, 1919, of typhoid fever. Secretary, Marseilles. Born, 1877. Sailed, Nov. 23, 1918. Place of burial, grave 584, A E F Cemetery. Next of kin, J. T. Robertson, father, Virginia, Ill.

**ROGERS, ALICE C.**

Riverside, Conn.

Died, Claude Bernard Hospital, Paris, March 21, 1919, of meningitis. Secretary, Le Havre. Born, 1872. Sailed, Dec. 21, 1918. Place of burial grave 112, Y M C A Section, Arne Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Charles T. Pierce, cousin, 88 Washington Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

**ROGERS, FAITH H.**

Superior, Wis.

Musician. Died at sea, S.S. *Espagne*, Nov. 6, 1918, of heart trouble. En route to Paris. Born, 1896. Sailed, Oct. 31, 1918. Place of burial, grave 25, A E F Cemetery 25, Talence (Gironde). Next of kin, Harris Rogers, father, 1410 21st St., Superior, Wis.

**ROSE, W. C.**

Died at London, England, Sept. 27, 1918, of pneumonia. Book and Periodical Department, Headquarters, London. Recruited in England, militarized civilian. No further record.

**ROWE, WILLIAM H.**

Citronelle, Ala.

Minister. Died at Semur-en-Auxois (Côte d'Or), Jan. 20, 1919, of pneumonia. Religious Secretary, Semur-en-Auxois. Born, 1866. Sailed, Nov. 4, 1918. Place of burial, grave 9, row 1, plot 1, American Cemetery, Semur-en-Auxois. Next of kin, Mrs. W. H. Rowe, wife, Citronelle, Ala.

**ROWLEY, BLANCHE A.**

Rochester, N. Y.

Stenographer. Died at Knotty Ash Camp Hospital, Liverpool, England, Feb. 23, 1919, of pneumonia. En route to Paris. Born, 1886. Sailed, Jan.

29, 1919. Place of burial, Rochester, N. Y. Next of kin, William N. Rowley, father, 658 Main St., Rochester, N. Y.

RUSSELL, ELIZABETH L. New York City, N. Y.

Teacher. Died at sea, S.S. *Northland*, Oct. 10, 1918, of influenza. En route to England. Born, 1872. Sailed, Oct. 3, 1918. Buried at sea. Next of kin, George I. Russell, uncle, New Bedford, Mass.

SANT, WILLIAM W. East Liverpool, Ohio

Rhodes Scholar. Died, El Arish Hospital, Palestine, June 17, 1917, of dysentery. Field Secretary, British forces, Cairo, Egypt. Sailed, Dec. 11, 1915. Place of burial, Egypt. Next of kin. Mrs. John Sant, mother, East Liverpool, Ohio.

SCOTT, THOMAS L. Indianapolis, Ind.

Business man. Died at Bordeaux, March 11, 1919, of pneumonia. Regional Secretary, Bordeaux. Born, 1869. Sailed, Nov. 9, 1917. Place of burial grave 33, section A, Bordeaux-Talence Cemetery. Next of kin, Mrs. T. L. Scott, wife, 2152 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.

SELIGMAN, SOL. L. Nashville, Tenn.

Salesman. Died at Paris, May 24, 1919, of pneumonia. Secretary, Uniform Department, Headquarters, Paris. Born, 1890. Sailed, July 7, 1918. Place of burial, grave 113, American Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Harry Seligman, brother, 1404 Buchanan St., Nashville, Tenn.

SEYMORE, HENRY P. Sparkill, N. Y.

Minister. Died, St. Louis Hospital, Paris, Oct. 24, 1917, result of fall. Secretary, 1st Division, A E F. Born, June 10, 1869. Sailed, Sept. 13, 1917. Place of burial, grave 115, A E F Cemetery 34, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. Emma D. Hart, sister, 37 E 53d St., New York City, N. Y.

SHAW, HENRY C. Cambridge, Mass.

Lawyer. Killed, Montrichard, May 28, 1918, in automobile accident. Secretary, Thézée (Loir-et-Cher). Sailed, March 30, 1918. Place of burial, French Cemetery, Montrichard. Next of kin, Charles B. Shaw, father, 17 Forest St., Cambridge, Mass.

SLOCUM, ESTHER Newark, N. J.

Stenographer. Died, A E F Hospital 5, May 5, 1919, result of operation. Secretary, Auditing Department, Headquarters, Paris. Born, 1886. Sailed, Nov. 3, 1917. Place of burial, grave 29, American Plot, Cascade Cemetery, Nice. Next of kin, Mrs. S. T. Slocum, mother, 476 Broadway, Long Branch, N. J.

SMITH, HALLIDAY S. Nyack, N. Y.

Banker. Killed, front line dugout near Baccarat, May 26, 1918, by German gas shell, 42d Division, A E F. Born, 1887. Sailed, Nov. 29, 1917. Place of burial, grave E 12, Officers' Row, French Military Cemetery, Baccarat. Next of kin, Spencer C. Smith, father, Nyack, N. Y.

**SWEET, BENJAMIN V.**

Rockland, Me.

Osteopath. Died at Paris, April 4, 1919, result of automobile accident. Secretary, Mailing Department, Headquarters, Paris. Born, 1881. Sailed, Feb. 9, 1918. Place of burial, grave 116, Y M C A Section, American Cemetery, Surenes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. B. V. Sweet, wife, Rockland, Me.

**VALENTINE, GERTRUDE C.**

Albany, N. Y.

Teacher. Died at Le Mans, July 11, 1919, result of automobile accident. Secretary, 7th Division, A E F. Born, 1890. Sailed, Sept. 17, 1918. Place of burial, grave 177, section A, Grand Cemetery, Le Mans. Next of kin, Mrs. Clarence Valentine, mother, 80 Chestnut St., Albany, N. Y.

**VAN SCHAICK, JOHN B.**

Huntington, L. I., N. Y.

Farmer-Lawyer. Died at Evacuation Hospital 3, Treves, Germany, Dec. 11, 1918, of bronchitis, Secretary, 4th Division, A E F. Born 1865. Sailed, March 20, 1918. Place of burial, Town Cemetery 356-50, Treves, Germany. Next of kin, Mrs. J. B. Van Schaick, wife, Huntington, L. I.

**VORHEES, JOHN B.**

Hartford, Conn.

Minister. Died in New York City, result of wounds received in France. Secretary, 26th Division, A E F. Born, 1875. Sailed, May 6, 1918. Place of burial, United States. Next of kin, Mrs. J. B. Vorhees, wife, 854 Asylum St., Hartford, Conn.

**VROOMAN, MARJORIE**

Clyde, N. Y.

Teacher and Social Worker. Died at Cauterets, Pyrenees, March 4, 1919, of pneumonia. Secretary, Cauterets. Born, 1891. Sailed, Oct. 27, 1918. Place of burial, grave 32A, Talence Cemetery near Bordeaux. Next of kin, Dr. W. R. Vrooman, father, Clyde, N. Y.

**WALSH, GEORGE H.**

Philadelphia, Pa.

Salesman. Died at Queenstown, Ireland, U. S. Naval Hospital 4, Oct. 18, 1918, of influenza. Secretary, Queenstown, Ireland. Born, 1883. Sailed, Sept. 2, 1918. Place of burial, Philadelphia, Pa. Next of kin, S. H. Walsh, father, 203 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

**WELLWOOD, ROBERT**

New York City, N. Y.

Missionary to China. Killed, May 19, 1918, in enemy air raid on British lines. Secretary, Chinese coolies, Blargies. Born, 1864. Sailed, Jan. 27, 1918. Place of burial, grave C6, plot 1, Communal Cemetery, Blargies. Next of kin, Mrs. Robert Wellwood, wife, care of A. B. M. S., Ford Bldg., Boston, Mass.

**WHITE, EDITH**

Petaluma, Cal.

Died at Chaumont, Base Hospital 90, March 13, 1919, of meningitis. Secretary, Montigny-sur-Aube, 8th Army Corps, A E F. Born, 1886. Sailed, Jan. 8, 1919. Place of burial, grave 55, Officers' Plot, A E F Cemetery 10, Chaumont. Next of kin, Mrs. J. H. White, mother, Petaluma, Cal.

## WILLING, HERMAN S.

Moline, Ill.

Editor. Died, Camp Hospital 64, Châtillon-sur-Seine, Nov. 22, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, 80th Division, A E F. Born 1873. Sailed, May 14, 1918. Place of burial, grave 1, Châtillon-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. H. S. Willing, wife, 440 44th St., Moline, Ill.

## WOODHEAD, HOWARD

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Teacher. Died at St. Germain-en-Laye (Seine-et-Oise), June 8, 1919, of pneumonia. Secretary, Foyer du Soldat, St. Germain-en-Laye. Born, 1877. Sailed, March 30, 1918. Place of burial, grave 867, Y M C A Section, Arne Cemetery, Suresnes-sur-Seine. Next of kin, Mrs. H. Woodhead, wife, 2131 North St., Logansport, Ind.

## ZINN, JEANETTE

York, Pa.

Buyer. Died, Moseley Hill Hospital, Liverpool, England, Oct. 4, 1918, of pneumonia. En route to Paris. Sailed, Sept. 1, 1918. Born, May 27, 1892. Place of burial, United States. Next of kin, Mr. William Zinn, father, 452 West College Ave., York, Pa.

## HOME CAMPS

## AYRES, EDWIN T.

San Francisco, Cal.

Garage Owner. Died, Mare Island, Cal., Nov. 3, 1918, of influenza. Motor Transport and Warehouse Secretary, Mare Island. Born 1884. Next of kin, Mrs. Edwin T. Ayres, wife, 619 Central Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

## BARKER, J. HARRY

Rochester, N. Y.

Merchant. Died, Camp McClelland, Ala., Oct. 29, 1917, of pneumonia. Secretary, Camp McClelland. Born, 1877. Next of kin, Mrs. J. H. Barker, wife, 66 Linden St., Rochester, N. Y.

## BARNES, WESLEY W.

Nebraska City, Neb.

Minister. Died, St. Luke's Hospital, New York City, Dec. 2, 1918, of influenza. Attending 27th conference at Columbia University. Born, 1882. Next of kin, Mrs. W. W. Barnes, wife, 112 S. 9th St., Nebraska City, Neb.

## BARTOW, LATHROP

New York, N. Y.

Agriculturist. Died, New York City, Dec. 9, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Physical Department, Fort Jay. Born, 1886. Next of kin, Mr. C. S. Bartow, father, 33 West 73d St., New York City.

## BEAN, OREN N.

Cavendish, Vt.

Minister. Died North Springfield, Vt., Oct. 13, 1918, of pneumonia. Awaiting sailing. Born, 1871. Next of kin, Mrs. O. N. Bean, wife, Cavendish, Vt.

## BENN, WILLIAM B.

East Lansing, Mich.

Minister. Died, Great Lakes, Ill., Oct. 25, 1918, of influenza. Religious Work Secretary, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes. Born, 1887. Next of kin, Mrs. W. B. Benn, wife, 509 Mt. Hope St., East Lansing, Mich.

**BLAKE, BERNARD T.**

St. Paul, Minn.

Art and Dramatic Student. Died, Camp Mills, L. I., Oct. 15, 1918, of pneumonia. Social Secretary, Camp Mills, L. I. Born 1892. Next of kin, Mrs. Andrew Call, aunt, 1212 Ashland Ave., St. Paul, Minn.

**BOLT, ERIC P.**

Bend, Ore.

High School Principal. Died, Vancouver, Wash., Nov. 9, 1918, of influenza. Camp General Secretary, Vancouver. Born, 1892. Next of kin, Mrs. E. P. Bolt, wife, care of Army Y M C A, Vancouver, Wash.

**BRENNEMAN, WILLIAM D.**

Oregon, Wis.

Minister. Died, Great Lakes, Ill., Oct. 2, 1918, of influenza. Educational Secretary, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes. Born, 1887. Next of kin, Mrs. W. D. Brenneman, wife, Homewood, Ohio.

**BRAXTON, RUSSELL B.**

New York, N. Y.

Steward. Died, Camp Lee, Va., Aug. 8, 1918, of tuberculosis. Educational Secretary, Camp Lee. Born, 1876. Next of kin, Mrs. R. B. Braxton, wife, 2311 7th Ave., New York City.

**BURSON, D. C.**

Brewton, Ala.

Dentist. Died, Okalona, Miss., Oct. 10, 1918, of pneumonia. Business Secretary, Camp Sheridan, Ala. Born, 1877. Next of kin, Miss Blanche D. Burson, sister, Atmore, Ala.

**BURTON, WALTER A.**

Halsted, Pa.

Died, Pelham Bay Park, N. Y., Oct. 3, 1918, of pneumonia. Building Secretary, Naval Reserve, Pelham Bay Park. Born, 1878. Next of kin, Mrs. W. A. Burton, wife, Halsted, Pa.

**CARR, WALTER A.**

Adams, Mass.

Electrician. Died, Adams, Mass., Oct. 21, 1918, of influenza. Awaiting sailing. Born, 1883. Next of kin, Mrs. W. A. Carr, wife, 6 Mill St., Adams, Mass.

**CASTO, EUGENE LAYTON**

Greenville, Ky.

School Superintendent. Died, Camp Taylor, Ky., Oct. 5, 1918, of pneumonia. Camp Social Secretary, Camp Taylor. Born, 1890. Next of kin, Mr. G. R. Casto, father, Millwood, W. Va.

**CHAMBERLIN, C. O.**

Crescent City, Fla.

Bank Cashier. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Jackson, S. C., Oct. 10, 1918, of pneumonia. Business Secretary, Camp Jackson. Born, 1889. Next of kin, Mrs. R. G. Chamberlin, mother, Crescent City, Fla.

**COURSON, ERNEST L.**

Adel, Ga.

Minister. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Taylor, Ky., Dec. 3, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, Chaplain's Training School, Camp Taylor. Born, 1888. Next of kin, Mrs. J. Branch, mother, 156 Vine St., Macon, Ga.

**CRAMSIE, EDWARD A.**

New York City.  
Secretary. Died, New York City, Nov., 1918, of pneumonia. Office Secretary, Educational Bureau, War Personnel Board, Headquarters, N. Y. Born, 1891. Next of kin, Mr. E. A. Cramsie, father, 2191 7th Ave., New York City.

**CUNNINGHAM, RICHARD H.**

Chicago, Ill.

R.R. Agent. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Taylor, Ky., June 3, 1919, result of operation. Social Secretary, Camp Taylor. Born, 1869. Next of kin, Mrs. R. H. Cunningham, wife, 4233 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

**DAMEL, ELBERT P.**

Jefferson City, Mo.

Teacher. Died, Camp Funston, Kan., Oct. 18, 1918, of pneumonia. Social Secretary, Camp Funston, Kan. Born, 1894. Next of kin, Mr. M. Damel, father, 786 Clark Ave., Jefferson City, Mo.

**DAMERON, STEPHEN G. C.**

Selmer, Tenn.

School Principal. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Wheeler, Ga., Nov. 29, 1918, of pneumonia. Athletic Secretary, Camp Wheeler. Born, 1885. Next of kin, Mrs. S. G. C. Dameron, wife, Selmer, Tenn.

**DOWNNEY, PAUL**

Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Student. Died, Syracuse, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1918, of influenza. Secretary, Students' Army Training Corps, Syracuse University, Syracuse. Born, 1898. Next of kin, Mr. W. J. Downey, father, 643 6th St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.

**EDWARDS, CLAUDE A.**

Charlestown, Mo.

Accountant. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Taylor, Ky., Oct. 19, 1919, of pneumonia. Assistant Secretary, Camp Taylor. Born, 1893. Next of kin, Mrs. O. A. Grenshaw, sister, Charlestown, Mo.

**EPPES, WILLIAM R.**

Athens, Ga.

Broker. Died, Base Hospital, Camp McClelland, Ala., Jan. 6, 1919, of pneumonia. Physical Secretary, Building, Camp McClelland. Born, 1892. Next of kin, Mrs. W. R. Eppes, wife, Athens, Ga.

**FANCHER, JOHN E.**

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Teacher. Died, Camp Merritt, N. J., Sept. 10, 1918, of pneumonia. Educational Secretary, Auditorium, Camp Merritt. Born, 1879. Next of kin, Mrs. J. E. Fancher, wife, 1143 Biltmore Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

**GARRY, ROBERT C.**

Lockport, N. Y.

Bible Teacher. Died, Camp Wadsworth, S. C., Jan. 17, 1918, of pneumonia. Born, 1846. Next of kin, Mrs. Robert C. Garry, wife, Webb St., Lockport, N. Y.

**GRIFFITH, WILLIAM C.**

Boston, Mass.

Singer. Died, Boston, Mass., Sept. 25, 1918, of pneumonia. Activities Secretary, Northeastern Department Headquarters, Boston. Born, 1890. Next of kin, Mrs. W. C. Griffith, wife, 520 Audubon Rd., Boston, Mass.

**HAMBY, E. H.**

Buchanan, Cal.

Salesman. Died, Georgia State Sanitarium, Ga., Jan., 1918, nervous collapse. Educational Secretary, Camp Sevier, Greenville, S. C. Next of kin, Mrs. E. H. Hamby, wife, Marietta, Ga.

**HILL, CHARLES E.**

Orlando, Fla.

Automobile Dealer. Died, Hotel Statler, Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 20, 1918, of pneumonia, Recruiting Secretary, War Personnel Board, Headquarters, N. Y. C. Born, 1876. Next of kin, Miss Geraldine Hill, daughter, Dayton, Ohio.

**HOAGLAND, AMOS N.**

Oxford, N. J.

Physical Director. Died, Oxford, N. J., Oct. 17, 1918, of influenza. Awaiting sailing. Born, 1884. Next of kin, Mrs. A. N. Hoagland, wife, care of W. K. La Bar, Stroudsburg, Pa.

**HOUSE, GEORGE A.**

West Orange, N. J.

Phonograph Demonstrator. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Lee, Va., Oct. 22, 1918, hardening of the arteries. Assistant Secretary, Camp Lee. Born, 1855. Next of kin, Mrs. C. W. Norton, daughter, 43 Park Ave., West Orange, N. J.

**HOWE, GEORGE O.**

Dallas, Tex.

Accountant. Died, Roosevelt Hospital, New York City, Oct. 3, 1918, of pneumonia. Awaiting sailing. Born, 1881. Next of kin, Mrs. George O. Howe, wife, 413 West Jefferson St., Dallas, Texas.

**HUNT, CHARLES N.**

Macon, Ga.

Lawyer. Killed, Iowa City, March 30, 1919, by train en route to Camp Dodge, Ia. Secretary, Troop Train Service, U. S. A. Previous assignment, Lecturer Educational Department, Paris, France. Born, 1855. Next of kin, Mrs. C. N. Hunt, wife, 219 Duff St., Macon, Ga.

**JEWETT, ELIZABETH**

Nyack, N. Y.

Died, Nyack, N. Y., Jan. 1, 1919, of influenza. Clerk, Filing Department, War Personnel Board, Headquarters, New York City. Next of kin, Mrs. Richard D. Jewett, mother, Nyack, N. Y.

**KEMERER, SAMUEL W.**

San Antonio, Tex.

Minister. Died, Camp Travis, Texas, Dec. 22, 1917, of pneumonia. Religious Work Director, Camp Travis. Born, 1872. Next of kin, Mrs. S. W. Kemerer, Kerville, Texas.

**KONRAD, JOHN**

Boston, Mass.

Real Estate Dealer. Died, Boston, Mass., Oct. 7, 1918, automobile accident. Awaiting sailing. Born, 1872. Next of kin, Mrs. John Konrad, wife, 106 Forest Hill St., Jamaica Plains, Mass.

**LAWRENCE, J. S.**

Fort Worth, Tex.

Theological Student. Died, Camp Bowie, Texas, Dec. 23, 1918, of pneumonia. Assistant Secretary, Camp Bowie. Born, 1879. Next of kin, Mrs. J. S. Lawrence, wife, Seminary Hill, Fort Worth, Texas.

**LEVI, HENRY E.**

Talladega, Ala.

High School Principal. Killed, Camp Wheeler, Ga., Aug. 31, 1918, by lightning, while on duty. Religious Secretary, Camp Wheeler. Born, 1866. Next of kin, Mrs. H. E. Levi, wife, 402 W. Battle St., Talladega, Ala.

**LOERCH, HENRY J.**

Highland Lake, N. Y.

Draftsman. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Dix, N. J., Sept. 26, 1918, of pneumonia. Physical Director, Camp Dix. Born, 1887. Next of kin, Mrs. H. J. Loerch, wife, 104 Lincoln St., Jersey City Heights, N. J.

**MAGEE, THOMAS W.**

Died, Nogales, Ariz., Camp Secretary, 35th Infantry, Nogales, Ariz. No further record.

**MAHIN, HARRY H.**

Arlington, Ind.

High School Principal. Died, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill., Oct. 6, 1918, of pneumonia. Educational Secretary, Great Lakes Naval Training Station. Born, 1884. Next of kin, Mrs. H. H. Mahin, wife, Arlington, Ind.

**MEYER, CHARLES M.**

Grand Rapids, Mich.

Died, Camp McArthur, Tex., Oct. 8, 1918, of pneumonia. Religious Secretary, Camp McArthur, Tex. Next of kin, Mrs. C. M. Meyer, wife, 1012 Baldwin St., Grand Rapids, Mich.

**MORELAND, SINCLAIR**

San Antonio, Tex.

Died, San Antonio, Tex., Oct. 7, 1918, of pneumonia. Physical Director, Kelly Field, Tex. Born, 1885. Next of kin, Mrs. S. Moreland, Sequin, Tex.

**NEALON, EDWARD T.**

Paterson, N. J.

Died, Sept. 22, 1919, of influenza. Physical Director, Camp Merritt, N. J. No further record.

**NICHOLSON, JOHN W.**

Moorestown, N. J.

Died, Moorestown, N. J., April 10, 1918, of pneumonia. Recreation Secretary, Hut No. 8, Camp Dix.

**PALMER, E. T.**

Hollywood, Cal.

Automobile Dealer. Died, Hollywood, Cal., March 27, 1919. Secretary, Camp Kearney, Cal. Born, 1876. Next of kin, Mrs. E. T. Palmer, wife, 1545 Formosa Ave., Hollywood, Cal.

**PECKMANN, HENRY R.**

Elgin, Ill.

Teacher. Died, Base Hospital, Camp Funston, Kan., Oct. 8, 1918, of influenza. Educational Director, Camp Funston. Born, 1883. Next of kin, Mrs. S. Peckmann, mother, 1018 S. Main St., Bloomington, Ill.

**PIERCE, RAYMOND G.**

Greenfield, Mass.

Clerk. Died, Camp Devens, September 27, 1918, of influenza. Recreation Secretary, Camp Devens, Mass. Born, 1893. Next of kin, A. N. Pierce, father, Greenfield, Mass.

**POTTENGER, AVERY K.**

Indianapolis, Ind.

Landscape Architect. Died, Base Hospital, Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Ill., March 5, 1919, of pneumonia. Educational Secretary, Camp Farragut, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes. Next of kin, Mrs. A. K. Pottenger, wife, De Kalb, Ill.

**POTTER, JAMES V.**

Mt. Morris, Pa.

Minister. Died, Mt. Morris, Pa., Nov. 24, 1918, of pneumonia. Awaiting sailing. Born, 1884. Next of kin, Mrs. J. V. Potter, wife, Mt. Morris, Pa.

**SCOTT, MARK L.**

Des Moines, Ia.

Died, April 4, 1919, of influenza. Secretary Army Branch, Iowa State Committee. Next of kin, Mr. J. W. L. Scott, father, Mt. Pleasant, Ia.

**SELBY, LESLIE**

Vincennes, Ind.

Teacher. Died, Base Hospital, Great Lakes Training Station, Ill., Sept. 29, 1918, of influenza. Assistant Educational Secretary, Camp Decatur, Great Lakes Training Station. Born, 1891. Next of kin, Mr. N. S. Selby, father, 117 N. 6th St., Vincennes, Ind.

**SHUCK, LUTHER M.**

San Francisco, Cal.

Principal. Died, Leland Stanford University, Cal., Nov. 10, 1918, of influenza. Y M C A Training School, Leland Stanford University. Born, 1858. Next of kin, Mrs. L. M. Shuck, wife, 6327 California St., San Francisco, Cal.

**SIMS, COMER**

Mobile, Ala.

Cotton Broker. Died, New York City, Oct. 9, 1918, of pneumonia. Awaiting sailing. Born, 1875. Next of kin, Mr. A. T. Sims, father, Midland City, Ala.

**STEDMAN, HAROLD B.**

Holyoke, Mass.

Stenographer. Died, Fort Slocum, Oct. 8, 1918, of pneumonia. Secretary, overseas training section, War Personnel Board, New York City. Born, 1893. Next of kin, Mr. W. S. Stedman, father, 9 Suffolk Street, Holyoke, Mass.

**WALTRIP, REUBEN A.**

Buffalo, Tex.

Minister. Died, Fort Bliss, Tex., Oct. 9, 1918, of pneumonia. Building Secretary, Fort Bliss. Born, 1882. Next of kin, Mrs. R. A. Waltrip, wife, Jewett, Tex.

**WEATHERBY, ALBERT**

San Francisco, Cal.

Efficiency Expert. Died, St. Luke's Hospital, New York City, Sept. 28, 1918, of acute indigestion. Attending 19th Conference, Columbia University. Born, 1870. Next of kin, Mrs. Albert Weatherby, wife, 1435 Alvarado Terrace, Los Angeles, Cal.

**WHEELER, HIRAM H.**

Urbana, Ill.

Clerk. Died, Urbana, Ill., Oct. 15, 1918, of pneumonia. Born, 1881. Next of kin, Mrs. H. H. Wheeler, wife, 812 W. Clark St., Urbana, Ill.

## WILSON, WILLIAM

Insurance Agent. Died, Springfield Hospital, Springfield, Mass., Dec. 13, 1918, of apoplexy. Attending Training Conference, Springfield. Born, 1874. Next of kin, Mrs. Wm. Wilson, wife, 6 Buengenen Apts., Green Bay, Wisc.

## YAEGER, CHARLES

R. R. Inspector. Died, Crouse Irving Hospital, Syracuse, N. Y., of pneumonia. Assistant Secretary, Camp Syracuse. Born, 1887. Next of kin, Mrs. Charles Yaeger, wife, 115 N. Maple St., Mount Carmel, Pa.

3. *Wounded and Gassed*

The following is a list of men and women wounded or gassed under fire.

This list is based upon medical reports, insurance statements or the statement made by the individual on release sheets.

AMBS, LEWIS Los Angeles, Cal.	BULKLEY, DAVID B. Bonita, La.
ARMBRUST, JOSEPH H. Boston, Mass.	CAMPBELL, BARLOW M. Bainbridge, Ga.
ARMSTRONG, ROBERT Northampton, Mass.	CANNELL, FRANK B. Brookline, Mass.
AZARIAN, JOSEPH A. Pasadena, Cal.	CARRINGTON, JOHN J. Huntington, Tenn.
BALLEW, WILLIAM E. Lexington, Ill.	CHASE, HARRY L. South Braintree, Mass.
BARKER, MANDEVILLE, J., JR. Uniontown, Pa.	CHAUDRON, PAUL V. Mobile, Ala.
BARTHOLOMEW, HERBERT O. Brookville, Pa.	CLARK, GEORGE E. Akron, O.
BEAUMAN, JAMES H. South Bend, Ind.	CLIFFORD, JOHN R. Tucson, Ariz.
BLAKE, WILLIAM A. Jamaica Plains, Mass.	COOK, HUGH O. Kansas City, Mo.
BRADLEE, CHARLES W., JR. Providence, R. I.	COURTWRIGHT, WILLIAM L. Larkspur, Cal.
BRADLEY, HORACE East Orange, N. J.	CRESSY, WILLIAM New York, N. Y.
BRANNEN, ELEANOR New York, N. Y.	CROSS, E. W. Grinnell, Ia.
BRIGGS, EDWARD P. Buffalo, N. Y.	D'ANTONIO, JOHN Springfield, Mass.
BROWN, ARCHIBALD Red Bank, N. J.	DAWES, FRED A. Newark, N. J.
BROWN, HARRY G. Hackensack, N. J.	DERR, HARVEY R. Wooster, O.

- DEVAN, SCOVILLE T.  
Columbus, O.
- DIETZ, ARTHUR L.  
Los Angeles, Cal.
- DILLON, WILLIAM W.  
Estacado, Ore.
- DOUGLASS, ARTHUR M.  
Manitou, Col.
- DOWNER, SAMUEL W.  
Downer, N. J.
- ELWOOD, JOHN L.  
Irvington, N. J.
- EVANS, JACK C.  
Miles City, Mont.
- EVERS, JOHN U.  
Martinsburg, W. Va.
- FALCONER, ROBERT C.  
Exeter, Mass.
- FONVILLE, LEROY R.  
Burlington, N. C.
- GAULD, FRED.  
Arlington, Mass.
- GREGG, DAVID  
Eastern Shore, Md.
- HADLEY, THOMAS F.  
Richland, Ia.
- HAINES, CHARLES C.  
Middletown, N. Y.
- HAMBLIN, CHARLES R.  
Rushville, N. Y.
- HANCOCK, ARTHUR  
La Grange, Ill.
- HANEY, HARVEY S.  
Quakertown, Pa.
- HARTLEY, ROBERT A.  
Quincy, Ill.
- HINTON, CHARLES O.  
Paris, Ky.
- HINTS, WILLIAM  
Osceola, Ia.
- HOLLOWAY, PERCY T.  
Ellasville, Ga.
- HOWE, FRANK L., JR.  
East Orange, N. J.
- HOWELL, WALTER D.  
Detroit, Mich.
- HOWES, DAVID H.  
Wilmington, N. C.
- HUGGINS, WILLIAM L.  
Coolidge, Ga.
- HUME, MARION C.  
Ottumwa, Ia.
- HUNGERFORD, ARTHUR E.  
Baltimore, Md.
- HUNTER, GEORGE J.  
Detroit, Mich.
- INNES, FREDERICK E.  
Hartford, Conn.
- JEWETT, EDMUND H.  
New York, N. Y.
- JOHNSON, BENTON V.  
Detroit, Mich.
- JOHNSON, MARTIN R.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.
- JOHNSTON, MERCER C.  
Baltimore, Md.
- JONES, VICTOR R.  
Easton, Pa.
- KENNEDY, DANIEL  
Somerville, Mass.
- KRUPAR, ANTHONY C.  
Chesterfield, Va.
- LAU, OSCAR M.  
Des Moines, Ia.
- LEONARD, ASA K.  
Ithaca, N. Y.
- LEWIS, EDGAR S.  
Cincinnati, O.
- MACCLINCHIE, ROBERT E.  
St. Louis, Mo.
- MCCORD, ROLLA E.  
Glenellyn, Ill.
- McGEEACHY, JOHN A.  
St. Paul, N. C.
- MCKEE, HERBERT  
Fowler, Cal.
- MALE, H. L.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

- MAURER, OSCAR  
New Haven, Conn.
- METCALF, JOEL  
Winchester, Mass.
- MILLER, BERNETTA A.  
New York, N. Y.
- MORRIS, CLYDE C.  
Idabel, Okla.
- NELSON, H. WILLIAM  
Lowell, Mass.
- NEPP, MARTIN L.  
Corona, N. Y.
- PALMER, ASHER F.  
Bellingham, Wash.
- PARSELL, ALFRED P.  
Auburn, N. Y.
- PATTON, JOHN W.  
Anderson, Pa.
- PERKINS, G. LAWRENCE  
Pomfret, Conn.
- PEST, B. THOMAS  
Newark, N. J.
- PETTY, OSCAR E.  
Lewiston, Mont.
- PHILLIPS, ARTHUR  
Boston, Mass.
- PINKERTON, HENRY  
Jacksonville, Ill.
- PRESTON, BRYANT C.  
Palo Alto, Cal.
- PRETTYMAN, WILLIAM B.  
Pittsburgh, Pa.
- ROBERTSON, ROBERT  
Oakland, Cal.
- ROWE, GEORGE T.  
Dublin, Ga.
- SAYERS, CHARLES  
Lancaster, Pa.
- SEWELL, EMMETT K.  
Wynne, Ark.
- SHERMAN, PAULA  
New York, N. Y.
- SIDLEY, THOMAS H.  
Evanston, Ill.
- SMITH, ARTHUR L.  
Rosalin, Va.
- SMITH, FREDERICK C.  
Indianola, Ia.
- SMITH, HENRY F.  
West Medford, Mass.
- SMITHERS, KELLY C.  
Frankfort, N. Y.
- SNOW, ROBERT C.  
Hyde Park, Mass.
- STUART, SIDNEY  
New York, N. Y.
- TALMADGE, DAVID H.  
New York, N. Y.
- TAYLOR, JAMES  
Chicago, Ill.
- TOULON, HOMER V.  
Philadelphia, Pa.
- TRUEX, WALTER  
Syracuse, N. Y.
- VAN EMDEN, IRA H.  
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
- VAN EPPS, FRANK M.  
Chicago, Ill.
- VARNUM, ALGERNON B.  
Hyannis, Mass.
- WALCH, ALBERT W.  
Petersburg, Va.
- WALKER, ELI  
Stockton, Kan.
- WALKER, ORVILLE W.  
Mankato, Minn.
- WALLACE, WALTER  
Richmond, Va.
- WANNAMAKER, OLIN D.  
Dallas, Tex.
- WARD, WALTER G.  
Aurora, Neb.
- WARREN, FRANK G.  
Stockton, Cal.
- WATKINS, GLENN  
Lakewood, Cleveland, O.
- WATSON, ALEXANDER P.  
Knoxville, Tenn.

WELLS, DANIEL Detroit, Mich.	WILLIAMS, LINSEY E. Manchester, Tenn.
WEST, FRANK H. Loda, Ill.	WILLIS, GUY A. Darlington, Mo.
WHARTON, HENRY Philadelphia, Pa.	WILLMER, SARAH Chicago, Ill.
WHITE, HARRY C. Bound Brook, N. J.	WILSON, GEORGE C. San Jose, Cal.
WILBOR, THOMAS W., JR. New Britain, Conn.	WYMAN, LEON E. Cleveland Heights, O.

#### 4. *Citations and Decorations*

Citations .....	99
Croix de Guerre .....	41
Officier de l'Académie .....	26
Légion d'Honneur .....	6
Médaille d'Honneur .....	4
Fourragère .....	2
Brevet de Cuirassier de la Première Classe Honoraire .....	1
Officier de l'Instruction Publique .....	1
Order of the British Empire .....	6
British Air Society Medal .....	1
Distinguished Service Cross .....	4
Distinguished Service Medal .....	2
U. S. Army Ambulance Service Medal .....	1
Croce di Guerra .....	82
Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia .....	21
Cross of Knight of the Crown of Italy .....	1
Knight of Saints Mauritius and Lazarus (Italian) .....	1
Medalha de Agradecimento (Portugal) .....	1
Ordem de Cristo .....	4
Order of St. Stanislaus (Russian) .....	4
Cross of St. George (Russian) .....	3
Order of the Redeemer (Greek) .....	3
Médaille de la Reine Belge .....	3
Czechoslovak Revolutionary Medal .....	1
Kaisar-i-hind (India) .....	1
Order of the Crown of Siam .....	1
Ratanapara Medal (Siam) .....	2
Total .....	322

## APPENDIX XIII: THE TAKING OVER OF WELFARE WORK ON MILITARY AND NAVAL RESERVATIONS BY THE WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

In August, 1919, Colonel Jason S. Joy, representing the War Department, called at the headquarters of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association bringing informal notice that the War Department contemplated the launching of an entirely different plan for promoting the welfare work in the military camps and stations, and that it was the thought to have this new plan go into effect at the end of the period of demobilization of the American army which served in the World War.

The official notice and correspondence on the subject read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON

September 19, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Mott:

With the approximate demobilization of the emergency army, it becomes my privilege to thank you and your associates for the efficient and tireless efforts of the Young Men's Christian Association in providing for the comfort and well-being of the men of our army during our participation in the World War. Your representatives began their services with the man the day he entered the army, aided him to readjust his mental attitude during the days of training, cared for his spiritual and physical needs in France, and finally helped him to return home in a sound mental and moral condition.

The task of organizing and carrying on such a program was stupendous and yet it was done in a manner which entitles the Young Men's Christian Association to the gratitude of the army, the War Department and the people of America. Please express to the members of your staff, heads of departments and representatives of your organization, the hearty and sincere appreciation of the War Department.

In order that the example set by the various civilian agencies during the emergency may not be lost to the regular army, I have instructed my military associates to establish an organization within the general staff to be charged with the development and supervision of matters pertaining to education, recreation and moral training, of officers and men of the service. This organization will undertake the functions of the seven affiliated welfare societies November 1, 1919, as far as they relate to the military establishment within the continental limits of the United States.

You are requested to continue your work with the troops in France, Germany, Siberia, the Panama Canal Zone, the Hawaii Islands, the Philippine Islands and Alaska, for a further period of three or four months, or until such time as the army is in a position to undertake this responsibility.

The War Department in the future, as it has in the past, will feel free to call upon the Young Men's Christian Association for advice, counsel and active assistance whenever the need develops.

## SERVICE WITH FIGHTING MEN

Similar letters announcing the proposed program of the War Department have been directed to each of the seven affiliated organizations.

Cordially yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,  
Secretary of War.

Dr. John R. Mott,  
347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The Honorable Newton D. Baker,  
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

September 29, 1919.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On my return from Cleveland Saturday I found awaiting me your most important communication of September 19th, which was received in my office only on September 25th. The envelope bears the Washington postmark of September 24th. As I am just starting on a trip to Kentucky, it will be impossible for me to lay the communication in person before our executive committee. To avoid delay, therefore, I am sending the letter to the chairman. In view of the way the matter was left the other day, in our necessarily hurried interview in your office, and of your suggestion that we should have further conference on the subject, I have been surprised to receive the communication announcing the final decision. I need not reiterate what you so well know has been our unvarying attitude and practice, to accede loyally to the wishes of our Government in its various departments, and I am sure that I fully represent our National War Work Council in stating this. Since our conversation, I have had opportunity to confer with a great many of our wisest leaders both of the Association and of the churches, as I have been attending very representative gatherings in Detroit and Cleveland. They most strongly support the position which we tried to set forth in our last conference with you.

The day I returned from the west, Colonel Joy telephoned me about the important conference to be held in Washington at the end of this week. We shall have opportunity, I assume, to go into these matters more fully on that occasion.

With highest regard,

Very sincerely yours,  
JOHN R. MOTTO.

The order of the War Department follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON

General Orders

No. 109

September 15, 1919.

\* \* \* \* \*

IV. Education and recreation of the soldier.

1. Control and supervision. By direction of the Secretary of War, the direct control and supervision of all matters pertaining to the education and recreation of the soldier is vested in the Director, War Plans Division, General Staff, who will have associated with him a board of civilian educators to advise him on the development of educational policies within the army. He will provide for a proper system of inspection to insure uniformity in this training.

2. Education. Education in the army will serve a twofold purpose: *a.* To train technicians and mechanics to meet the army's needs, and to raise the soldier's general intelligence in order to increase his military efficiency. *b.* To fit the soldier for a definite occupation upon his return to civil life.

Educational work, within the times allotted in War Department orders, will be as regularly scheduled as is military training, and it is made the duty of all commanders to see that all subordinate officers apply to this new work the same high standard of duty heretofore exacted in the purely military training. Every possible assistance will be given by the War Department to organization, camp and post commanders in the development of these standards. Until further orders, educational training, except for illiterates, will be voluntary, but when once enrolled as a student, the soldier will be required to complete the course undertaken; and normally an average of three hours a day, five days a week, will be devoted to such training. It is not intended in allotting a three-hour daily or fifteen-hour weekly time to educational work to restrict commanding officers rigidly thereto, but it is intended that in the allotment of time for educational work for the year, provision should be made for this proportion of the time to be devoted to educational work.

3. Camp activities. Opportunity for the wise application of the soldier's leisure time will be provided. Commanding officers will assume full responsibility for the contentment and well-being of the soldiers, and be prepared to maintain, as far as practicable, the work now being carried on by the several civilian welfare agencies within their commands. Camp activities will include recreational athletics, music, dramatic entertainment, service clubs, post exchanges, libraries, and community cooperation. Every possible assistance will be given commanders in the development of these activities by superior commanders and by the War Department.

4. Moral training. Commanding officers will give their support and assistance to chaplains and all other agencies in the problems of moral training, character building, and religious guidance of the soldier.

5. Education and recreation officer. In order to carry out the provisions of this order, each commanding officer will appoint on his staff an education and recreation officer. This officer should have the highest qualifications, and rank appropriate to the size of the command. He will be charged with the direct control and supervision of all the activities defined in this order and will be provided with such assistants, military or civilian, or both, in education, camp activities, and moral training (chaplain) as the strength of the command requires. Chaplains are not available for assignment as education and recreation officers.

6. Certain activities transferred to War Plans Division. All functions of the Commission on Training Camp Activities and the Committee on Education and Special Training are hereby transferred to the War Plans Division, General Staff. All orders and instructions in conflict with this order are rescinded.

(350, A. G. O.) By order of the Secretary of War.

PEYTON C. MARCH,  
General, Chief of Staff.

P. C. HARRIS, The Adjutant General.

After an interview with the Secretary of War, the members of a joint committee, representing the International Committee and the War Work Council, after reviewing the discussion with the Secretary of War, sent to him the following communication:

The Honorable Newton D. Baker,  
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

October 14, 1919.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We wish to renew our expression of appreciation of your kindness in according us the unhurried interview last Monday to discuss the matter of our work in the army posts and stations. It has occurred to us since our conversation that you might be glad to have in writing some of the facts and considerations which we tried to set forth in our conference. We need not reiterate that we are as desirous as you are to arrive at the plan which will ensure the very best possible service for the enlisted men. This has ever been the controlling consideration with us.

After all these years of experience on the part of the Young Men's Christian Association in serving the soldiers and sailors at home and abroad, we most seriously question the wisdom of making such a radical change as calls for the withdrawal from the posts and stations of this voluntary civilian agency. During more than twenty years it has acquired an experience and evolved methods and a program of activities for the symmetrical development of young men and for the strengthening of morale, the merits of which methods and program are widely recognized. It has trained thousands of men and women workers who are today qualified to serve as experts in promoting the various aspects of its comprehensive program. It has also a constituency among American citizens whose generous interest in the army should be maintained.

We would most emphatically reiterate the great advantage of maintaining voluntary civilian agencies within the regular stations and posts. Hundreds of thousands of young men in the army and navy during the war have been members of the Young Men's Christian Association before entering the service. On leaving the service they will go back to communities where this Association is established and will wish to identify themselves with its activities. There is a marked advantage in preserving the continuity of contact with this movement because of the power of the traditions, associations, fellowship and ideals for which it stands. It would be difficult to overstate the conserving and stimulating power of such an affiliation. This principle has repeatedly been recognized and emphasized by government and army officials. For example, it was clearly enunciated by Secretary of the Navy Moody, who afterwards became Attorney-General. In commanding the Young Men's Christian Association in his annual report to Congress, he said: "The work of the Association has become so important and beneficial to the enlisted men that it deserves public recognition. Work of this kind is entirely beyond government scope and must always depend upon private munificence."

The work of the Young Men's Christian Association with the American army began in the great Civil War. It assumed its modern aspect in the large

service it rendered in the Spanish-American War. Long before the opening of the recent World War it had become an adjunct of the American army and navy, recognized by both officers and enlisted men. Based upon congressional action and encouraged by each succeeding administration and relying confidently upon the manifest approval of officers and men, it not only rendered efficient service, but acquired in and near Government Reservations property costing \$2,735,700, plus endowment funds already paid in amounting to \$654,208.25. In addition we have endowment funds pledged, amounting to \$480,000. It makes an aggregate permanent investment in the interest of the enlisted men of the army and navy of \$3,819,908.25. The pre-war budget of the Association expended on behalf of enlisted men amounted to half a million dollars annually. This is one of the many indications not only of the volume of the permanent work of the Association for the enlisted men, but also of the widening interest of American citizens in their army and navy. All of this is entirely apart from the generous response of the American people in the recent war. These results are all the more significant in view of the fact that they were achieved in the quiet years of peace, when from the nature of the case the army and navy were not so much in the eye of the people.

The most notable gifts toward this permanent work of the Association on behalf of the army and navy, including a number of buildings and considerable endowments, were made with every expectation and with the natural assumption that the Government would continue its policy of permitting the Association to carry forward its service within the posts and stations. In fact, it should be pointed out that the response to the Association appeal in many a case was based on the encouragement which came from the fact that succeeding Administrations without variation had approved of this work and had expressed their appreciation of such gifts to the Association. The remarks of representatives of the War and Navy Departments at the dedication of these buildings in the posts and stations corroborate this statement. The clauses in the deeds of gift of both buildings and endowment constitute further corroboration. We cannot but believe that the army highly values such evidences of the patriotic interest of the American people in the welfare of its men and officers and would deprecate taking any step which would stop or diminish the increased voluntary cooperation on the part of the people in such work. This has bearings far beyond the War Department and the Young Men's Christian Association, because it would unmistakably tend greatly to discourage similar gifts toward fields under the jurisdiction of other departments of the Government were they to be attended by such uncertainty as to outcome.

We understood you to say that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds to meet the expense involved in carrying out the proposed plan. We would raise the serious question as to whether under these circumstances it is wise to call for the withdrawal of an agency, which was built up with such care and at so great expense and which has acquired such a valuable knowledge and experience through a period of over twenty years of serving the army, until such congressional appropriation has been made as will ensure beyond question the carrying forward without a break or without weakening

the good work already in such full and successful operation. With such an experienced staff of workers as the Association has at hand and with such resources as it has available, it does seem as though it would be better to continue the present arrangement. We fear that if Congress should not eventually appropriate sufficient funds, or, if the plan you propose should not be a final one, and in the meantime our personnel and financial constituency have been allowed to disintegrate, the American people would with reason feel that somehow a great mistake had been made.

We understand that the order calls for the withdrawal of the Young Men's Christian Association not only from the posts and stations in the continental United States, but also within a few months from Alaska, the Canal Zone, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands and the Far East. This naturally is of great concern to the Association as the only welfare agency which has through all these years served the American soldiers and sailors in these out-lying regions, and as the only one which today has large permanent investments in these regions. The Association leaders have a poignant appreciation of the perilous conditions to mind, body, and morale which obtain in these regions, as set forth with such force by Ex-President Taft in his addresses throughout the country in the light of his experiences as Governor-General of the Philippines, as well as by various army and navy officers.

Having in mind your plan of selecting from our Association personnel men you would use as general welfare workers, we would emphasize the fact that the Association secretaryship is a life-work. What leads men to devote their lives to this calling? It is their heart interest in the Young Men's Christian Association and their deep belief in its distinctive principles and program. The philosophy implied in the Association symbol—the triangle, the symmetrical development of young men, body, mind, and spirit, as a unity—has its strong hold upon them. A proper *esprit de corps* exists among them as a result of their belonging to a profession including thousands of men inspired by a common tradition and united by a common experience of service on behalf of all classes of young men at home and abroad. Only those who belong to this fellowship realize how strong are its bonds and how much it contributes to the efficiency achieving power and kindling quality of its members. None have been more keen to recognize the difference between the men serving in this calling and the same men when working apart from this affiliation than the enlisted men themselves.

We followed with deep interest what you referred to as a controlling consideration which induced you to issue the order, but we fail to be convinced that the relations between officers and men will be improved under the proposed plan. Furthermore, we are confident that the soldiers themselves value the present arrangement of voluntary societies, which they regard in a special sense as their own.

We frankly confess that the suggestion that the Young Men's Christian Association should be called upon, and particularly on short notice, to withdraw from the army posts and stations at the present time has occasioned great surprise and wonder. You will recognize that it will be necessary for us to give very complete and satisfying reasons for the proposed change to the countless

supporters of this work through all the years among American citizens of all parties and of all sections. With highest regard,

Sincerely yours,

ALFRED E. MARLING,

Chairman of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association.

WILLIAM SLOANE,

Chairman of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association and Chairman of the Army and Navy Department of the International Committee.

JOHN R. MOTT,

General Secretary of the International Committee and of the National War Work Council.

A few days later the following communication was received from the Secretary of War:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON

October 18, 1919.

My Dear Doctor Mott:

I have your letter of October fourteenth, reviewing the subject discussed in our interview, and reducing to formal expression the arguments made by Mr. Marling and others on the general subject of the continuance of recreational and social work in the army by the Young Men's Christian Association.

I should find it difficult to state too strongly my appreciation of the work which the Association and other societies have done in the army in the past, and particularly the service rendered by them to our great army in the war. We are, however, at a different stage of the proceedings now. We are building an army on a new plan, and propose to make it not merely a military force organized and kept in readiness for the defense of the nation, but a great educational institution into which mothers and fathers of the country will be glad to see their boys go, because, first, of the patriotic spirit which service will engender; second, because of the educational opportunities it will offer; and, third, because of the democratic fellowship which association in it will entail. This is admittedly a new form of army organization, but happily the thing has been done under our eyes and we have only to select and preserve the elements which have demonstrated their usefulness and value. Concededly these elements must be adequate military training, adequate industrial and other education, and adequate social and recreational opportunity.

These are not separate things to be given to the soldiers through separate agencies, but are different parts of the same round task, all of which it is the duty of the Government to perform for its young soldiers, and there are very sound arguments, in fact I think unanswerable arguments, against the separation of any of these functions from army responsibility by turning them

over to voluntary agencies, no matter how admirable the equipment of the agencies or their spirit, or, indeed, how admirable their services in the past.

As I stated to your committee, the other day, there are certain considerations which ought to be stated to clear them out of the way; considerations which have relatively a minor importance in dealing with the problem, but they do have some weight. These I shall state in their order:

Our experience in the war has shown that if any society is admitted other societies must either be admitted or arbitrarily discriminated against. If the Young Men's Christian Association were to be taken as the representative of the Protestant Churches, the Knights of Columbus of the Catholic Church, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association as representing Jewish contingents, we would still have unrepresented such Protestant bodies as are not affiliated with the Young Men's Christian Association, notably, the Unitarians, and a substantial number of bodies like the Masonic and other fraternal brotherhoods, and perhaps various other religious organizations, which can hardly be said to be represented by any one of the older, formal organizations to which I have referred. I do not know how any Secretary of War could draw the line of exclusion, and I feel quite certain that the agitation for admission into the service of the camps would continue indefinitely, causing criticism and bad feeling among those excluded, and perhaps causing some feeling of discontent among those already in, whenever a fresh society was admitted.

The welfare societies, here under consideration, are all of them admittedly and professedly based upon religious distinctions. Their very presence, therefore; their insignia; their literature; their songs, and the bias of their representatives lead to a constant emphasis being placed upon religious differences among the soldiers, and tend not to bring a unity of feeling in recreational association, but segregation into religious groups. This, I believe, to be an unfortunate influence among the young men in the camps, and the great religious movements in the direction of unity which are now characteristic of the best thought among religious leaders are evidences of the fact that the religious world itself is moving away from these lines of distinction and discrimination, so that it would seem unwise to introduce them into our new army along old and traditional lines.

Our experience has shown that when several societies are admitted to minister to the soldiers, competition among them is inevitable. Sometimes it is in the unwise zeal of agents selected, but it inheres in the nature of the case, and very conclusive evidence developed during this war that the soldiers themselves resent being made the object of competitive effort. The suggestion made by the committee which called upon me that all of this could be eliminated by control has this unhappy feature; that if any of the societies undertook to do for the soldiers something which the War Department felt was in fact intersociety competition in its nature, the authorities of the army would be in a position of denying the soldiers something which they perhaps might enjoy, and constantly explaining to the soldiers why they acted as a restraint upon the efforts of others to amuse and entertain them.

Passing from these difficulties, however, there are three considerations which seem to me fundamental: First, I do not believe the army has a right to throw itself on the benevolence of the country, and allow others to appeal

for funds to do for the soldiers things which the Government itself ought to do. None of the welfare agencies can continue this work unless subscriptions are made in response to appeals to enable them to do for the soldiers things which by necessary inference the Government is not doing. This, I think, is putting the army in the wrong light before the people of the country. The social conscience has been sufficiently quickened by the demonstrated value of social work in the army to realize that it is a proper function for the Government itself to perform, and if the Congress were to decline to make appropriations for this purpose, public sentiment would require it to resume and would resent the matter being left to the casual benevolence of persons appealed to by semi-private agencies.

The whole recreational and social activity of the camp must integrate with the military and educational training which is a part of the program. In schools and colleges athletic and social entertainment are found to be necessary parts of college life, and as the army is to become a great school, it must have such control of and interest in recreational and social opportunity, as will enable it to fit it into the training schedules, not only as a matter of time allowance, but also with that sympathy which will make recreational activities and social opportunities conducive to general education, which is the result we desire to obtain. This can best be done if the whole matter is under the guidance of a centralized body, and while undoubtedly the welfare societies would attempt to cooperate, this seems to be a case in which control is better than cooperation.

The last and final argument, however, and the one which I confess seems to me conclusively to settle the whole matter is this: The new army is to be an army in which the relations between the men and the officers are to be upon a broad and high democratic plane. The officer of the new army must be a man who is able to get efficiency from a military point of view out of his command, but he must get out of himself, in addition to that, a human quality which can only be born of an interest in the actual welfare of the men under him. For that reason, a part of the army plan which officers will be required to know and work with, ought to interest itself with the leisure hour occupations of the soldier. By thus supervising and participating in the recreational and social opportunities of the soldier, the officer will lose none of his dignity and none of his influence, but will gain a very great degree of the affectionate regard and respect which are essential to a sound relationship between the officers and the ranks. The men, on the other hand, will feel with regard to their officers, not that they are merely their taskmasters from whom they draw commands for duty performance, but that they are also their leaders in social and recreational activities, and by this process they will come to feel for their officers the regard which the college man gives to the robust and virile professor who teaches Greek from half-past nine to half-past ten, but is able to coach the football team in the afternoon, or at least knows enough about the football game to show his sympathy with that side of the college student's life.

In short, I am very zealous to have two things happen; (1) I want the people of the country to realize that the War Department is interested in the round and full development of the young men who come into the army; that our

purpose is to turn them out trained soldiers, but in addition to that, trained citizens; that we propose to give them military training enough to make them useful should the emergency require it, but also education enough to make them self-supporting and self-respecting members of the civil community when they return to it; and to add to these more formal gifts the social development and quality which are necessary to make balanced and stable character. (2) I am anxious to have the men in the army themselves feel that the relation they sustain to their Government is not one of drawing pay from the Government for so many hours of drill, or other formal duties, while they look to outside agencies for profitable opportunities of relaxation and character development, but rather that by enlisting in the army they secure both the opportunity of service and the opportunity of growth, development and culture from the same source.

So far as the religious aspects of this question are concerned, I, of course, speak with great hesitancy. I realize that the welfare agencies have in a certain sense abated sectarian differences without surrendering the cardinal beliefs upon which their associations are ordinarily formed, and yet I am persuaded that the true place for religious effort in the army is from the chaplain down and that it is a mistake to have the chaplain regarded as merely the exponent of formal religious activities, while the informal religious impulses are carried on by conflicting agencies, only incidentally religious in their activity and having another function as the basis of their work among the soldiers. If the chaplain is made responsible for all of the religious activities in the camp, and chaplains be selected with a view to their breadth and tolerance of opinion and view, they will invite casual representatives of other denominations to minister whenever special need exists, and this, of course, will obviate conflict while it will supply abundant opportunity for individual choice in the matter of religious affiliation.

For the reasons which I have attempted to state, it seems to me that I must adhere to the decision already made.

Cordially yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,

Secretary of War.

Doctor John R. Mott,  
International Committee Y M C A,  
347 Madison Avenue,  
New York, N. Y.

Members of the joint committee sent to the Secretary of War the following reply:

The Honorable Newton D. Baker,  
War Department,  
Washington, D. C.

October 23, 1919.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

Your communication of October 18th addressed to Dr. Mott has been received, and was considered carefully at a meeting yesterday of the delegation which waited upon you in Washington several days ago, and today by a joint meeting of the Executive and Finance Committees. We are most responsive to all that you have so finely said regarding your high ideal for the new permanent army, although we apparently differ radically as to the best method of realizing the ideal. We appreciate deeply your strong expression of appreciation concerning the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in the army, and also the notable tribute by Colonel Rees, who represented the War Department at the meeting of the Committee of Eleven on Monday of this week, as to the service rendered by the Association overseas, especially in establishing and building up the educational work. The very fact that the War Department and the military authorities, as well as the men in the army have in so many ways shown such appreciation leads us to regret all the more the proposed withdrawal of our service from the military camps.

In view of the long period of over twenty years of serving the army, in which years the Association has built up such an effective organization and such a helpful constituency for this purpose, it does seem most unfortunate to us that there should be such a radical change made, at least until after Congress has made definite and adequate financial provision to ensure beyond question carrying forward a work of such vital importance as you and your colleagues have emphasized. You will agree with us that were Congress to fail to make such provision for the continuance of the welfare work and were this indispensable service in the interest of the contentment, efficiency and morale of the men to be stopped or hindered, it would be a calamity, because in the meantime the work of the Association would have been demobilized and its connection with the interested supporting constituency would have been broken and thus there be danger that there would fall between two stools this most valuable work.

You will believe us when we say that our insistence and urgency are not prompted by any selfish purpose but solely by our profound interest in the men themselves, and by our sincere belief that the proposed plan is not in the best interest of the soldiers and that it will be found impracticable.

While not abandoning the hope that even yet some way may be found by which our service to the men in the camps may be continued at least until Congress acts, we wish you to know that we will, of course, defer to any action or decision of the War Department and do everything in our power to carry out its wishes. We are, therefore, in consultation with Colonel Joy making such plans and taking such steps as are made necessary by your order which becomes effective November 1st.

We assume that the War Department will make some special arrangement with reference to the permanent buildings of the Y M C A within the posts

which before the war were established there by American citizens with every assurance on the part of succeeding administrations that the Association would continue to use them in the service of the men.

With highest regard,

Very sincerely yours,

ALFRED E. MARLING,

Chairman of International Committee  
of the Young Men's Christian Associa-  
tion.

WILLIAM SLOANE,

Chairman of the National War Work  
Council of the Young Men's Christian  
Association.

JOHN R. MOTT,

General Secretary of the International  
Committee and of the National War  
Work Council.

#### TAKING OVER WELFARE WORK BY THE NAVY DEPARTMENT

On September 29th, 1919, a board appointed by the Navy Department to consider the future status of welfare organizations in Naval Reservations conducted a hearing in Washington, D. C., attended not only by all the members of the board, but also by representatives of the seven cooperating welfare organizations—National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, War Work Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, National Catholic War Council (Knights of Columbus), Jewish Welfare Board, War Camp Community Service, American Library Association, Salvation Army. In this hearing Dr. John R. Mott, of the Young Men's Christian Association, when asked to state his view, replied as follows:

With reference to the suggestion as to whether the welfare organizations withdraw their service, I would state that our conviction is that we still have an invaluable service to perform to the different arms of the service. In the first place, we believe there is a certain service which can be rendered the men by a voluntary society working under proper regulation that cannot be rendered in any other way. We would not say the most important service nor the only service, but an indispensable service.

In the second place, our whole experience, not only in this recent emergency of war, but during two or three decades preceding, has shown that both men themselves and officers crave this voluntary society which connects them with their homes and old associations. We do not use too strong a word when we say they crave these reminders that come to them through a civilian society thus interesting itself in them.

In the third place, there is something in the continuity that is made possible by work of these welfare organizations. The young men come from cities and towns where they were familiar with the Young Men's Christian Association—were members of it—tens of thousands of men in the navy have been members of the Association and other societies. They have become

acquainted with their methods. Not a few of these will ultimately return to their homes after rendering their service to the nation. It is well to preserve their contact with an agency which has meant so much to them in the past and to which they will be related in the future.

In the fourth place, the American people desire to have opportunities such as those which are effected by these welfare organizations in the navy to show their interest in the navy. It is true they can show it by taxation but they like to follow men in this service in which they believe so strongly. For thirty-one years I have had to present to the American people the claims of different parts of Young Men's Christian Association work. I served as Director General at the request of the President, in the recent United War Work Campaign on behalf of the seven societies. I came in touch with almost every state in the Union and found a very warm place in the hearts of the American people for the navy. They crave an opportunity to show from time to time in a generous way their heart-interest in the navy, and also in the army.

In the fifth place, we believe these agencies have a unique contribution to make. They have acquired an experience in this service. (I am speaking only for the Young Men's Christian Association which for twenty years has been serving the navy.) We have put before thousands of the choicest young men of America that there is no better profession than that of devoting their lives to the service of men, and have trained them to become specialists in the problems concerning the intellectual, social, physical, moral and religious development of men. Some of these men have put themselves in training and taken a course, from two to seven years, in order that they might devote their lives to this work. I remind you, the Y M C A have over 5,000 men in their expert service, not including the 20,000 men and women who served the Association in war. They are ready to live and die in the service, just as doctors and other professional men.

Early in October the two following official communications were received at the New York headquarters of the Y M C A from the Navy Department.

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, WASHINGTON

From: The Secretary of the Navy  
To: The Young Men's Christian Association

October 7, 1919.

The Navy Department wishes to express its appreciation of all that your organization has done for the officers and men during the war with the Central Powers. The navy believes that a large share of the credit of victory should be given your organization for its work in ministering to the men of the navy and feels that the greatest compliment, the most sincere expression of its regard, lies in the decision to perpetuate your good work by means of a permanent organization within the navy itself. No fuller recognition could be given the importance of welfare work. In order that there may be no duplication of effort, entire freedom from danger of confusion, and that the officers of the navy may be trained to do this work themselves, I have approved the recommendations of a Board composed of representatives from all the corps of the navy which are brought into intimate contact with the men. A copy of these recommendations is appended hereto.

In taking such action I have carefully considered the points above mentioned and feel that with the cordial cooperation and assistance of your organization this work will go forward to the permanent and lasting benefit of the men in the navy. This object, the welfare of these men who devote their lives to their country, whether in peace or in war, is of course, the objective which you and I alike are striving to attain. The battle efficiency of the navy must depend upon the character of its training in time of peace. The structure upon which the fighting forces of the country must depend is the morale, the integrity of character and purpose which is built up in the men of the navy.

This peace time training in character then becomes of tremendous importance. I have recognized this and have ordered that the service of some of the best officers of the navy be wholly devoted to the welfare of the men of the navy. Every officer, of course, constantly bears this in mind and is deeply interested in his men, but this organization I have ordered established has welfare as its sole duty. Its mission is "To Aid Constituted Authority to Maintain a High Morale," and there can never be the highest morale without the vital influence of religion and the spiritual life.

I am, therefore, writing to you to request that you assist the navy in carrying out the program as herewith laid down. Its success depends in a large measure upon your cordial and sympathetic cooperation. We must above all avoid any break in the continuity of the work which you have carried on for the navy and whose value you have so well demonstrated.

(Signed) JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Accompanying the foregoing communication was the following:

The Board convened to consider the future status of welfare organizations in naval reservations is composed of representatives of the line and of all the staff corps of the navy who are brought into contact with the work of these organizations. The Board, therefore, recommends that:

(a) So soon as practicable the Navy Department should take over the work heretofore done by the following seven organizations: The Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, Young Women's Christian Association, Salvation Army, the American Library Association and the National Catholic War Council, in all naval stations, placing the work under the chaplain and the morale officer of each station, subject to the supervision through the Commandant of the Station of the Sixth Division of the Bureau of Navigation.

(b) The enlisted personnel should be made to feel that the responsibility for the huts or club houses rests primarily upon them. If they desire to organize a local Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, or Young Men's Hebrew Association and call a secretary for that purpose, as is done in civilian localities, they should be encouraged to do so; the secretary of such organization to come into the station as a part of the regular station organization and subject to such regulations as the Department may impose. The secretary should not be subject to the orders of any organization outside of the station or Department.

(c) The men or women placed in charge of huts or club houses should be civilians trained in social work. They may be selected from the same sources that the forces of the organizations now doing the work are drawn.

(d) Recognizing the great value of the experience gathered by the Y M C A, Y W C A, the K. of C., J. W. B., and the A. L. A. in their national organizations, these organizations should be asked to keep in touch with the work in the station as the International Committee of the Y M C A now keeps in touch with the state and local Associations of the Y M C A in civilian communities, to give advice and suggestions as to the conduct of the work, as the secretaries of the International Y M C A do, and State Y M C A keep in touch and give advice with reference to the local Y M C A in civilian communities.

(e) A course in welfare work and morale should be instituted at the Naval Academy. In this course instructions should be given showing the development of such organizations as the Y M C A and the welfare work now being done in the great manufacturing and industrial plants throughout the United States, with a view to establishing as a permanent part of the navy a department upon which shall rest the duty of providing for the welfare of the enlisted personnel.

(f) The date for the taking over of the properties of the welfare organizations should be left to the discretion of the Navy Department. The transfer should be accomplished in a way not to interfere with the continuity of the work. The secretarial forces now in charge of hostess houses, huts, and stations should, where practicable, be continued, the only change being that the future employment would be by the Navy Department instead of by the organizations. Care should also be taken to preserve the good-will of the organizations and to ensure the continuance of their interest in the navy.

(g) The board wishes to emphasize in its recommendations the importance of the encouragement of these welfare organizations in their work for the men of the navy in the communities adjacent to stations and in ports touched by the ships. Every effort should be made by the Department to afford assistance to this field making for continuity in welfare work.

(h) These organizations should be encouraged to visit not only the stations, but also the ships in port to hold services and render assistance to the men of the navy.

(i) The balance of the funds contributed by the country for welfare work in the navy should be spent for that purpose. As rapidly as the work of these organizations is turned over to the Department the balance of the funds should be paid in to the Department to be disbursed for the purpose for which the funds were raised. A request to this effect should be sent to the Committee of Eleven.

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| (s) RICHARD H. LEIGH, | Captain U. S. Navy, Senior Member      |
| (s) C. B. MAYO,       | Commander, U. S. Navy, Member          |
| (s) J. B. FRAZIER,    | Captain, (ChC) U. S. Navy, Member      |
| (s) H. D. LAMAR,      | Commander, (SC) U. S. Navy, Member     |
| (s) H. L. ROGERS,     | Commander, (CEC) U. S. Navy, Member    |
| (s) J. T. BOONE,      | Lieut. Comdr., (MC) U. S. Navy, Member |
| (s) RANDOLPH COYLE,   | Major, U. S. M. C., Member             |
| (s) G. L. WEYLER,     | Lieut. Comdr., U. S. Navy, Recorder    |

On October 13th, 1919, members of a joint deputation from the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association and War Work Council waited upon the Secretary of the Navy and had an unhurried conference with him and Commander Mayo, in which interview the members of the deputation set forth strongly their reasons why the work of the Association should be continued within the naval stations. The arguments used were similar to those which were presented by them the same day in an interview with the Secretary of War.

Within a few days the following communication was received at the New York headquarters of the International Committee from Commander Mayo:

NAVY DEPARTMENT  
BUREAU OF NAVIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

From: Commander C. B. Mayo,  
Sixth Division, Bureau of Navigation.

October 17, 1919.

To: The Young Men's Christian Association.

Subject: Secretary of the Navy's letter of recent date and report of board to consider future status of the welfare organizations.

The Navy Department deeply appreciates the work which has been done by your organization during the war. You have demonstrated the vital importance of welfare work for the officers and men of the navy, and the direct consequence of your efforts has been the establishment of a permanent organization within the navy itself to carry on this work.

This work cannot be carried on without your most active assistance and cooperation. As you have always put service before self, I am writing to you to request your most earnest interest and efforts to guarantee the continuation of this work by the navy.

It should be emphasized that the future of this work largely depends upon its unbroken continuity. The present marks a crisis in the future of all welfare work in the navy. If this work be allowed to lapse, or if there be any break in the transition from civilian to military control, this work will be considered purely war work and not peace work. I know that it is the feeling of you all that this work should be made a permanent and lasting service, whether in peace or in war. It is solely with this idea that the board made its recommendations.

The Sixth Division will bend every effort to make this work a lasting memorial to your organization and now comes to you for advice and assistance.

It is of the greatest importance that there be a clear understanding between the Navy Department, as represented by the Sixth Division, and your organization as to the steps to be taken in the immediate future. Rumor and counter-rumor will be rife amongst the workers in the field unless definite official action is taken to allay such rumors and the proper information is given to the workers in the field.

In order, therefore, to clarify the situation, it is thought well to discuss paragraph by paragraph the recommendations of the board by which the future of this work will be governed.

(a) So soon as practicable the Navy Department should take over the work heretofore done by the Y M C A, the K. of C., J. W. B., Y W C A, Salvation Army, the A.L.A., and the National Catholic War Council, in all naval stations, placing the work under the chaplain and the morale officer of each station, subject to the supervision through the Commandant of the Station of the Sixth Division of the Bureau of Navigation.

The words "so soon as practicable" do not mean that the Navy Department wishes to take over this work one instant before its continuity is guaranteed. The Department realizes the tremendous scope of your work, the practical difficulties in such a transfer, and requests that you do not set a definite date until personal conferences have been had with you by the officers of the Sixth Division. This will be done within the next fortnight, and until a definite course of action is mapped out, it is requested that you notify your workers in the field that their work continues as heretofore. There is very serious doubt of any general transfer being effected before the first of January, 1920, and even at that date, all work should not be transferred if unbroken continuity is not guaranteed beyond the shadow of a doubt.

(b) The enlisted personnel should be made to feel that the responsibility for the huts or club houses rests primarily upon them. If they desire to organize a local Association, Knights of Columbus, or Young Men's Hebrew Association and call a secretary for that purpose, as is done in civilian localities, they should be encouraged to do so; the secretary of such organization to come in the station as a part of the regular station organization and subject to such regulations as the Department may impose. The secretary should not be subject to the orders of any organization outside of the station or Department.

(c) The men or women placed in charge of huts or club houses should be civilians trained in social work. They may be selected from the same sources that the forces of the organizations now doing the work are drawn.

The desire of the Navy Department to perpetuate the peculiar genius of your organization in this work is expressed herein. If the requisite funds are made available for the unbroken continuity of this work, it is the intention of the Navy Department to take over all the welfare workers now engaged in the work in the field. With the rapid demobilization of the navy there will be an inevitable cutting down of forces, but such cutting down will, insofar as the various welfare organizations are concerned, be conducted on a scale to be determined by the number of men in the navy who are Protestants, Catholics, or of the Jewish faith.

It is vital that these welfare workers be made to understand that there is no sudden shift impending. In order to get the proper information on all of these workers and their character, I have detailed Commander Collins to visit your headquarters for conference.

It is requested that your organization use every effort to provide its quota of workers in the field, retaining, if possible, the same workers on ac-

count of their invaluable experience. In case there are workers who do not wish to make this their permanent life-work, it is requested that you ask them to remain with the navy during the period of transition. Again it is emphasized that there must be no confusion or break in the continuity.

(d) Recognizing the great value of the experience gathered by the Y M C A, the Y W C A, the K. of C., J.W.B., and the A.L.A. in their national organizations, these organizations should be asked to keep in touch with the work in the station as the International Committee of the Y M C A now keeps in touch with the state and local Associations of the Y M C A in civilian communities, to give advice and suggestions as to the conduct of the work, as the secretaries of the International Y M C A do, and State Y M C A organizations keep in touch and give advice with reference to the local Y M C A's in civilian communities.

The future of the welfare work in the navy will be guaranteed if the spirit of the above paragraph is carried out. I am writing to request that you have detailed in your headquarters an individual of executive ability, experience and judgment, whose duty it will be to carry out the plan as above outlined. All commanding officers, chaplains and morale officers will be notified of such an arrangement, and visits of this official to naval stations will be of great value to them in carrying forward this work. The welfare organizations of the Navy Department will, in turn, have an officer detailed whose duty will be to maintain close touch with your headquarters. Recommendations from your officer will be given most serious consideration, and it is believed that the above arrangement will function satisfactorily to all concerned.

(e) A course in welfare work and morale should be instituted at the Naval Academy. In this course instructions should be given showing the development of such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, and the welfare work now being done in the great manufacturing and industrial plants throughout the United States, with a view to establishing as a permanent part of the navy a department upon which shall rest the duty of providing for the welfare of the enlisted personnel.

The advice and active assistance of your organization is requested in the establishment of a curriculum which will carry out the purposes of the above paragraph. The Department does not consider it wise to establish in the navy a special corps of officers whose sole duty will be in connection with welfare work. It has been demonstrated that specialization carried too far is not beneficial to a fighting service. The line officers of the navy are experts in navigation, gunnery, ordnance, et cetera, and this system which obtains alone in the United States Navy amongst all the navies of the world has been one of the greatest factors in its success. The midshipmen at the Academy should be carefully instructed in welfare work and the elements of morale, as they are now instructed in steam engineering and navigation. "A happy ship is an efficient ship" is a saying of one of the greatest of sea-fighters, and the mid-

shipmen will be taught how to obtain this "happy" ship if this course be inaugurated.

It is requested that articles be prepared by your experts and submitted to the Sixth Division of the Bureau of Navigation recommending the course that such a curriculum should take.

(f) The date for the taking over of the properties of the welfare organizations should be left to the discretion of the Navy Department. The transfer should be accomplished in a way not to interfere with the continuity of the work. The secretarial forces now in charge of hostess houses, huts and stations should, where practicable, be continued, the only change being that the future employment would be by the Navy Department instead of by the organizations. Care should be also taken to preserve the good-will of the organizations and to ensure the continuance of their interest in the navy.

The board here expresses the very earnest desire of the Navy Department to continue your work in very much the same way that you have by your efforts gained such great success.

As this paragraph has been discussed above, no further comment is necessary.

(g) The board wishes to emphasize in its recommendations the importance of the encouragement of these welfare organizations in their work for the men of the navy in the communities adjacent to stations and in the ports touched by the ships. Every effort should be made by the Department to afford assistance to this field making for continuity in welfare work.

The Navy Department, with your kind assistance, will, it is believed, be able to carry on the work within the stations. It has been said that the men get in trouble principally when they go on liberty. It will benefit little if the Navy Department, having given the man athletics, entertainment, social hygiene instruction, religion and spiritual care, finds that the doors of the community are closed to the man in uniform in time of peace, and that the very people whose safety he guards and the integrity of whose government he upholds fail to show by their efforts any interest in his welfare. It has been the sad truth that a sailor is not welcome in the many homes of a community.

You have here a very important work, in which the Navy Department, though wishing to aid in every way possible, is practically powerless. If your organization can guarantee to the man who goes on liberty an interesting and decent place where he will be made welcome you will have done a great service to the navy of your country.

(h) These organizations should be encouraged to visit not only the stations, but also the ships in port to hold services and render assistance to the men of the navy.

Every ship and every station will welcome your men in their efforts to supplement the work of the chaplain along purely religious lines. It is contemplated that a lyceum or lecture course will be established for the men of the navy, and your assistance is requested in furnishing speakers.

(i) The balance of the funds contributed by the country for welfare work in the navy should be spent for that purpose. As rapidly as the work of these organizations is turned over to the Department the balance of the funds should be paid in to the Department to be disbursed for the purpose for which the funds were raised.' A request to this effect should be sent to the Committee of Eleven.

The greatest benefit which could come out of the welfare work done during the war, aside from its immediate effects, would be a sure guaranty of its permanency in the navy. There will be hundreds of thousands of young men coming into the navy during the years to come, to be returned to their homes, it is hoped, better men for such service. The realization of this hope depends in a large measure upon the action of your organization in granting adequate funds to ensure the continuation of this work.

Congress appropriated \$400,000 for welfare work in the navy during the year ending July 1, 1920. It is believed that this appropriation will be continued for the next year and will become a permanent and continuing appropriation. This sum is, however, wholly inadequate to ensure a permanency of welfare work in the navy as it is now carried on. It is believed, however, that a granting of a substantial sum by the welfare organizations from their unexpended balance now in the hands of the National War Work Council, will ensure the continuity of this work. The situation is very much the same as that of a regiment which has stormed a position, has obtained its objective and wishes to organize its position to make it impregnable against the attacks of the enemy. The enemies of right living are unsleeping and unceasing in their attacks on the character of young men. It is, therefore, to organize this position, to make it impregnable against the attacks of evil, and to establish a permanent and lasting safeguard for the character of the hundreds of thousands of young men who will serve their country in the navy in the future that this contribution from the American people is requested.

It is also to be taken into consideration that at least 150,000 of the veterans of the last war still serve their country in the navy and marine corps. The great majority of these men are the ones upon whom the efficiency of the navy and marine corps was built during the last war. The petty officers and sergeants to say nothing of the officers, who by their example and experience encouraged and trained the young men, are not leaving the navy. These men who were the backbone of our forces, whether at sea or at Château-Thierry still remain, and it is vital that their interest be well guarded.

I wish to assure your organization that there is no question of dogmatic judgment as to the future of welfare work in the stations so far as I and the Division I represent are concerned. We believe that the experience of the officers of this board well qualifies them for decisions along this line, but we also realize that enormous responsibility rests upon our shoulders, and that we alone can never hope to carry on this work to a successful conclusion.

I wish to thank your organization again for all that you have done for the navy, and pray the continuation of your interest in the young men who, in the service of their country, go down to the sea in ships.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) C. B. MAYO.

On receiving the foregoing communication, it was pointed out to Commander Mayo that the original plan had not been modified as the Association deputation had understood that it would be. As a result of this and subsequent negotiations, Commander Mayo promised that specific change would be made, notably the exception of the permanent building in the Philadelphia Yard.

The taking over of welfare work by the navy was made effective January 1, 1920, except at certain points outside continental United States.

## APPENDIX XIV: DISSOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL WAR WORK COUNCIL

The following Preamble and Resolutions were adopted by The National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, December 29, 1920. These were ratified, confirmed, and approved by the International Committee at its meeting February 10, 1921, and the Council was finally dissolved March 8, 1921.

### PREAMBLE

In view of the fact that immediately after the United States entered the World War the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, on the recommendation of leaders in Association work—local, state, and international—created the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and committed to it responsibility for the general direction of the war work of the American Associations wherever carried on, and in view of the fact that the World War is now almost universally regarded as over and that the time has come to place all remaining work for soldiers and sailors and other classes which have been served by the War Work Council on a peace time basis, and, therefore, to relate such work, as far as possible, to the regular permanent agencies of the Association Movement, the Executive Committee of the National War Work Council considers that the time has come when the Council should relinquish further responsibility for the supervision and conduct of war work and be dissolved as an organization, and therefore recommends the adoption by the National War Work Council of the following plan:

### SECTION 1.

(a) That the unallocated balance of National War Work Council funds (now estimated as \$7,461,009) be placed in the hands of a Board of ten Trustees, the personnel of which shall be as follows:

WILLIAM SLOANE	ALFRED E. MARLING
HAROLD I. PRATT	LEWIS A. CROSSETT
ROBERT GARRETT	CYRUS H. MCCORMICK
JOHN L. SEVERANCE	JAMES LOGAN
CHARLES J. RHODES	JOHN R. MOTT

(b) This Board shall be known as the Trustees of the War Fund of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States of America, hereinafter called the Trustees. The Trustees shall serve until they shall have carried out the provisions of this report. Four of their number shall constitute a quorum. They shall have power to fill vacancies in their number due to death or other causes. The Trustees are empowered to make rules for the conduct of their business. Provision shall be made for taking a vote by mail when it is not considered necessary or expedient to call the Trustees together.

(c) The Trustees shall report to the International Conventions of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America and in the interim annually to the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, hereinafter called the International Committee.

(d) The Trustees shall make investments suitable for trustees' funds and shall place the funds in charge of one or more trust companies or other qualified banking institutions for custody and will advise with one or more said institutions as to investments.

(e) The International Committee, through its Army and Navy Department, shall make a study of the field, and from time to time recommend to the Trustees where buildings should be erected and the probable cost thereof; whereupon, if the recommendations are accepted by the Trustees, an appropriation shall be made by them and paid over to the International Committee or to the Metropolitan Association by which the title is to be held in the manner to be agreed upon by the Trustees and the officers of the International Committee or the Metropolitan Associations, as the case may be.

(f) Money allocated by the Trustees for the erection and maintenance of permanent Y M C A buildings for the American Army and Navy shall be paid to the International Committee or to the Metropolitan Association which is to hold title to the property, approximately as is required for the purpose of acquiring such property or erecting such buildings.

(g) The Trustees shall at their discretion insert in their agreements with the International Committee and the Metropolitan Associations such clauses as may be thought necessary to permanently safeguard the funds appropriated.

(h) If, in the judgment of the Trustees named in subdivision (a) the incorporation of the Trustees shall be hereafter desirable, the said Trustees by action of a majority of them, are authorized at any time to incorporate under the membership laws of the State of New York, in such manner as they may be advised by counsel, with the understanding that the said corporation shall assume all the duties and obligations which were prescribed for the said Trustees, and shall bear the same relation to the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations with reference to the whole situation as the Trustees would have in case the incorporation had not been had, and in case of such an incorporation the said Trustees are authorized to make, transfer and set over to the said corporation any and all money, securities and property in their hands, and the receipt of the duly accredited officers of such corporation shall release the said Trustees as to any and all property thus turned over, and the said Trustees shall, after such conveyance, be relieved from any further obligation or responsibility in connection with the aforesaid trust.

(i) The Trustees may fill any vacancies in the Liquidation Committee caused by death, accident, ill health, or otherwise.

## SECTION 2.

(a) That the unallocated balance of funds of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations (now estimated as \$7,461,009) be divided as follows: one-half to be devoted to the erection, equipment, maintenance and/or endowment of permanent Y M C A buildings for the

use of the men in the American Army and Navy, and one-half to be devoted to a reserve fund to be held for meeting needs of soldiers and sailors at home or abroad created by any national emergency.

(b) The income from the Reserve Fund and also from any temporarily unemployed part of the building fund shall be used for the erection, equipment, maintenance and/or endowment of permanent Y M C A buildings for the American Army and Navy, or for such other purposes in the Army and Navy work of the American Young Men's Christian Associations as the Trustees may consider will best fulfill the intent of the donors. If it should be found later that the War Work Council had underestimated its liabilities, or that the sums appropriated by it for the specific purpose of the approved budget were insufficient, the Trustees may make appropriations to meet the situation.

(c) If, after three years (that is, after January 1, 1924) all or any part of the Reserve Fund shall not have been required for meeting national emergencies, such remaining sum shall be devoted to the erection, equipment, maintenance and/or endowment of the permanent Y M C A buildings for the American Army and Navy, or for the support of the regular work for soldiers, sailors, or marines of the United States in accordance with provisions of Section 1. If, by January 1, 1928, any portion of the fund remains in the hands of the Trustees unallocated, it shall be turned over to the International Committee to be used in accordance with the terms of this report.

(d) If, in the opinion of the Trustees, before January 1, 1928, or of the International Committee after that date, any unexpended portion of this fund cannot reasonably be used for the purposes mentioned in this report, then the use of such unexpended portion of the fund shall be referred to the next ensuing International Convention, which, upon such reference, shall have full power to dispose of such unexpended portion of the fund.

### SECTION 3.

(a) The responsibility for the budget expenditures which have been authorized by the Executive Committee of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations shall be intrusted to a Liquidation Committee of five members of the present Executive Committee, viz., Messrs. Lucien T. Warner, Roger H. Williams, Wm. H. Crosby, John Sherman Hoyt, and Charles W. McAlpin, which Committee shall be responsible to the Trustees of the War Fund and shall work in close conjunction with the Army and Navy Department of the International Committee in reference to expenditures for the American Army and Navy and with the Committee on Allied Armies and Prisoners of War, in reference to expenditures related to that Committee.

(b) The funds for these budget expenditures shall be held by the Trustees and shall be paid over from month to month to the Liquidation Committee in amounts approximately as needed on the basis of the adopted budgets and commitments for both 1920 and 1921 as approved. The Liquidation Committee shall also be empowered to carry out contracts with workers and others to complete pieces of work for which specific appropriations have been made or reserves set aside and to adjust and settle claims.

(c) Funds in the hands of the disbursing officers of the present War Work Council will be transferred by book entry and placed to the credit of the

Trustees on the books of the Liquidation Committee, these amounts to be verified by the cash audit of Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Company.

(d) Resolved that the Liquidation Committee of the Trustees of the War Fund of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States be and hereby are authorized to open an account in the Equitable Trust Company, New York, and that authority to sign checks against this account be granted to Charles H. Burr, Treasurer, and B. B. Baldwin, Deputy Treasurer, or either of them when countersigned by any one member of the Liquidation Committee composed of Messrs. Lucien T. Warner, Roger H. Williams, Wm. H. Crosby, John Sherman Hoyt, and Chas. W. McAlpin, or to any two members of the above named Liquidation Committee, and be it further resolved that the Equitable Trust Company be and hereby is authorized to accept the signature of any one of the above names on checks of two hundred and fifty dollars or less.

(e) Any funds not eventually required for the completion of work, or for the fulfillment of other objects for which appropriations have been made or reserves set aside, shall be turned back by the Liquidation Committee to the Trustees to be used by the latter for any of the purposes set forth in Sections 1, 2 and 3.

(f) It is intended that the Liquidation Committee, by working in close cooperation with the Army and Navy Committee and the Committee on Allied Armies and Prisoners of War of the International Committee, shall make it possible for these two Committees to be so thoroughly in touch with the whole operation that by December 31, 1921, when the Liquidation Committee shall automatically go out of existence, these two permanent Committees may take over any remaining work with the least possible adjustment and change.

(g) The Liquidation Committee shall, as soon as possible after the close of its work on December 31, 1921, render to the Trustees final accounting and an audited statement of its transactions in fulfillment of the provisions of this Section.

(h) Be it further resolved that this action be submitted forthwith to the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations and that the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations be requested to ratify, confirm and approve the action taken, and to take such action as is necessary to dissolve the National War Work Council in accordance with these resolutions.

## APPENDIX XV: TRIBUTES TO THE WAR WORK OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION ABROAD AND AT HOME

### 1. *Letter of the Commander-in-Chief A E F*

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Mr. E. C. Carter, Chief Secretary

A E F-Y M C A

12 Rue d'Aguesseau, Paris.

France, April 28, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Carter:

On behalf of the American Expeditionary Forces I desire to express to you and to your fellow-workers my appreciation and thanks for the splendid services which the Young Men's Christian Association has performed for the American Army in Europe.

When the first contingents began arriving, the Y M C A began that work for the American soldiers which has ever kept pace with the growth of the American Expeditionary Forces. All divisions and most of the smaller organizations have enjoyed its benefits and services. Besides maintaining the usual recreation huts, it has conducted canteens where the men could purchase small supplies, and, in addition, the Y M C A has constantly distributed, without charge, tobacco, hot drinks and the like at the front.

Another service of great value has been the creation of and the work in Leave Areas, where the problem of giving the men occasional respites from the routine of army life has been solved. The facts which made this possible have been the recreational facilities in the Leave Areas, and especially the presence and splendid assistance of the American women with the Y M C A.

Other branches of your endeavor deserving of special mention are those connected with education, entertainment, and athletics. In each of these departments the Y M C A has done excellent work, but the features which I have mentioned do not begin to cover the activities of the Association, which has at all times shown itself eager to undertake any extension of its work to meet the wishes of the military authorities. This spirit of willingness has resulted in the Army's taking for granted much of your Society's ability to accomplish results, and sometimes expecting more than was reasonably allowable under the circumstances. In fact, yours has been the same spirit which has animated the American Army and made possible its contribution to the successful conclusion of the War.

As I cannot address all of your workers personally, I hope that you and they will accept this letter as an expression of my appreciation of the splendid work that you have done in France.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN J. PERSHING.

**2. General Pershing and the Young Men's Christian Association**SPEECH OF GENERAL PERSHING AT THE 34TH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE, MAY 10, 1921

I am particularly happy to have this opportunity of meeting with the representatives of this great Christian organization. In the last three-quarters of a century the influence of the Young Men's Christian Association has been extended practically to every corner of the globe. My own personal acquaintance with its endeavors has covered many years and many lands.

It was during the earlier period of our occupation of the Philippine Islands that I first met Dr. Mott, who even then had become a world figure, whose able direction and foresight gave impulse to others, and who because of his leadership, stands foremost today among thousands of able devotees to Young Men's Christian Association ideals. It was at a banquet in Manila on a very warm evening when Dr. Mott, speaking of the future of the Young Men's Christian Association, aroused his audience to a warmth that far surpassed that of the climate, with the result that there were eventually erected three splendid Young Men's Christian Association buildings — one for young Americans and two for the Filipinos themselves.

In the Island of Mindanao as early as 1903, a Young Men's Christian Association secretary followed the troops into the interior, and came to my headquarters with his tent and his newspapers and phonograph. Friendly Moros made frequent visits to my camp and on one occasion this secretary appeared among them with his phonograph, and permitted several dattos to talk into the machine. Then with something of the air of the magician, he would wave the crowd back and grind out the words spoken by the Moro. Upon hearing their own voices reproduced, they were mystified and stood aghast as much as to say "There ain't no such darned thing." The Young Men's Christian Association secretary became very popular and freely went from place to place among these warlike people quite unmolested.

In China and Japan the influence for good has been immeasurably great. Under the direction of their wide-awake secretaries there has grown up a remarkable enthusiasm for physical development. The principal centers of Young Men's Christian Association control are alive with activity, and teams in the various sports meet as frequently as possible to compete internationally for honors. The result has been an extension of Young Men's Christian Association prestige that must have a marked effect not only upon the future of the individuals concerned, but upon the relations that the people whom they represent shall bear to each other. It all must lead to a better understanding and draw them and us closer and closer together in friendly intercourse as time goes on. This work richly deserves the unstinted support of all far-seeing Americans.

The early appearance of the Young Men's Christian Association with the Army was in the days when the soldier was rarely in the minds of our people. Luxury was unknown and none was expected, pay was meager and the isolation at times became very irksome, so the Young Men's Christian Association worker was a welcome companion and his comfort gratefully received.

On the Border and in Mexico, the Association realized more than ever the opportunity to aid in affording the men of the service clean recreations. It provided reading rooms, clubs, games, lectures, movies, all of which served to keep them from the temptations that constantly follow in the wake of an army, or are found indigenous to the locality where the soldier's lot is so frequently cast.

The extension of Young Men's Christian Association work here in America has been very gratifying. There lies in the heart of every man a desire to live honorably among one's fellows, but humanity is not yet able to rise much higher than its environment. Where ennobling surroundings are absent those of another sort are found and in spite of the better instincts evil influences prevail. But we must not forget that the difficulties of reform are much greater than those of guidance. There are yet some 2,000 cities of over 5,000 inhabitants each in our own country which have not yet been reached by this Association. When we look around and see the wreck of nations, it makes us, or should make us, stop and consider our own condition, and I believe that there is no other organization quite so well fitted to meet the need of our young men in America as the Young Men's Christian Association. As a power in the development of good citizens not only among our native born but among the foreign born there is no agency that surpasses the Young Men's Christian Association. Here there opens up a large field of endeavor, wherein many of our own people need not only the spirit of Christianity but the spirit of patriotism as well, which is, in fact, much the same thing. Instead of one million members of this Association in America there ought to be ten million.

It was in the World War that we came in closest touch with the organization. Your representatives were already in the field when our advance troops reached France. They were ready and anxious to be of every possible service. Supported by your patriotic membership here at home and under the leadership of that able administrator, Mr. Carter, the organization began to expand at once to meet our needs. We all had our hands very full in these trying days. The army had to be organized, and a great general staff had to be built up to handle the multitude of details as to plans of operations, supply and transportation. It was in the midst of these preparations that I called up Mr. Carter and asked the Young Men's Christian Association to take charge of the army canteens to follow our troops; he responded promptly and entered upon the work as a duty.

This placed the Young Men's Christian Association on a business basis, involving direct responsibility to the A E F for an immense undertaking. They had to buy and sell without profit just as the Army would have done. At first Mr. Carter's request for a certain allowance of tonnage was granted, but as time went on and our limited shipping became less and less able to carry our actual needs in war material, his quota of monthly tonnage was very much reduced even in the face of increasing demands. So through lack of transportation facilities, he was unable to provide the canteens with all they required. Furthermore, the personnel of the Young Men's Christian Association had to be expanded in almost the same proportion as the Army, had to be organized to conduct this large business, which was only one of its numerous

activities, with such untrained personnel as could be hastily mustered here at home.

All these things were a tremendous handicap, and when its work came to be compared with that of other welfare organizations operating with far less responsibility and covering only special areas, there arose some unjust criticism of which other organizations too often took advantage. But as a matter of fact this feature of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association deserves great praise, and I should like to express here in this presence my deep appreciation of the results obtained.

In the field of education, athletics and recreation after the Armistice the Young Men's Christian Association took the lead, without any sort of question, and as a matter of fact about nine-tenths of the welfare work that was carried on in the A E F was carried on under the direction and guidance of the Young Men's Christian Association. Due largely to its efforts, our men were given opportunities for improvement, travel and entertainment that aided us materially in upholding the high standards of conduct always maintained in our forces abroad.

Finally, I wish to express the belief that this Association will continue to grow in usefulness to humanity, and will early become a universally recognized force in our national life against which the powers of evil may not prevail.

### 3. Representative Utterances

May I not express to you the very high value I have attached to the work which has been accomplished by the Young Men's Christian Association in behalf of our own Army and Navy as well as in behalf of the prisoners-of-war and the men in the training camps of Europe, and may I not also express my sincere personal interest in the large plans of the War Work Council for the work which is still ahead of the Association?

PRESIDENT WILSON, in a letter to Dr. Mott.

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In compliance with your letter of March 28th, we have cabled to General Pershing that the Y M C A has approved of the transfer of the work of the Army Educational Commission of the Y M C A to the control of the Army.

In accepting this transfer on behalf of the Army, we wish to thank the Y M C A for the admirable work which it did in initiating and carrying on this educational work at a time, when, because of the pressure of the all-engrossing business of actual fighting, it would have been difficult for the Army to have undertaken it.

I have been familiar in a general way with the origination of the idea for an educational program for the A E F in the mind of Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes; of the selection of Professor Erskine, President Butterfield and Superintendent Spaulding to organize the work in France, and of Professor Strayer, Dr. Sullivan and Mr. Fairley for the corresponding duties on this side, and I understand from my associates that because of their accomplishments it is now a comparatively easy task for the Army to carry on the work which they undertook.

Upon studying the details of these accomplishments and learning that your Association had in a very short time selected, purchased and sent overseas some two million dollars' worth of textbooks and educational supplies, and had recruited and sent to France nearly six hundred educational organizers and supervisors of high standing, I was more than ever impressed with the magnitude of the work already accomplished.

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, in a letter of April 3, 1919, to William Sloane, Chairman of the National War Work Council of Young Men's Christian Associations.

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I am happy to have any public opportunity to testify to the appreciation which the War Department and the Army of the United States feel for the services rendered by the Y M C A, both at home and overseas. . . . I think that it is solemnly true that no army of any size, or any nationality, including our own, ever before in the history of mankind, has had such a record of health, cleanliness, and high idealism of purpose. . . .

There were assembled about these soldiers not only the influences of home and of neighborhood, but the great trained agencies for dealing with life of the young. . . . The Y M C A, by reason of its longer establishment, its larger experience and its larger facilities, had the greater part of this work to do, especially abroad.

I do not know if I can convey to those who have not had an opportunity to see what went on there, any adequate idea of the character of that service. I hope that it will be understood that I am not speaking exclusively of the Y M C A, for in many instances they welcomed and invited the assistance of other agencies.

But, as I crossed the Atlantic during the war, through the danger zone, I found the Y M C A worker on the ship, taking his place beside the soldier. In the cold hours just before dawn when we were brought on deck to await there the most perilous hour of that day, and as we stood there . . . the night disappeared and the day came on, every eye strained over the sea to search out and see if we could find the stealthy adversary who was seeking us, the Y M C A worker braved that peril with the soldier and sailor.

When that hour was over, on all these ships, going and coming, these agents of the high social purpose of America ministered to the sick and wounded. They—with their amusements, magazines, books, et cetera—comforted, entertained and advised the well. They were a constant companion and comfort to the soldier going over the sea.

In the long periods of training over there, the Y M C A workers were constantly found organizing amusements, aiding men in corresponding with their friends, giving counsel and advice in the embarrassments that arose in the daily life of the soldier, ministering to them by the distribution of such things as could be provided by the generous funds of the people of America; welcoming the incoming soldier and giving the outgoing soldier Godspeed. . . .

They were at the front, in the very front line trenches, over which shrapnel burst and over which aeroplanes hovered. Under machine gun fire one could find the American doughboy at his listening post, and very often along-

side of him the Y M C A man with his books, magazines, papers and his little aids and comforts, which were carried to the very edge of "No Man's Land."

In the huts, the Y M C A woman was found—that extraordinary beautiful thing which the Y M C A man sent over, and which the doughboy learned to call an "Honest-to-God American Girl." Sometimes her hair was streaked with gray, and there was the relationship of mother and son; but ordinarily the relationship was the tender relationship of brother and sister.

So, in a certain way, the Y M C A has represented the heart of America and has carried to the soldiers abroad our affections and our ideals for them. . . . When we survey this superb Army which is now coming home, with its broadened shoulders, bronzed cheeks, robust health, splendid nerve, and the high spirit that comes with great accomplishment, we must remember that among the formative influences that went into it and made it possible was this social spirit which was carried from home to the front line trenches, which shared the privations and dangers, was an integral part of the Army—for in "No Man's Land," where the shells fell thick and fast, there are the graves of the American soldiers and the graves of the "Y" workers, side by side, not separate in their work, not separated in their faith, not separated in spirit, not separated in their sacrifice; finally united in their last resting place. . . .

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, in a speech made on the occasion of the presentation of the Croix de Guerre by the French Government to three overseas Y M C A secretaries, at Washington, D. C., May 16, 1919.

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Only those who were brought in intimate contact with it, and could survey the whole field, are able to appreciate fully the great extent and value of the Y M C A's work for our soldiers and sailors. In camps and training stations, at home and abroad, at the fighting front, on transports and at naval bases, it cheered and aided our fighting forces. Its halls and huts were not only social centers, furnishing wholesome recreation and amusement, but were places for mental improvement and moral refreshment. They were bits of America set on foreign soil, reminding the boys of the homes from which they came.

The men of the Red Triangle followed the flag wherever it went, and were there to serve and comfort our brave boys. They proved their heroism and devotion on the battle front, a number being commended for bravery, and several sacrificing their lives in the line of duty.

It is unthinkable that criticism of minor defects here and there should be allowed to cloud for a moment the splendid record made by this great Association. No big undertaking was ever carried out without some imperfections, and no organization engaged in such a stupendous work, employing so many men over a vast area, could expect to carry it through without making some mistakes. But so far as I have been able to determine, these have been few and hardly enough to be considered in comparison with the magnificent service rendered. The war work of the Young Men's Christian Association will remain an enduring monument to this great organization, which is founded for the uplift and welfare of the young men who are the brain and brawn, the dependence and hope of America. There has been in our time no more inspiring exemplification of practical Christianity than the work of the Young Men's

Christian Association and other agencies which ministered to the comfort and welfare of our fighting forces.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Secretary of the Navy, in a letter to Dr. Mott.

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I have personal knowledge of the magnificent social and religious work of the American Y M C A.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to testify that the work has been conducted upon the broadest lines of service, not merely to the gallant soldiers of the army of the great republic of the West, but to all they could assist.

The high quality of character of those conducting this work needs no praise, but I affirm that in my opinion it would have been impossible to have afforded the boys that inspiration and succor they need—and which they so richly deserve—without the efforts of the Y M C A.

D. LLOYD GEORGE, Prime Minister of Great Britain, in a letter of July 20, 1918.

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I am glad to have the opportunity of giving my testimony to the immense value of the work which is being done by the American Y M C A and to the helpful influences which that work brings to bear upon the lives of those who are brought into touch with it. The appeal which is being made for further help to continue and enlarge the activities of this splendid organization has my warmest and most sympathetic support.

H. H. ASQUITH, Former Prime Minister of Great Britain.

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You have been so good as to inform me of the renewed effort you propose to make to enlarge and make more efficacious the work of the Y M C A.

It gives me great pleasure to testify to my profound appreciation and that of the entire French Army, to the work that has been accomplished by the Foyers du Soldat of the Franco-American Union.

Your Foyers, constantly established in increasing numbers, as great at the front as in the rear, have rendered to our soldiers most highly appreciated service. Thanks to your efforts our children have found in your midst a center of distraction and comfort.

In every way possible, with touching delicacy and unceasing devotion, the Foyer du Soldat has succeeded in replacing the foyer of the family.

With all my heart I thank the Y M C A for the precious aid that they have brought to the Armies of the Entente in the common fight against the enemy.

Their work has in no small degree supported the morale of our armies, and thus they have gloriously associated themselves in the common work that shall bring about our victory.

I desire to join my most sincere wishes for the unqualified success of the financial campaign, which you are newly commencing with a view to the development and support of your work.

I beg again to assure you, Monsieur le Directeur Général, of my sincere and profound appreciation.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, Premier of France, in a letter to the Director General of the United War Work Campaign.

Extract from report of MONSIEUR PAUL PAINLEVÉ, Minister of War, October 19, 1917.

"I take this opportunity to assure you how greatly I appreciate the value of the Americans in the present circumstances. I know, in fact, that even before the United States had taken part on the side of the Allies, your friends of the Y M C A had shown the sympathy which they bear to our cause by furnishing you with generous subsidies and that, since the entry into the war of their country, their cooperation in the work of the Foyers du Soldat, now truly the 'Union Franco-Américaine,' has taken a considerable extension and affirms itself by the very important financial resources already furnished or promised, as also by the personal assistance rendered. In this way, as in all other matters, the Americans show their desire to work hand in hand with our compatriots for the triumph of the cause for which we are fighting. In the name of our soldiers and of their chiefs, I beg you to be so good as to thank your friends very warmly.

"Initiated modestly at the end of 1914 by the creation of the first two Foyers, your work has not ceased to increase and extend its action, with the approbation of my Department and of the High Command, both all along the French front and in the interior. Thanks to your Foyers, the men find in the rest cantonments, places for reunion which provide them a shelter against rough weather and a moral comfort attested by the unanimous reports of the military authorities. Therefore, I can only wish to see this work extended to all the cantonments. Consequently, I beg to ask you to be so good as to inform me whether the Union Franco-Américaine would be disposed, and in what measure, to give their aid to the military authorities for the organization and working of the 1300 Clubs to be created under the general conditions set forth in the annexed notice.

"(Signed) PAUL PAINLEVÉ."

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Much to my regret I find it absolutely impossible to cancel my engagements for tomorrow and to go to New York in order to attend the meeting of the War Work Council. Had I been present I would have considered it a privilege as a representative of France to give a public testimony to the support in money and in personnel tendered by the War Work Council of the American Y M C A to the Foyers du Soldat Union Franco-Américaine-Y M C A.

The services rendered by the Foyers to the men of the French armies have been invaluable. They have been praised by French Ministers of War, by Commanders of French armies and units. There has been an increasing demand for more Foyers as they became real parts of the French forces on the front and in the rear.

Without the American help which came to the organizers of the Foyers from the beginning in 1914, without support in money, without the American secretaries who came over to add their numbers to those of the French secretaries, the Foyers would not have been able to give this moral and material help to our men.

France is deeply thankful to you for the manner in which you at once understood this need and took generous steps to meet it. We hope that your

help will be maintained during the coming period, notwithstanding the cessation of hostilities.

**EDOUARD DE BILLY**, Deputy High Commissioner, French High Commission to the United States, in a telegram of December 17, 1918, to Dr. Mott.

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Since the beginning of the National Army I have watched the work of the Y M C A in this cantonment and also in France. It was open for business almost as soon as the men of the first draft arrived at camps.

The daily attendance at Y M C A buildings averaged 32,000 men when the 77th Division was here.

Probably more soldiers' letters home are written in Y M C A huts on Y M C A paper than all other places put together and this means that they are popular places and places where men's minds are on right things.

In my opinion the Y M C A is making a splendid contribution to the creation and maintenance of morale among our men and its activities are responsible in a large measure for keeping them happy.

Its work is worthy of the most liberal support.

**MAJOR GENERAL J. H. BELL**, Commanding General, Camp Upton, N. Y., in a letter of August 1, 1918, to Ralph L. Cheney.

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In peace, the Y M C A has been for years a strong and widespread influence for good, for better men and for better citizenship. Since the war came its scope and its influence have grown greatly. All along the fighting line and back in the training camps, abroad and in the homeland, its huts and assembly rooms, with their cheerful and helpful workers, have added immensely to the comfort and contentment of our troops and consequently to their efficiency and fighting value.

The work of the Association has represented the desire, and to a large extent has fulfilled the purpose, of a generous people, to add in every way to the comfort and wellbeing of their fighting men, the men who are fighting that free government may live, that our country and its institutions may endure.

The Y M C A men work not only in the safety of the homeland, but amid the dangers and hardships of the Army zone near the battle line, and often-times surrounded by its perils and discomforts. They work always with an eye single to the comfort and betterment of our men, that they may be better soldiers, that we may more effectively do our part in winning the war.

Every dollar given to the Y M C A is a dollar given toward winning the war. Let us give and give again until it hurts, and then give more. The cause is a splendid one, worthy of our best efforts.

**MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD**, in a letter of August 30, 1918, to Dr. Mott.

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GENERAL ORDERS No. 33.

1. The Commanding General desires to make of record in the General Orders of this division his appreciation of the part taken by the members of the Y M C A who have been attached to this division and actively carried on their work in all its phases during the time that this division was in contact with the enemy from May 31 to July 30.

2. During the days beginning July 14, when the enemy made their attack and for days and nights afterwards, the Y M C A, through its faithful members at their posts of duty, not only with chocolate and cakes and tobacco cheered our soldiers, but was of efficient assistance to our medical staff in caring for wounded. Hot chocolate was served in many cases free, both day and night, to the wounded and to the ambulance drivers.

3. While the men of the Y M C A were with the troops in the front line, the young women of the Y M C A were detailed with the hospitals and the medical staff of this division bear testimony of their most efficient help during these two weeks of great strain.

4. The conduct of these self-sacrificing and brave men and women who have so unhesitatingly given their services to their country, establishes a standard of prestige, exceptional courage, devotion and resource, which the commanding general particularly commends.

5. A copy of this order will be furnished to each member of the Y M C A who has been on duty with this division.

By command of MAJOR GENERAL DICKMAN; Robert H. C. Kelton, Colonel, General Staff. Chief of Staff. Official: E. A. Jeunet, Lt. Col. Inf., R. A. Adjutant.

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At this time, approaching the close of a successful campaign in Italy by the 332d Infantry, I desire to convey to your esteemed organization my sincere thanks and appreciation, coupled with that of my entire command, for the valuable services rendered to us in the field. The tireless manner and the efficient way with which you cooperated with me at all times in bringing comfort to the members of this regiment will ever be appreciated by me and shall receive mention in my reports.

I wish particularly to extend the thanks of the entire regiment for your service rendered on the night of November 15th, at which time hot chocolate was served to the men.

COLONEL WILLIAM WALLACE, 332d Infantry, in a letter of November 16, 1918.

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You have called my attention to the fact that the statement has been made that, on the relief of the "Lost Battalion," money was charged by the Y M C A for chocolate and cocoa supplied to the men. Of course, you and I know that this is not a fact, and I take great pleasure in stating that on that occasion the first hot food which the men received was the cocoa supplied by the Y M C A.

The assistance of the Y M C A at that time was tremendously appreciated by the men and by the officers, and was given in a fine and liberal spirit without any suggestion of reimbursement. Furthermore, the Y M C A was the only organization present at that time. I should like to add that the work of the Y M C A in our regiment was of the very greatest help, and was thoroughly and gratefully appreciated.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL CHARLES W. WHITTLESEY, in a letter to S. B. Burroughs.

I am glad of an opportunity to express my appreciation of the work of the Y M C A; as Division Athletic Officer I have been in close touch with the Y M C A organization and their work. The type of men representing them is very high and their efforts to amuse and interest the men, attend to their comfort and entertainment have met with both success and appreciation. Their method of working in perfect harmony with the military authorities and their fine spirit has resulted in their making a splendid impression and their work is doing untold good.

WALTER CAMP, JR., Captain, N. A. 28th Division Athletic Officer (Division Headquarters), in a statement of April 6, 1918.

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Where morale leaves off and morals begin, or where morals leave off and morale begins, I have never been able to ascertain. I am, however, sure of this fact—the Y M C A has fused these great fundamentals of the Army life.

In its contribution to morals by providing instruction, amusement and a breath of home atmosphere, and in its contribution to a love for righteousness and duty its work is incomparable.

LT. RALPH O. HARPOLE, Co. B, 54 Inf. A E F Nebo, Ill.

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I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the work done by the Y M C A in behalf of the officers and men of our Navy. Financial help which may be extended to your organization reacts to the moral uplift and physical welfare of our men.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIMS, in cablegram of September 5, 1918, to the Chairman of the War Work Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, transmitted by the Secretary of the Navy.

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I want to thank you for the work you have done for the men of my squadron, for the trouble you and your organization have been put to, and for the quiet and effective manner in which you have accomplished your results. The Y M C A in South America has done great good for the Navy. The popularity of its recreation places and of its representatives is telling evidence of the wisdom and effectiveness of its work.

REAR-ADmirAL W. B. CAPERTON, in a letter to J. C. Field, Secretary of Special Navy Work of the South American Federation of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

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Among all the organizations generously aided by the International Committee of the Y M C A, the Foyers du Soldat particularly merits our gratitude. By the wholesome relaxation and well-being which the Foyers furnish to the combatants the Y M C A has largely contributed to the magnificent morale of the Allied Armies.

MARSHAL FOCH, Allied Generalissimo, in a message of November 9, 1918, communicated by cablegram of D. A. Davis.

I beg to certify that the representatives of the Y M C A have rendered great services to the wounded of this division during the last periods of the combat.

Never hesitating to advance to the front, they have distributed to the wounded warm drinks, biscuits, candies, cigarettes, even to the advanced posts of the Echelle and the Chaulun.

I desire to signalize the bravery, modesty and discretion which the members of the Y M C A have shown in the accomplishment of their humane mission.

GENERAL DAUGAN, in a letter of August 8, 1918.

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You have asked me to write you a few lines in testimony of the esteem in which is held the work of the Case del Soldato, established on our front by the American Y M C A, which is so admirably and solicitously directed here by Dr. J. S. Nollen, and of which you are the leading spirit in the United States.

On my own behalf and also in the name of my troops, I express to you my most sincere admiration and most heartfelt gratitude for the sustained benefit which the Italian Army derives from the Case del Soldato of the Y M C A.

GENERAL A. DIAZ, Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Army, in a letter of August 20, 1918, to Francis Bowes Sayre.

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No one who is not a soldier in this camp can really know what the Army Y means to us boys in camp—it is home, club, church, and all. We would certainly be lost without it.

PRIVATE RAYMOND CURTIS of Truck Co. D, 103d Ammunition Train, in a letter of April 21, 1918.

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I have been asked many questions in my life, but tonight I am going to answer a question put to me and take it from me the answer is coming straight from the heart of all my friends as well as myself. Before enlisting in the Army I was a very home-like fellow and needless to say I have spent many lonesome days in the Army. And I do not know what I would have done were it not for the Y M C A and the many good workers connected with the same. My hat is off to them in their work and I am sure the Y M C A workers have won a place in the heart of every Allied soldier. The Y M C A is always a place to kill the blues, forget the disappointments of the day, and to find a friend that is true, that you can tell your troubles to. In general I cannot say too much for the "Y" and here is hoping the people of the world will learn of their wonderful achievements.

PRIVATE 1st CL. JOHN LEAN KILDAY, Lena, Ill., Box 440. June 28, 1918.

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The American soldier would be out of luck in this country or France if it was not for the "Y." Everything that our soldiers need can be bought at the "Y" and the prices are just as low as any store in the States. This is what I call a blessing to have one of these Y M C A huts with us. They try to amuse

us and do everything in their power for our comfort and I for one am certainly thankful.

PRIVATE WM. McMOUGH, —th Inf. Med. Corps. June 28, 1918.

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On June 30, 1918, M. CLEMENCEAU, Minister of War, wrote:

"I am happy to bring to the work of the Foyers du Soldat, Union Franco-Américaine, the sincere testimony of the gratitude of the French Army. Your Foyers established in an ever-increasing number in the front line cantonments and in the formations of the interior, render to the soldiers services which are highly appreciated. Thanks to your organization, our sons find everywhere a center of relaxation and recreation. Just as far as possible, and with a touching delicacy and an untiring devotion, the Foyer du Soldat replaces the 'foyer' of the family. With all my heart I thank the YMCA for the precious aid which it has brought to the work which is being carried on by the Armies of the Allies against the common enemy. In contributing thus to sustain the morale of our Armies, it procures our victory and associates itself gloriously in the common task. I send the most sincere wishes for the complete success of the financial campaign which the YMCA is again undertaking in order to carry on and develop its work."

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On August 2, 1918, GENERAL PÉTAIN wrote:

"It is impossible to exaggerate the eminent service rendered by the Foyers du Soldat. They have not only procured for the combatants a little material well-being, but they have also been a very valuable moral encouragement."

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GENERAL MANGIN, Commanding the 10th French Army, wrote:

"The work which you organized is very much appreciated by our men and it is with great pleasure that I shall see it developed in the Army zone. Our soldiers, in fact, occupy a region which for the most part, has been reconquered from the enemy and which the inhabitants had to leave, so that here, better than anywhere else, the soldiers find in your Foyers a precious moral uplift which is like the sensation of being 'at home.' Here they meet the American soldiers by whose sides they fight. These excellent relations cannot but strengthen the bonds, already close, which unite the two Armies. We are therefore glad to take advantage of this opportunity to restate all the good which this organization has already done among us."

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GENERAL GOURAUD, Commanding the 4th Army, wrote:

"For a long time already I have seen the Foyers functioning in the 4th Army and every day I appreciate more the consolation which they bring to our soldiers in assuring them of a well-being which is at the same time material and moral. It is an admirable work and I eagerly seize the occasion which is given to me to render this testimony. I sincerely hope that the work will be still further developed and that the efforts which you are making in this direction will be crowned with success."

**GENERAL LYAUTHEY**, Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces in Morocco:

"I am pleased with the understanding established with the Union Franco-Américaine and I express to you anew my profound gratitude for the valuable cooperation which you bring to the work of the Foyers du Soldat for the troops in Morocco. This work, which you permit me to carry out on a vast and complete scale, is going to be organized with all the rapidity possible and in conformity with our common views."

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General Franchet d'Esperey, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armies in the Orient, wrote from Saloniki on August 8, 1918:

"I am happy to be able to express to you my satisfaction at the organization and functioning of the Foyers du Soldat, Union Franco-Américaine, which you direct. In extending your work to the Army of the Orient you have rendered a most useful service, even more necessary than for those who fight in France. The soldiers far distant from their country can appreciate the service which you have rendered, with the aid of the Y M C A, in establishing these Foyers du Soldat where they can meet together, rest, and find recreation. But your task has not been finished; it is necessary to continue and to develop the work undertaken just as far as your financial resources will permit. I am certain that the results which you have obtained will encourage those who have already helped you to respond still further to your patriotic appeal."

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A few days ago a Russian Baron in the Diplomatic Service succeeded in reaching Paris from Russia. When he saw the Triangle on my arm, he said: "I shall never see that Red Triangle without a sense of profound gratitude. Everywhere on our way out, on the Northern coast, in Archangel, in Newcastle and in the most out-of-the-way places along the line it was the Y M C A men who were there rendering disinterested and faithful service.

Extract from a letter of D. A. DAVIS to E. T. Colton, December 27, 1918.

A soldier said to me once, "It's the Y M C A that keeps us human." It does what no other organization is doing or could do. Amid the dreariness of the war zone, in the monotonous life of the troops in the field, the Red Triangle shines with steadily comforting glow. There could in my opinion be no better way of spending a hundred million dollars than giving the Y M C A the fullest opportunity to make the soldier more comfortable and more contented with his lot.

Statement of LORD NORTHCLIFFE.

An illustration of what can be accomplished is being shown by the American Y M C A. They are still carrying on whilst other people have left the country. They are perfectly splendid. Their courage and persistency are beyond praise. They have gone down to work in the fever districts in the South of Russia—there was awful fever there, and when I was at Moscow the American Y M C A were sending a train of people down to work. In any combined scheme the American Y M C A have only to be applied to, and they will

do anything needed, and any understanding that is brought about in the future between the people over there will be largely due to the fact that the American Y M C A stuck at it whilst other people left the country.

LADY MURIEL PAGET, in *The Evening Standard*, London, July 18, 1919.

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From the Army of Occupation.

"The whole atmosphere of your organization and the character of its personnel, their attention to duty, and everything connected with Y M C A is entirely worthy of and up to the standard which we all feel our Government has the right to expect from its representatives over here. It is impossible to estimate in money value the good that the Y has done and is doing for our men, and I believe that if our people at home could see this work and know what the Y M C A and kindred organizations are actually doing, they would not only be glad to have the work continued but would give it their moral and financial support and would demand that it be continued."

DAVID L. STONE, Col. General Staff, U. S. Army, Interallied Rhineland High Commission.

## APPENDIX XVI: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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